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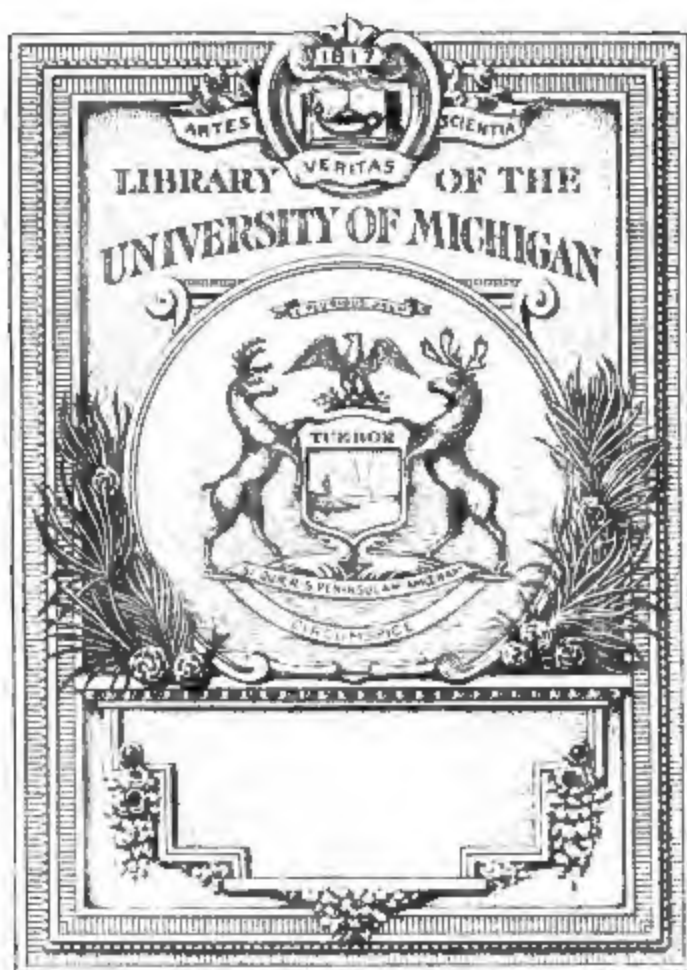
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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICKS,  
AND  
LITERATURE  
For the YEAR 1767.

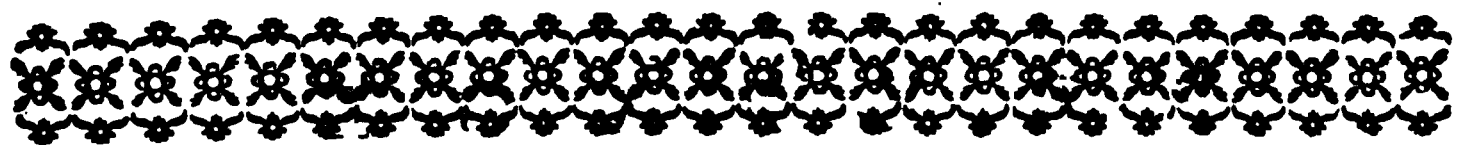


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## P R E F A C E.

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peculiarly interesting: While our humanity is deeply engaged in the cause of the Diffidends, we cannot but lament the fatality by which a great nation is surrounded in its capital by a foreign army; and the senators of a republic that was once free and independent, carried off by a military force for a discussion of their own affairs. This is a subject, that, notwithstanding the rectitude and integrity of the motives which guided those transactions, affords a full opportunity for the most deep and serious reflection.

Our home affairs have not been deficient in matters sufficiently interesting. Of these we give such an account as we hope will be agreeable to our readers; and have endeavoured to preserve that impartiality, which it will be always so much our wish to support. And it shall ever be our greatest happiness, to have any opportunity of shewing the grateful sense we entertain of the repeated indulgence which we have so constantly experienced from the public.

T H E

T H E

# ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1767.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

E U R O P E.

## CHAP. I.

*General aspect of affairs. Present appearances pacific. Some ancient causes of contention removed. France. Holland. General state of the North. Germany. Italy. Expulsion of the Jesuits from Naples and Parma. The interest of the court of Rome declining in Italy. Portugal. Scarcity of corn. Friendly intercourse subsisting between the learned.*

**W**E observe with pleasure, that the event has happily justified our prognostication of last year; and that the general tranquillity of Europe is not in any immediate danger of being disturbed. A spirit of improvement in the arts of peace, in manufactures, commerce, and the elegant embellishments of life, seems to have taken place, for a while at

least, of that rage of conquest, which had for so many centuries plunged the different parts of the great European commonwealth into all the calamities of devastation and war. That martial disposition, which so entirely possessed the people of those ages, was the natural consequence of the hardy bodies, the active and intrepid minds, of the western and northern nations,

tions, when not otherwise engaged by a close attention to the useful, or mellowed by a knowledge of the fine arts.

It may now appear late to look back to the subversion or change of the feudal system, and from thence to derive reasons for prognosticating the approach of a less martial age. This change was not indeed immediately productive of so happy an effect. Many, however, of the causes of ancient quarrels were certainly removed, by the different modifications which that system underwent in most of the countries of Europe. The two last centuries were (partly through accident, and partly from those epidemic passions, which have been observed at particular eras to possess the minds of great bodies of mankind) so peculiarly fertile in producing new causes of dissension, that the consequences naturally to be expected from the decline of the feudal government could not be perceived amidst the continual din of fresh disputes. It may be unnecessary to recapitulate those causes of dissension; many of them are generally known. Religion, or the pretence to it, had its full share amongst them. The uncertain rights of succession in most countries, together with the avidity with which all mankind were seized to grapple at the treasures of the new world, were such seeds of contention, as served, along with many others, to keep Europe in continual agitation.

Several of the principal of those causes, and happily, some of those which occasioned the greatest mischief, are now no more. The violence of religious animosity; that bitterness of zeal, which set mankind to the destruction of each

other's bodies, for the salvation of their souls, is not only worn out, but almost forgotten. Successions, boundaries, and rights of government, are fixed upon a more known and settled foundation than ever they were before; and commercial nations have discovered a more successful and happy method of procuring gold, than by digging it themselves from the mine, or forcing it from those that do.

Many other sources of contention of a later date, together with some mistaken notions in politics, which have had their day and done sufficient mischief, are exhausted. Some just causes of contention are also removed. The ideas attending a balance of power, seem to be at present very different from what they have been formerly. The dread of universal monarchy appears to be much abated, if not entirely at an end. With regard to England, to our happiness, the causes of those fears which were once so prevalent, with respect to the protestant succession; the danger of rebellions within, or invasions from without, from that cause, are so entirely vanished, that they only serve to ~~undear to us~~ our present security.

These circumstances seem in some sort pledges of a greater tranquillity to our posterity, than we or our ancestors have enjoyed. However, it must be confessed that all speculations of this kind, however plausible, are in their nature extremely uncertain. The natural inconstancy of mankind, the sport which fortune seems at some times to make of every system, destroying in a day, or an hour, the best laid foundations, and trampling the labour of ages, and the wisest

institutions in the dust; all these may forbid the hopes of a lasting permanency to any system of tranquillity, let the present appearances be ever so serene.

It must be admitted that this age seems to have a cause of contention more particularly its own, and which cannot fail to supply in some degree, those which are now by time and change of manners extinguished. The desire of naval power, which at present acts so strongly upon many of the nations in Europe, will generate daily disputes, and must become a fruitful source of dissension. The spirit of commerce will not be confined to the acquisitions of industry. The new adventurers in this field will encroach upon the old, while the same passion will act as powerfully with the old possessors, not to relinquish any of those profits which usually came into their hands, and to which they will think that long prescription has given them a right.

With respect to other matters, the general state of affairs in Europe has suffered no material change since the conclusion of our last volume. The same close union and alliance still subsists between the different branches of the house of Bourbon. The friendship and union between that family and the house of Austria, is still more closely cemented by a marriage between the young King of Naples, and a daughter of the Empress Queen. The hopes of this alliance might indeed have been frustrated in a less

numerous family, by  
15th Oct. the death of the Arch-  
1767. duchess Maria Josepha,

who was seized with the small-pox in a few days after her being married by proxy and

declared Queen of Naples; but upon this occasion it made no great change, and the young Prince has been since contracted to her next sister the Archduchess Caroline, who is about a year younger.

Unnatural as the present friendship and alliance between those ancient and hereditary enemies, the houses of Bourbon and Austria, may appear, and dangerous as the effects of it might at first seem to many of their neighbours; it is not perhaps impossible, but it may contribute to preserve that tranquillity, which seemed to be so much endangered by it. This will appear the less problematical, if we reflect on the many wars in which the bickerings and enmity of these two families have engaged for near two centuries the rest of Europe. Neither does this alliance appear so very formidable to its neighbours, as it might have done in another situation of things. The great weight which has accumulated in the northern balance of late years, may well prevent the scale from preponderating excessively in their favour.

It does not at present appear, that any of the three powers in question are disposed, or indeed in a condition to disturb the public repose. France has been long a loser by her wars, nor do the late trials she has made of her strength, comparatively with that of her neighbours, give the least encouragement to her seeking for new. The system of Europe is much changed since those victorious days of Lewis the 14th, when he was so much the terror of it. Other nations have gained great additional strength, whilst France has without question rather lost

ground ; yet it must be owned, not in such a degree, but that her great natural resources, and the very valuable and improveable colonies she is still possessed of, will always make her very respectable if not formidable. At present she is loaded with a very heavy debt, which will require length of time, joined with strict œconomy and close attention to her finances, to discharge. Nor will her commerce, though greatly recovered, suddenly forget the shocks it received in the last war. Agriculture has, through a series of mismanagement, been long on the decline in that country ; it was the error of the famous Colbert, that he wanted to form the French into a nation of manufacturers, and forgot that agriculture is the principal strength of a state. The French ministry, as well as the nation, seem now fully sensible of this error ; and agriculture meets with all that encouragement and attention which it so justly merits. It will, however, require length of time, and all the leisure of peace, to bring it in any degree near the perfection to which it is capable of arriving.

Upon the whole it is evident, that nothing can be so essential to the interest of France, as the continuation of peace ; and that they must be the most pernicious politics, which could at present urge it to enter wantonly into a war.

With respect to England, France seems at present to be in a state of perfect good neighbourhood ; nor is there any apparent cause of quarrel likely to disturb this harmony. It may not perhaps be quite visionary to imagine that the violent animosity and national prejudice, which has so long subsisted

between the two nations, is in some degree wearing off ; and it is observable, that more French of distinction have visited England since the last war, than at any other period since the English lost their great possessions in that country.

The most interesting event which the past year has produced in Holland, has been the marriage of the Prince Stadtholder with the Princess Royal of Prussia. Nothing could be more pleasing to the whole republic than this marriage, nor could any thing happen of a more interesting nature ; the public and private rejoicings they made, and the marks of respect and regard which they shewed the princess upon every occasion, sufficiently testified the sense they had of it. By this marriage the commonwealth has entered into a nearer connection with a great, a powerful, and a neighbouring prince, whose disposition, if not a certain friend, was always to be dreaded ; and the vicinity of whose territories to those of the states, would always furnish sufficient matter for altercation, whenever he chose to seek for it. At the same time this marriage is justly to be looked upon in a very interesting light with respect to the Protestant system in general, and to connect that chain of union, which it will always be so much the common interest to preserve between the maritime and northern powers, and the Protestant princes of Germany.

In the north, affairs at present wear the most benign aspect. The great disputes in Poland about the Dissidents, which seemed pregnant with so much danger to the general repose, are through the weighty and effectual mediation of the great



great powers, who by treaty, as well as connection, were interested in their consequences, brought into a train of being settled upon the most permanent and happy footing.

Germany has offered no matter of political observation during the course of the present year. The Emperor and King of Prussia spend the summers, either in reviewing their armies, or in making progresses through different parts of their dominions; by which they become eye-witnesses of the improvements that are requisite to be made, the encouragement that is necessary to be given, and of the distresses and wants of their subjects. Notwithstanding this attention to domestic and internal happiness, the two great powers of the empire are far from being negligent of their military departments; the sword seems only to slumber, but does not sleep, and their armies are kept compleat, and in the best condition. The Empress Queen has published an edict, whereby the soldiers in all her armies are allowed and even encouraged to marry, a corrective in some degree to the political mischiefs attendant on those extensive military establishments.

Turning our eyes to the southward, the scene is there also entirely pacific. Indeed the new Dey of Algiers had made some extraordinary demands upon the republic of Venice; among the rest, besides the payment of an exorbitant sum of money, he insisted that his corsairs should have free liberty to cruise in the gulf of Venice, and to take the ships of any nation with whom he was not bound by treaty; with this extraordinary

condition annexed, that if any of his cruizers should happen to be taken, the republic should repair the loss in ready money.

These dishonourable proposals were refused with a proper disdain by the senate; and as the Dey of Algiers had broken the peace, and imprisoned their consul, they equipped a squadron of men of war, which they dispatched to Algiers under the command of Admiral Emo to bring him to reason. The Dey continued obstinate; upon which the admiral, according to his orders, immediately declared war against him, and sailed out of the harbour to fulfil his instructions, which were to block up the port, and destroy all the Algerine corsairs he could meet with.

These vigorous resolutions soon brought the Dey to temper, and indeed to a submission as mean as his demands had been insolent; he found himself under a necessity of making use of the mediation of the British consul, to procure a renewal of the peace upon the original terms.

The other parts of Italy have afforded little remarkable, except the expulsion of the Jesuits from Naples and Parma; as these events are intimately connected with, or may rather be looked upon as consequences of the measures which had been already taken in Spain to the same purpose, we shall include them under that head; as well as the ineffectual remonstrances made by the court of Rome in their favour. The edict which has been past by the regency of Parma, with respect to ecclesiastical affairs, and which almost totally secludes the Roman see from all jurisdiction in that duchy,

regimes with the consequences, which are said to be an extraordinary one, will find their proper place in the transactions of the ensuing year. The power and interest of the court of Rome is daily losing ground in Italy; where other states, besides those we have mentioned, are taking measures to circumscribe it. The government of Milan, which includes the Austrian Lombardy, has published a law, by which all the rights which the pope or the bishops have hitherto exercised over ecclesiastics, either with regard to their effects or their persons, is transferred to a council, established for that purpose at Milan. All ecclesiastics are obliged to sell the estates which they have become possessed of since the year 1722; and no subject, whether ecclesiastic or secular, is permitted to go to Rome, to solicit any favour except letters of indulgence, without the consent of the said council.

This law is the same as that which was published at Venice under the pontificate of Benedict XIV. and which occasioned so many debates that the Republic was obliged to abolish it, in the beginning of the pontificate of Clement XIII. but the present law is passed at a period much more favourable to the independency of sovereigns.

Portugal has afforded but little material in the course of the past year. Whether from some mistaken notion in politics, or from some national prejudice, or whatever other cause, is uncertain; but the present prime minister in that country has taken every occasion during his administration, of dis-

couraging, restraining, and distressing the British factories and commerce in that kingdom. This conduct seems the more wholly unreasonable, as the very existence of that nation as an independent state, has so long and so often depended upon the powerful protection of Great Britain; which has also upon every other occasion, always acted the part of a most faithful ally and generous friend. If the advantages arising from the commerce between the two nations were not mutual, this conduct might admit of some plea in its justification; but the contrary is evidently shewn, by the great preference which has been so long given by England to the Portuguese wines, for which they could find no other market, and the consequent immense consumption of them in these countries. Many have with reason been surprized at the supineness of the British ministry, in putting up so long with the frequent oppressions, insults, and indignities, which have been so repeatedly offered to the English merchants in that country. Nor have they been less surprized at the temerity of the Portuguese minister, in venturing to rouse the indignation of a nation, which could so easily and so effectually do itself ample justice.

The irregularity and inclemency of the seasons for some years past in different parts of Europe, has occasioned an uncertainty and great deficiency in the crops of several countries, by which the poor have suffered great distresses. The ecclesiastical state, and some other parts of Italy, have been severely affected by this calamity, and were it not for that happy effect

effect of navigation and commerce, by which the wants of one nation are supplied from the superabundance of another, famine would have thinned the race of mankind in many places. England, which usually supplied its neighbours with such immense quantities of grain, and allowed a considerable bounty on the exportation of it, has been a sufferer from the same cause; and it has required the utmost attention of the legislature, to guard against and prevent the dreadful consequences attending it.

It gives us pleasure to observe, as a distinction peculiar to the present age, the friendly intercourse, harmony, and free communication of knowledge, which at present subsists between the learned of all the countries in Europe; and

which is not interrupted by the squabbles or wars between their respective states. This good disposition does not only add greatly to the advancement of knowledge and learning, but will also have a happy effect in wearing off those illiberal prejudices, and inveterate animosities, with which, to the misfortune of mankind, they are so apt to regard all those whom they do not know, and who do not form a part of the same particular community, or speak the same language with themselves. This liberal intercourse, together with the continual translation of books from one language to another, will by degrees bring mankind in some measure acquainted, and it is to be hoped, wear off a great part of that hearty ill-will which they bore to each other as strangers.

## C H A P. II.

*Strict attention of the government of Sweden to prevent luxury. An important law made for enlarging the liberty of the press in that kingdom. Denmark. Great preparations making in Russia to observe the transit of the planet Venus over the sun: The Empress writes a letter upon that subject to the academy at Petersburg. Deputies from all the provinces of the empire are summoned to Moscow, to form a new code of laws. State of affairs in Turkey. Encouragement given by the Grand Seignior, to introduce the art of printing in his dominions. The piratical states of Barbary refuse to pay the ancient tribute to the Porte. An insurrection in the province of Montenegro.*

**I**N Sweden, the whole attention of the diet, as well as the ministry, is directed to the improvement of their manufactures, the encouragement of agriculture, and the restriction within the narrowest limits of every kind of foreign superfluity. The sumptuary laws, and those against every species of

luxury, are put in execution without distinction of age or quality; and it seems to be laid down as a maxim, to enforce the most rigid private, as well as public economy.

This principle has been pursued to the minutest detail, and enforced with the greatest rigour.

A counsellor of state, who had neglected to have a velvet border stript off a cloak, which he had worn for many years, was summoned before the tribunal, whose province it is to put the edict against luxury in force, and received a severe reprimand from those grave judges for the misdemeanor. A lady also of the first quality, was obliged to appear before the same tribunal, and underwent an equal censure for drinking a dish of chocolate in her box at the playhouse.

Among these regulations, many of which seem of a trifling nature, one has been made of the greatest importance; a law for enlarging the liberty of the press. By this edict, all persons have liberty to write and reason, on all subjects in general, and to publish their opinions. The laws of the kingdom, their utility, or their bad effects, are subject to discussion and censure. All alliances ancient and modern, in which the kingdom is engaged, and all new ones which may be hereafter proposed, or even concluded, are subject to a free enquiry, and to have the good or bad consequences attending them pointed out.

In order that the publick may receive the most authentic information upon all these points, every person has a right to demand, of the different colleges established for the administration of public business, from the senate to the courts of the lowest jurisdiction, a communication of the registers or journals, wherein all their decisions are entered. The courts are obliged to keep these journals very correct; and the debates; the dif-

ferent opinions upon each subject; the decisions in every cause, with the reasons for them, are to be inserted. Any person, in whatsoever office, that refuses to communicate these registers, is to lose his place.

The senate alone has an exclusive privilege of not communicating its debates upon foreign matters; which it may for a time be requisite to keep secret. Every person has liberty, during the sessions of the diet, to make observations on the debates and resolutions of each deputation of the states, concerning any business whether general or particular, except such as regard the immediate administration of government; and may print his observations on the subject. And to facilitate a free enquiry; the king is to get an exact account of the situation of the state in every department, made out and printed, before the meeting of each diet.

There are however some restrictions, which will sufficiently guard against the licentiousness of authors. No person is to write against the established religion of the kingdom, nor against the fundamental political constitution, nor the rights of the different orders of the state. Personal satires and pasquinades, contrary to the respect due to crowned heads, or injurious to the reputation of private persons; are strictly forbid.

The printer is ordered to insert the author's name in the title-page of each book; in which case, the author alone is liable to be brought to an account for any exceptionable passage; but if the printer neglects this injunction, he is to be considered as the author, and is

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answerable for the book. There is however an exception, that if a writer has particular reasons for not publishing his name, his leaving it in writing with the printer, to be produced if legally called for, will discharge the latter from all the consequences. This liberty, that is granted to the public, of investigating the principles upon which their own business is conducted, and of animadverting, as well upon the acts of the senate, as upon those of the courts of justice, and the other departments of the state, will be so great a check upon the conduct of them all, and attended with such manifest advantages to the people, that it requires no comment to explain them, and is such a precedent as may well deserve the attention of other states.

A general spirit of improvement seems to reign through the north. The young King of Denmark appears to set out with all those dispositions which can contribute to make his people happy, and the state respectable.

His Majesty is said to have a scheme in agitation to restore the peasants in his dominions to some share of their natural liberties; in which if he succeeds, he will acquire great honour; and by granting to the lower, and more numerous part of his subjects, the enjoyment of personal freedom, will make amends to the country for the loss of their political constitution.

The Empress of Russia still proceeds on the same enlarged and enlightened plan, which we have had occasion heretofore so much to commend. She still continues to

cultivate and encourage the arts and sciences; to make her empire an asylum to the learned and ingenious; and to reform the manners, and instruct the minds of the people, through the extent of its most distant provinces.

The transit of the planet Venus over the sun, which is to happen in the summer of 1769, has added a new opportunity of shewing as well her munificence, as the attention she pays to astronomy. This great princess wrote a letter from Moscow with her own hand, to Count Wolodimer Orlov, director of the academy of sciences at Petersburg; wherein she desires the academy to inform her of the most proper places in her dominions for the making of those observations; with an offer to send workmen, &c. and to construct buildings in all those places, which the academy may think proper for the purpose, and to grant every other assistance to the undertaking which it may require. She also desired, if there was not a sufficient number of astronomers in the academy to make observations in all the places required, to give her notice, that she might send a proper number of the officers of her marine, to qualify themselves, under the eye of the professors in the academy, for that undertaking.

Such is the extent of this vast empire, that the observations which are to be made, both on the transit and exit of this planet, the one in the frozen regions towards the pole, and the other on the borders of the Caspian sea, are to be made within its own limits; to some part of which, astro-



astronomers from every part of Europe are preparing to go to behold that remarkable event.

We observe with pleasure upon this occasion, that English artificers preserve the rank they have hitherto held in the mechanics subservient to this science. The academy at Petersburg has applied to a member of the royal society of London, to procure the necessary instruments for the purpose of proceeding successfully in that important observation. Mr. Ramousky, who was the writer upon this occasion, candidly acknowledges the great joy of the academy, and their obligations to Mr. Short, for procuring them those instruments; and confessed their doubts of being able to answer the views of the Empress, till they had received his letter. Our readers will see two letters upon this occasion, in the Appendix to the Chronicle.

With respect to internal policy; the Empress of Russia has undertaken a great and arduous task, and worthy of an exalted mind. The laws of this vast empire were voluminous to a degree of the greatest absurdity, were perplexed, insufficient, in many cases contradictory, and so loaded with precedents, reports, cases, and opinions, that they afforded an eternal scene of altercation, and were scarcely to be reconciled or understood by the very professors of them. The particular laws of the different provinces were also continually interfering and clashing, and caused such confusion, that the whole presented an endless chaos, and effaced almost every trace of original system or design.

This Augean stable the empress has determined to clean; to which purpose she summoned deputies from every province in the empire, to attend her at Moscow, there to form an entire and new code of laws, for the government of the whole. The success attending this patriotic attempt, will, we hope, make a part of the subject of our future observations.

We have already had an opportunity of taking notice of the good qualities of the present Grand Selg-nior; his humanity to his brothers, and the perfect and friendly good neighbourhood he has observed in all the troubles of Poland, are much to his honour. He continues to give fresh opportunities of extolling his character, and has in a recent instance again departed from the rigid policy of the Porte, by admitting the young Prince of Wallachia, to succeed his father in that office. He has had also an opportunity of shewing his humanity and benevolence, on occasion of one of his men of war which took fire in the harbour of Constantinople, and was the cause of a great many ships belonging to his subjects being consumed. Upon this occasion, though it was after midnight, he attended in person, and gave his orders with the greatest activity, to prevent the farther dreadful effects of the conflagration; and gave directions that the unhappy sufferers should be paid their full losses out of his treasury.

But the particular circumstance of his life, which may possibly preserve his name with great honour to posterity, when even the cruel and ferocious conquests of his predecessors are lost in oblivion,

vion, is the encouragement he has given to the introduction of the art of printing in his dominions. He has also issued orders for the translating of several of the most valuable books from the European languages into the Turkish. It will not require the aid of a very warm imagination, in some degree to conceive the great revolutions in the manners of the people, and in the policy of the state, which the introduction of learning into that mighty empire might probably occasion. Upon the whole, this prince's reign has been hitherto marked with a lenity, gentleness, and equity, which have been till now but little experienced under the Ottoman line.

The piratical states of Barbary have entirely thrown off that dependance which, ever since the days of the famous Barbarossa, for above two hundred years, they have had on the Turkish empire. A Seraskier, who was sent by the Porte to Algiers, to demand twenty years tribute, which was then due, was answered by the Dey, that he was firmly resolved, not only to refuse to discharge the arrear, but also to pay any tribute for the future: That the state of Algiers was absolutely free and independant of the Porte; that it stood in no need of the Porte's protection; and that he, the Seraskier, might return to Constantinople with that answer. The Seraskier, was not more fortunate in the execution of his commission to the rest of those states, on each of whom he had demands of the same nature, and received answers from them all nearly to the same purpose. We do not find that the Porte has taken any measures in

consequence of this refusal, either to enforce the demand, or to resent the contempt shewn to its authority; nor is it probable that the present state of its marine will admit of such an attempt.

In a government constituted like this it is not easy to say what effects, causes, even in appearance the most trifling, may produce. Many symptoms of weakness manifest themselves in this great empire. A little prince of Georgia has been capable of giving it a considerable alarm. The piratical states of Barbary do not think it worth while, as we have seen, to purchase its protection. An insurrection of peasants in a frontier province, which would in some countries be little more than an object of police, may have there serious consequences on the state.

An insurrection of this kind has happened this year in the province of Montenero, which is tributary to the Grand Seignior, but which borders upon the Venetian Dalmatia. The country is rough, mountainous, and in a great measure inaccessible; the inhabitants partake of the nature of the soil and situation, and are rude, ferocious, and warlike. These people are of the Greek religion; and though they have at different times paid tribute, both to the Turks and Venetians, yet from their situation and other circumstances, they have escaped that total state of subjection and servitude, to which the neighbouring possessors of a happier soil, and more accessible country, were subject.

A foreigner, who exercised the profession of a physician, and went by the name of Stefano, has for some time resided amongst these people,

people. This adventurer, who is described to be a man of fine figure and great address, taking advantage of their ignorance, and of a violent attachment, which from religion and some former benefits they have to the Muscovite name and nation, has publicly declared himself to be the Czar Peter the III<sup>d</sup>; and pretends that the report of his death was designedly spread at the time by his friends, to favour his escape, which he happily effected.

Under the favour of this name, and by the assistance of the Caloyers, (Greek monks) who have warmly seconded his pretences, and who have a great influence over the inhabitants, he has got himself received and acknowledged as the Czar, not only by the people, but by the bishop and all the other orders; and is said to be already at the head of some thousand soldiers.

This adventurer is said, though probably without foundation, as

it is usual to magnify such matters, to have money in great plenty, and to distribute it among his soldiers with the utmost profusion. The province contains, it is said, 30,000 men able to bear arms. This affair not only giving some alarm to the Porte, but also to the state of Venice, their troops in Dalmatia have been ordered to assemble upon the frontiers, under the command of a general. After all, it is probable that this insurrection will not be attended with any other consequences, than its being a fresh instance of the ease with which a daring impostor may for a short time delude an ignorant people, and of the almost certain destruction to the undertaker which finally concludes the attempt. This is not a suitable period of time for the revival of counterfeit Demetrius's; nor could they now set capital cities in flames, lay nations waste, and wade through torrents of blood as heretofore.

### C H A P. III.

*State of affairs in Poland. Original causes of the late disputes. Ancient state of that country. Conversion to the Christian religion. Accession of the great duchy of Lithuania and other provinces to the kingdom of Poland. Antient state of the constitution, of religion, &c. Remarkable law passed by Sigismund Augustus, in favour of Christians of all denominations. Final union of the kingdom of Poland and the great duchy of Lithuania. The kingdom modelled into a republic, upon the death of Sigismund Augustus. The first diet of the republic. A perpetual peace agreed upon between the Dissidents. The original meaning of that term.*

**T**HOUGH we gave a short sketch in our last volume, of the causes of dispute that subsisted between the Roman Catholic and Dissident parties in the

kingdom of Poland, yet as these disputes have become every day since more interesting, both in respect of the consequences to the parties principally concerned, and

of the high powers who are mediators on the occasion ; we imagine a clear but concise account of the nature and origin of them will not be unacceptable to many of our readers.

Poland, properly so called, was originally circumscribed within very narrow bounds ; the inhabitants, between the 9th and 10th centuries, were converted to the Christian religion, as it was then professed by the church of Rome. About the same time a conversion was begun in many of the neighbouring provinces, which were then independant states, and who at different eras embraced the Christian religion according to the Greek mode of worship. In process of time many of these neighbouring states, by conquest, by right of succession, by marriage, or by compact, became united to the kingdom of Poland ; upon all which accessions the new provinces were upon an exact equality with the old in every respect, and each observed their own particular modes of worship.

The greatest and most remarkable of these accessions, was that which took place upon the marriage of Jagellon, great duke of Lithuania, to the daughter and heiress of Lewis king of Poland. By this marriage the great dutchy of Lithuania, together with the provinces of White Russia, Podlachia, Volhinia, Podolia, and soon afterwards Red Russia, became annexed to the kingdom of Poland ; with this distinction, that the union between the kingdom and the great dutchy, depended only upon the continuance of the Jagellonic line ; that family being the natural sove-

reigns of Lithuania. The inhabitants of all these provinces were of the Greek religion, as well as those of Moldavia, Wallachia, and the Ukraine, which were added to the kingdom by the successors of Jagellon ; so that by these great accessions, the members of the Greek church became at that time vastly superior, both in numbers and power, to those of the Roman Catholic persuasion. It seemed a felicity peculiar to Poland, that this difference of opinion in religious matters, between the members of the same nation, had produced none of those ill consequences, those animosities and disputes, which other countries had so fatally experienced from the same causes.

It is to be observed that the constitution of Poland was originally very different from what it is at present. While her kings succeeded to the kingdom by hereditary right, she had no share of that boasted liberty, which she has aspired to, since by the extinction of the Jagellonic line, in the person of Sigismund Anno Augustus, she has assumed the form of a republic, 1572. and made the crown entirely elective. Under the kings of the Jagellonic, as well as the more ancient races, the inferior nobility had no power ; the prerogatives of royalty were almost the only legislative power, and formed the code of laws. To give an exact idea, how much the liberty of the nobility was limited, it is sufficient to remark, that the security of their persons was not allowed them, but by a privilege from Jagellon, by which he promised that no person should be imprisoned, till

till he had been convicted of some crime by a court of judicature.

Upon occasion of the disturbances which were caused by the Hussites, in Germany and Bohemia, Uladisslaus Jagellon, who was brother-in-law to the Anno emperor Sigismund, caused 1424. some sanguinary laws to be passed in Poland, to prevent the introduction of these doctrines, considered as heresies, into his dominions. At this period, and for many years after, the episcopal courts had great powers, which proved very uneasy to the Polish nobility, and kept them in some respects in a kind of servitude; as excommunications divested them of the power of acting in the diets and dietines. This grievance was at length removed, with great joy to the nation, though with no small difficulty, by that great prince Sigismund Augustus.

The reformation began very early to make a great progress in Poland, insomuch that the majority of the senators and nobility became members, either of the Lutheran, or Reformed communions. We are to observe, that the word *Reformed* in the writings upon this subject, always signifies the Calvinists, in contradistinction to those of the Lutheran profession. To prevent all the mischiefs and dangers that might arise among the citizens on the score of religion, Sigismund Augustus passed a law at the diet of Vilna, on the 16th of June, 1563, which law is still preserved among the archives of the supreme tribunal of the grand duchy of Lithuania; whereby it is declared, that all those of the equestrian and noble orders,

whether of Lithuanian or Russian extraction in every part of his dominions, even though their ancestors had not gained the rights of nobility in the kingdom of Poland, shall, provided that they *profess the Christian religion*, be entitled to, and enjoy, all the rights, privileges, and liberties, to which they are naturally intitled by their rank and nobility. Likewise, that they are to be admitted to the honours and dignities of the senate and crown, and to all noble trusts; that they shall be promoted, each according to his merit and dignity, to all dignities and considerable trusts; and no one shall be excluded from them for the sake of religion, provided *he be a Christian*.

The same prince, five years afterwards, at the diet of Grodno, in 1568, granted letters of confirmation on the same subject, wherein the same articles are recited word for word; and to prevent the construction in their own favour, which some prevailing denomination of Christians, in prejudice to the rest, might put upon the words—*provided he be a Christian*,—he made use in the letters of confirmation of the following memorable ones, —*of whatever Christian communion or confession soever he be*.

It is to be remarked with attention, as an observation upon which much of the knowledge of the subject depends, that these concessions and declarations are stated to have been made during the great transaction of an union between the kingdom of Poland and the great duchy of Lithuania. This was the greatest and most consequential event, with respect to the two nations, that ever happened, and was happily accomplished by this prince; so that

that these concessions are with justice to be regarded not only as laws, but as parts of the great fundamental compact, upon which the union of the two nations depended. That they were then regarded as such, is evident from their being included among the other general and particular privileges, which were granted during that transaction, and afterwards received an equal confirmation at the diet of union, held at Lublin under the same prince in the year 1569, by which the grand dutchy of Lithuania was for ever united to the crown of Poland.

Upon the death of Sigismund Augustus, the Polish constitution was entirely changed, and the nation assumed the form of a republic. His grandfather, Casimir the third, was the first who convened the nobility, in order to oblige them to accept the new impositions. Sigismund and his father used the same method; but after his death the whole legislative authority fell into the hands of the nobility.

At this period it is asserted, that the Roman Catholics in the kingdom did not bear a proportion in number to the Greeks and Reformed, of more than one to seven. The Grand Marshal Firley, who convened the first diet of the republic, that diet which formed its present model, and made the crown elective, was a Protestant. A perpetual peace betwixt the Greeks, the Roman Catholics, and the Protestants, was therein established, as a fundamental law of the republic. The wars in Germany under Charles the Vth, and in France under Catharine de Medicis, made them sensible of the necessity they were under of tolerat-

ing each other. The Catholics are said to have been by far the weakest, and thought themselves happy in the concession made to them, that the ecclesiastical property and revenues of Catholics should not be given to any but the members of their own communion, in the same manner as those appertaining to Greeks were to be bestowed on Greeks only. They promised to each other mutual defence and affection, and that a difference in religion should never prove the cause of civil dissension, unanimously resolving to make an example of that person, who under such a pretext should excite disturbance.

As this law has been repeated in all the public acts, constitutions, and *pacta conventa*, from that time to the present, it cannot but be allowed to be a fundamental one; nor can any other law be produced, whose sanction has been more solemnly, more constantly, and more frequently repeated. However, when the Roman Catholics, after the death of Sigismund the third, had gained an evident superiority, though they did not think proper openly to controvert it, yet they shewed a disposition, when opportunity was favourable, to infringe it, by placing under their signatures, *salvis jurebus ecclesie Romanæ Catholicæ*, saving the rights of the Roman Catholic church; whereupon the Dissidents, by way of reprisal, wrote under their signatures, *salva pax inter Dissidentes*, saving the peace amongst the Dissidents.

It appears from the infancy of the republic, that the term *Dissidents* equally comprehended the Greeks, Catholics, Reformed, and Luth-



Lutherans. The words of that famous constitution which we have just mentioned, and which was passed by the diet which formed the republic in the year 1573, are, *Nos qui sumus Dissidentes in religione, i. e.* We who differ in religious matters. In the same constitution, it is declared, that they will acknowledge no man for king or master "that shall not confirm by oath all the rights, privileges, and liberties, which they now enjoy, and which are to be laid before him after the election. Particularly, he shall be bound to swear, that he will maintain the peace among the Dissidents in points of religion." In the constitutions of the same diet, are the following remarkable stipulations: "We all engage, in our own names, and in the names of our successors for ever, by the obligations of our oath, of our faith, of our honour, and of our consciences, to preserve peace among us who are *Dissidents in religion*; to shed no blood, nor to inflict on any one the penalties of confiscation of goods, defamation, imprisonment, or exile, on account of the difference of our faith, and rites in our churches. More than that, if any one should undertake, for the above reason, to shed the blood of his fellow-citizens, we should be all obliged to oppose him, even though he should shelter himself under the pretext of a decree, or any other judicial proceeding."

It would not be easy to produce instances of equal moderation in matters of religion, amongst a people who differed so widely in their opinions on that head, as these we have shewn; especially if it be

considered that these constitutions were passed by a fierce and warlike nobility, each of whom was not only a member of the general sovereignty, which they had just taken into their own hands; but also looked upon himself in his own particular right, as in some degree a sovereign, as far as his estate and power extended. We shall pay the greater regard to the memory of those illustrious Poles, if we reflect that the age they lived in was far from being a temperate one, and that moderation was but little cultivated in the most civilized and best regulated governments in Europe; at the same time it cannot be sufficiently lamented that their posterity should so fatally lose sight of the politic, humane, and noble precedent, that was set them by their fathers.

Those who have not considered that perverse disposition, by which almost every denomination of mankind would endeavour to plunder, enslave, and persecute every other part of their own species; and who have not observed that words can always be found, when attended with power, to explain away the most explicit sense, and the most indubitable rights; may well be surprised how a law, so solemnly passed, and so useful to the whole community, could be rendered fruitless. A law sanctified by the most solemn acts, which the framers bound themselves and their posterity by the most sacred oaths to preserve inviolate to all futurity, which formed a principal part of the constitution of the state, and which every king at his accession was sworn to observe. Yet this law, without any material change, much less a subversion of  
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the constitution of the country, has been manifestly broken through, while three of the religions, which formed the original compact, have been spoiled of their rights, liber-

ties, and immunities, by the fourth; and all this outrage and wrong committed under colour and sanction of the very laws they were tearing to pieces at the instant.

## C H A P. IV.

*The causes assigned for the great superiority which the Roman Catholics in Poland have acquired over the Greeks and Protestants. Account of Sigismund the third. Treaty of Oliwa. Edict against the Arians. Constitution of 1717. Oppression of the Dissidents in consequence of it. Constitution of 1736. Confederacies formed by the Dissident nobles. Declaration of the Empress of Russia in their favour. Of the King of Prussia, &c. Malecontents. The diet meets; some of the members arrested by the Russians. A commission appointed finally to settle the affairs of the Dissidents.*

**I**T must appear surprising that the Roman Catholics who are represented as having formed so small a part of the whole, at the time of establishing the republic; and who, from their weakness and inability of defending themselves, seemed the most liable to oppression, should notwithstanding become the most numerous and powerful, and be able to tyrannize over the rest of their brethren. It is not improbable that this part of the picture has been a little overcharged by the writer from whom we derive our materials. Among the many causes by which this persuasion is said to have obtained the ascendancy, and by degrees the exclusive possession of government, the following seem to be the principal.

Upon the death of Sigismund Augustus, and the foundation of the republic, Szafraniec, a Protestant, was proposed for King, and his accession wished by great numbers; but the Dissidents in general, from a grateful attachment to the Jagellonic family, preferred

the interest of the Princess Anne, sister to the late king, and made it a rule that whatever prince was elected should marry her. This princess who had been all her life in the hands of the Romish clergy, and was violently attached to their principles, obliged Stephen Bathori, who married her, to change his religion. And what was attended with much worse consequences, put her nephew Sigismund, who she afterwards had interest enough to get elected king upon the death of her husband, into the hands of the Jesuits for his education.

During the long inglorious reign of her nephew, Sigismund the third, which lasted for near half a century, all the material interests of the nation were entirely neglected, and went accordingly to ruin. The bigotted monarch's whole time was applied to the bringing over of converts, in which he neither regarded the means used, nor the sincerity of those converted; and carried on every degree of persecution and oppression against those, who had

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honesty

honesty and resolution enough, neither to be debauched by rewards, nor compelled by threats.

It is said of this weak prince, that the conversion of a Dissident, the demolition of one of their churches, or the founding of a new college of Jesuits, were more prized by him, than the gaining of a victory, or the preservation of a province.

That the whole course of his administration was so odious, that even the Catholics, and the great Zamoisky, his protector, who had placed him on the throne, were highly incensed at his conduct, and reproached him bitterly in public for it. That by a constant perseverance in this conduct, his whole reign was a continued series of loss and disgrace; that by it he lost the kingdom of Sweden, as well as the noble provinces of Livonia, Wallachia, and Moldavia. That the misfortunes incurred by it, were not confined to his reign, but are entailed upon the latest posterity; for the great revolt of the Cossacks, which gave so irretrievable a shock to the republic, was a consequence of it, and concerted during his life.

And matters were carried to such a pitch at home, that a great part of the nation were at one time upon the point of dethroning him.

People who take a transient and distant view of the affairs of Poland; and who, from its name and form of a republic, look upon their kings to be nearly nominal, and their power circumscribed within very narrow limits, will be surprised how so weak and bigotted a prince could have the power of doing so much harm. But the Kings of Poland have still,

in some respects, very great powers, one of the principal of which, besides the dependance that is naturally created by the disposal of governments and all offices and places of trust or emolument, is, that these very offices are what constitute the senate, none of the members of which hold by any hereditary right; so that this body bears a more just resemblance to a king's private council and administration, than to an English house of lords, to which the Polish writers sometimes compare it. It should also be remembered, that in the days of Sigismund the third, the Polish nation were only newly emancipated from the government of a long line of hereditary kings, from whom he was descended on the mother's side, and under many of whom, they had arrived at the highest degree of splendour and glory. The kingdom of Sweden, which he possessed for a part of his reign, must have done more than contribute to dazzle the eyes of the people; and if we take all these causes together, we cannot avoid supposing that he had very superior degrees of power and influence; to what have been possessed by later monarchs.

It is no wonder then, that such a prince, during the course of so long a reign, with emoluments, honours, and preferments, to bestow in one hand, and persecution to threaten in the other, should have made an infinite number of proselytes. The event was answerable to what might have been expected: bishops abandoned their flocks; the priests and people were compelled to follow them. Every gentleman who embraced the

Catholic faith; immediately demolished all the churches of the Dissidents that were built upon his estates; the tradesmen that were settled there dispersed themselves to other parts, and the peasants were converted without difficulty. If the priest or any of the vassals were first converted, they were supported against the lord, who was compelled at length, by a variety of chicanery and vexation, either to become a convert; or to dispose of his estate. In this manner the Dissidents lost, during the reign of Sigismund, upwards of an hundred churches; and the Catholics increased to that degree, that from five only, who were members of the senate in the beginning of it; at his death they amounted to three parts of the whole assembly.

Though the Dissidents were not uniformly oppressed during the succeeding reigns; yet they met with such discouragements, as daily decreased their numbers; and means were at length found to keep them entirely

Anno 1660 out of the senate. By the treaty of Oliva, notwithstanding the general intention which then prevailed to deprive the Swedes of every pretence for ever again re-entering Poland; yet it is stipulated by the second article, "That all the subjects of the kingdom of Poland; of what condition or religion soever, were to enjoy for the future all the rights and privileges, as well temporal as spiritual; which they had enjoyed before the war." This is the celebrated treaty, which we have formerly taken notice of, and which is so often

quoted upon the present disputes; and it is to this treaty, that the great mediating powers became guarantees.

A severe law was passed in the following year; and in the same reign of John Casimir; against the Arians; who were charged with blasphemy; and declared heretics: it was also ordained, that all prosecutions against them, as being the cause of God; should be decided in the several courts; before all other causes. It was at the same time declared, that this law had not the least reference to the Dissidents, who were assured in the most solemn manner in the body of the law itself, that they should for the time to come be continued in the enjoyment of all their rights, employments, and honours; as before. Notwithstanding these express stipulations, this law has since proved a severe scourge to the Dissidents; to whom the clergy have applied it in all their suits; especially during the reigns of the two Saxon kings; who as new Catholics, affected to be very zealous to that religion, and violently attached to the clergy of it. To this very time, the trials of the Dissidents are determined *ex Registro Arianismi*; and as a cause of this kind is branded with the epithet of "abominable"; so no one person will venture to espouse the part of a person accused under this title.

Though the Dissidents met with various and numberless oppressions and injuries, during the course of the last century; yet they were still regarded; only as acts of sudden violence or outrage, and acknowledged to be contrary

to the laws ; which were open to applications for redress, when the temper of the times was tranquil enough to allow of it. But in the present century, an advantage has been taken, during the confusion which attended the troubles in which the republic has been so deeply involved, to get laws past which struck directly at all the rights of the Dissidents, and almost at their very existence ; by which it was intended, in process of time to bring the secular power to the aid of the ecclesiastic ; and from that means to prosecute them, under an appearance of justice.

The first attempt of this nature was in the diet that succeeded the troubles in the year 1717 ; and which met to ratify the treaty of peace then concluded between Peter the Great, Augustus the Second, and the republic. At this diet, through the cunning of Sieniawsky Bishop of Culm, an article was inserted in the treaty, as explanatory of an ambiguous article of a constitution, which had passed in the year 1632 ; by which explanation, it was falsely presupposed, that the Dissidents were forbidden by the said article, to build any churches after that period. This was managed so artfully, that the very deputies of the princes who signed the treaty, and Augustus himself, imagined that it only regarded the abuses introduced by the Swedes during the war, who had exercised public worship in some of the royal cities, where the Dissidents had no churches originally.

For the better understanding of this passage, it is necessary to ob-

serve, that frequent tumults having happened, and much blood having been spilt, by the rising of the populace in the great cities to demolish the Dissidents churches ; the latter, for the sake of peace, and to prevent bloodshed, consented to a constitution which was passed in the year 1632, by which they were bound to build no new churches in any of the royal cities. But by this new explanation, which now had the force of a law, and the effects of which soon began to appear ; all churches which had been built in any part of the kingdom since that period, were ordered to be pulled down ; and divine service was only allowed in those that were anterior to it. The nobles who kept ministers in their houses, and the ministers themselves, were in consequence of this inference punished, by fines, imprisonments, and banishment ; and the sense of the punishments and indignities was increased, from their being inflicted by inferior courts composed chiefly of clergymen. This method of procedure was the more extraordinary and unjust, as it was a direct violation of the express laws of the kingdom, by which it had been always decreed, that ecclesiastical differences in which the Dissidents were concerned, could only be brought before the diet ; and were neither to be tried or judged by any other tribunal.

Though the true design of this proceeding was not avowed ; yet such were the measures taken, and so violent were the party who supported it, that at the time the treaty was read, no person durst

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his vote, or speak one word for it; even the Prince Primate was not allowed to speak, thereupon, with many other Catholics, quitted the assembly; which has ever since, from that time, been stigmatized by the name of the Mute Diet. The resolution was read to the assembly, by all standing; and though the affair of so much consequence to her respects to the nation, to carry the favourite point, without debate or deliberation, hurried through almost instantly. Many of the Dissidenties, however, protested against it, and immediately quitted the diet. The Primate also and the Roman Catholics refused to assent to it; and as by the constitution of Poland, no conclusion is valid, that is not unanimously agreed to by the whole, so nothing but the most open and unjust force could give this explanatory article as a

the Great wrote a very severe letter, in which he expressed great displeasure, at the opinions that ensued in consequence of the article. Augustus also published an edict, to maintain the Dissidents in possession of their liberties; and a declaration that the obnoxious article should not be prejudicial to them. Neither the letter nor the edict was of any use to the Dissidents. Frederick, who was their best friend, at the present taken up with other affairs; and when he was able to afford them effectual relief by sending an army into Poland, he unfortunately for them Augustus had not power to assist them, nor had he inclina-

tion to disoblige the prevailing party.

The oppressions of the Dissidents grew every day greater. To such a degree did the Bishop of Wilna inflame the minds of the people against them, that they were by force drove out of the church, in which they were to have taken the oaths to qualify themselves for counsellors of the tribunals of Lithuania, to which they had been legally chosen; and from which they were excluded under pretence of the explanatory article, though offices were not at all mentioned by it. In every other respect matters were carried against them to the most extravagant pitch, under the same specious pretext; insomuch that endeavours were used, to prevent even their repairing their old churches; which were not in any degree included in it.

In this situation did their affairs continue till the election of Augustus the III<sup>d</sup>. and the diet which succeeded to the troubles upon that occasion in 1736. From this diet the Dissidents received a deeper wound than they had ever before experienced; for the constitution of 1717, was not only confirmed in its fullest extent, but they were also excluded from all public offices; and to shut them out from every hope of relief, it was decreed, that should they implore the intercession of any foreign power, they were declared traitors to their country, notwithstanding those were the very powers that were the guarantees of the treaty of Oliva. The Protestant country deputies of Prussia were present at this diet, and protested against the proceedings; but they were refused to be heard,

neither was their protest admitted in any of the courts of judicature; which was a notorious and public breach of the laws, as well as a violence to the Dissidents.

From this period, till of late, there were no permanent diets in Poland, and the affairs of the Dissidents fell every day into greater confusion. At the diet of 1764, both the two former fatal constitutions were confirmed; and it was enacted, that for the future, accusations might be brought against the infractors of those laws, before any of the courts of justice without distinction.

Our readers have already seen in the last volume, the proceedings in the diet of that year; the applications that were made in favour of the Dissidents by the mediating powers; and the declaration made by the diet at its breaking up, in answer to them. We then foresaw that the conclusions of the diet were as little likely to give satisfaction to the powers who had interested themselves upon the occasion, as they were to redress the grievances of the sufferers. The promise made by the declaration, that the Dissidents should be supported in their privileges according to the constitutions of 1717, 1736, and 1764, and that the bishops should consider their religious griefs; was in fact an assurance, that the three violent and destructive laws, which at once struck at their rights, liberties, and safety, should be enforced to the utmost against them; and that their grievances should, for the future, be referred to their most implacable enemies.

As this evasive, pitiful declaration, unworthy the representatives

of a great nation, could not succeed with the powers for whom it was intended; so the Empress of Russia, as one of the nearest and the most immediately concerned, was the first who shewed her disapprobation of it. In the mean time the Dissidents, being sensible that mildness and submission would only encrease their dangers and hardships, under the present prevailing party, who sought their destruction to encrease their own strength, and perhaps with a view to unhinge every part of the commonwealth, in this situation began to form confederacies in the different parts of the kingdom, for their mutual preservation and defence. Though their once numerous and boasted nobility, were at present reduced to little more than two hundred families, exclusive of those in the dutchy of Courland; yet they were animated to a bold attempt, by a sense of the wrongs they had so long endured, the immediate injuries which they all experienced, and the total destruction which they believed was preparing for them.

The first act of confederacy was entered into at Sluck, March 10th, 1767. by the nobles and citizens of the Greek communion, and the two evangelical confessions in the great dutchy of Lithuania. This act of confederacy was signed by a number of the nobility, who appointed Major General Grabowski to be their marshal, and a council to assist him. About the same time, a confederacy was entered into March 20th. at Thorn, by the nobility of the kingdom of Poland, who appointed Lieutenant Gene-



General Goltze to be marshal of the confederacy, with a council consisting of twenty-four members to assist him. This act of confederacy was signed by three hundred and eighty members besides the marshal. Many of the Catholics, urged by various discontents, must have joined in this confederacy, else it is hardly conceivable, when the numbers of Dissident nobility are reduced to that lowness, which we have mentioned above, on the same authority with the rest of the account, such large bodies could have been formed. In some time after, the three great cities of Thorn, Elbing, and Dantzick, published at Thorn an act of accession to this confederacy.

In the mean time the Empress of Russia sent a strong augmentation to her forces that were already in Poland, and published a declaration, wherein, besides reiterating the former remonstrances and complaints which she had ineffectually made, she animadverts severely upon the conduct of the late diet; avows her approbation of the general confederacies; declares her intention to support them with her utmost power; that she shall look upon any person or persons that offer them an injury, as her enemies; and that her troops have orders to act accordingly, and to procure a full reparation from those who should venture to attack them either in their persons or effects.

The Dissidents preserved a temper and moderation in their acts of confederacy, their manifestoes, and all their other writings upon this occasion. They modestly recapitulate their sufferings, they

make no remarks, nor use any pointed invectives against their persecutors; they talk with great reverence of the Roman Catholic religion; profess the greatest regard, love, and obedience to the king and the republic; and declare that nothing but inevitable necessity, the sense of impending danger, which threatened them and their families with certain, and almost immediate destruction, together with repeated evidences that the laws were no longer a protection, and were broke through in every instance, could have urged them to enter into their present union, though formed only for their own defence. In a word, the whole tenor of these writings shewed, that they wanted nothing but to sit down in peace and security; and every desire of dissension seemed very remote from their present disposition.

The Prussian minister delivered at this time, a very strong declaration from his master, to the king and the republic, wherein he commented severely upon the declaration made by the diet to the foreign ministers, and expressed great dissatisfaction at the contradiction, duplicity, and injustice to the Dissidents, which were couched in the very terms of it. He complained of the little attention that was paid to his friendly representations upon the subject, declared his approbation of the confederacy, and his intention to coincide with the Empress of Russia in protecting of it, and in procuring justice for the Dissidents. The confederacy was farther encouraged by the declarations of England, Sweden, and Denmark, which were all in its favour. However, no power but



Russia took a very active part in this business.

The example the Dissidents had given of entering into a confederacy, was soon followed by the generality of the Roman Catholic nobility throughout the kingdom; so that there were twenty-four confederacies formed in the great dutchy of Lithuania only. As these confederacies were formed in opposition to some political innovations, they were distinguished from the Dissidents by the appellation of Malecontents. Every one of the confederacies had a clause inserted in their articles, whereby they acknowledged the justice of the claims made by the Dissidents; and declared their resolution to have them reinstated in their rights and immunities.

In the midst of all these commotions, the strictest order was preserved throughout the kingdom, and we scarce hear an instance of a single outrage committed in any part of it. While affairs were in this situation, Prince Charles de Radzivil, remarkable for being obliged to quit his native country, and having his estates laid under sequestration, for the part he acted in opposition to the election of the present king, arrived in Poland; he was received with the greatest joy by the people, and was immediately declared, with great powers, marshal of the general confederacy of Malecontents. This prince assumed all the state and dignity of a sovereign; he published an universalia, in which he declares that all those who do not adhere to the general confederacy, shall be treated as enemies to their country. Among other extraordinary acts,

he prescribed a new oath of fidelity to the king and to the general confederacy: in this oath, along with the security of the Roman Catholic religion, the rights of the Dissidents were included; and the officers of the civil and military departments were obliged to take it, or lose their places. Some of the great officers of state are said to have resigned their places, rather than take this oath; the new Prince Primate took it voluntarily; some of the other bishops also took it.

The king seems to have been a silent spectator of all these transactions; which, it cannot be imagined, afforded him any degree of pleasure. He gave an audience to prince Radzivil, which it was observed continued only for a few minutes: upon the whole he shewed a coolness and command of temper, which has perhaps been seldom seen in such circumstances, but which was very convenient, where resistance was impossible. It should be observed, that all the different confederacies, whether Malecontents or Dissidents, had taken at their first formation an oath of the strictest fidelity to the king; and that it was also the first part of the oath that was prescribed by Prince Radzivil.

All parties seemed to agree, that nothing could restore the peace of the republic, but the summoning of an extraordinary diet: this measure was adopted, and the king issued orders accordingly. The dietines were in many places very tumultuous, and some mischief was done; some of the nobility cried out, that they made a part of a free people, and exclaimed against a foreign military force,

force, and the pretences of an assistance that ruled with the greatest degree of despotism. In some places the Russian officers, who attended at all the dietines, were insulted; however their opposition shewed rather their discontent than their power. It was evident that the diet was only a form; and that the Empress of Russia was the only governing power in Poland. The most refractory of these nobles were sufficiently punished; the Russian troops being sent to live at free quarter upon their estates. In the mean time,

the tribunal of the general Sept. confederacy was opened 25th. with great solemnity, in the palace of Prince Radzivil; where the re-union of the confederacy of the Dissidents, and of the general confederacy of the Malecontents, was declared.

At length, the so much wished and hoped for event took place; and the diet met at Warsaw. The king began, by addressing the assembly with a most pathetic speech, in which he strongly recommended concord to the members. This was followed by a speech from the Bishop of Cracow, much to the same purpose as that he had made last year; he inveighed warmly against the pretensions of the Dissidents, and reminded the king in the strongest terms of the oath he had taken to support the Catholic faith; and concluded by observing, that it was not sufficient for his majesty to bear the title of an orthodox prince, but that he should be so in reality. The diet, without proceeding to the election of a marshal, agreed, that prince Radzivil should perform the functions of that office.

Having met again on the next day, the affair of the Dissidents was carried on with great warmth. This induced Prince Radzivil to adjourn the diet to the 12th, in hopes that some of the present heat would wear off, and that a better method of treating the affair might be concerted in the interval. During this time every expedient was used, to qualify the heat of the opposite party, and to bring them into a disposition favourable to a happy accommodation. A plan was also concerted, which it was thought would be the most effectual one to answer the desired purposes; which was, that the diet should appoint a certain number of commissioners, out of the three orders of the state, to whom it should grant full powers to settle with the Russian ambassador, and finally to conclude upon all matters relative to the Dissidents.

All the attempts to introduce good temper, or even moderation, proved fruitless; and this third meeting of the diet proved more turbulent and tumultuous than the others. The bishops of Cracovia, Kiovia, and some other prelates, together with several of the magnates, spoke with more vehemence than ever, against all the pretensions of the Dissidents; and declared they never would consent to the establishment of a commission with full powers to enter into conferences with the Russian ambassador upon that subject. Several of the deputies answered them with great warmth; and the animosity among them rose to such a degree, that the marshal was obliged to prorogue the meeting to the 16th.

The

The Russian troops, who had for some months nearly surrounded, as well as intersected the kingdom of Poland, had now closely invested the city of Warsaw, and were in possession, and kept strict guards upon all the avenues leading to it. The day after this tumult in the diet, some detachments of their troops entered the city, and having seized the Bishops of Cracow and Kiowia, together with Count Rzewuski, the Waywode of Cracovia, and his son, and some other deputies, they carried them off prisoners. As nobody knew at first the destination of these grandees, nor even where they were carried to, this affair caused a great and general consternation. But though it intimidated some of the deputies belonging to that party; yet it only served to inflame others. Many people blamed the noble prisoners for the virulent and unguarded expressions they had made use of, in speaking of some of the great powers who had interested themselves in favour of the Dissidents. On the other hand it was alleged, that every deputy at the diet ought to speak his sentiments freely, and that if he exceeds the bounds of decency, with respect to any foreign power; it belongs to the tribunals of the kingdom to proceed against him judicially for it.

In this critical situation, the king seemed to have need of the greatest wisdom, and of the utmost extent of capacity, to devise means to guard against the dangers with which the state was surrounded; the hope of which, from the turbulence of the diet, grew every day more precarious. His majesty is said to have deli-

vered himself in the following terms, in a conference he had upon this situation of affairs: "There is little knowledge required to govern a vessel when the winds are favourable. A skilful pilot should know how to withstand the storm without abandoning the helm. I have several times entertained the design, as I still do, of abdicating the crown, the burthen of which I feel, but that my love for my country made me alter my resolution. You ought all, gentlemen, to consider the melancholy circumstances which you have drawn upon us. I have constantly employed all my endeavours for the good of the state; but few among you have assisted me with your support; and I find myself abandoned by the greater part: yet I can assure you, that if I had taken the course of abandoning you in my turn, you would now have found yourselves in a miserable situation."

The fourth meeting of the diet, notwithstanding the absence of the most turbulent members, was extremely tumultuous, and great heat and animosity was shewn by the different parties. The King, the Prince Primate, and the Nuncio of Podolia, made very pathetic and conciliating speeches; but it seemed as if nothing could calm the violent spirit which possessed the members. However, the diet having again met the following day, it was at last concluded, after long debates, to adopt Prince Radzivil's proposal, and to appoint a commission to settle the affairs of the Dissidents. This commission consisted at first of fourteen members, but was increased to about sixty;

October  
10th.

sity; their meetings were in the house of the Russian ambassador, and the diet, to give them time finally to settle, and thoroughly to examine into the important subject in which they were engaged, was prolonged to the first of February.

To this commission the republic of Poland is indebted for the prospect of a lasting harmony, between the different parts of which it is composed; and the Dissidents for the restoration of their just rights and privileges, and their future security in the enjoyment of them. The commissioners,

after many meetings, at Nov. length signed their resolutions, which were then transmitted to Moscow for the approbation of the Empress; after which they are to be passed into a law, and considered as one of the fundamental constitutions of the republic.

Though these resolutions are not authentically published; yet they are known to be founded upon the following basis: That the Catholic is to be considered as the predominant religion in Poland; of which profession the king is always to be. That the Dissidents,

both clergy and laity, with respect to worship and all other matters, are to possess equal rights, privileges, and immunities, with the Roman Catholics. And that a superior tribunal, consisting of an equal number of members of the three religions, is to be formed; the president of which is to be a Roman Catholic, a Greek, or a Protestant, alternately; and that all disputes whatsoever, relative to the Dissidents, are to be judged by it.

During these transactions, several applications were ineffectually made for the enlargement of the grandees who had been seized by the Russians: Prince Repnin, however, satisfied the minds of the people, by declaring they were not in close confinement, but were at large under the care of a detachment at Wilna, where they were treated with all the respect due to their quality. The Empress of Russia, upon an application that was made on this subject, is said to have made answer, that these nobles were possessed with so turbulent a spirit, that their liberty would destroy all the pains she had taken for the peace and happiness of the republic.

## CHAP. V.

*Spain. Measures relative to the expulsion of the Jesuits; the causes that are assigned for that proceeding. The houses of that society in every part of Spain seized by the king's troops; the members arrested, and their effects sequestered. The King of Spain's ordinance against the society. The Jesuits transported to Civita Vecchia; but are not suffered to be landed: from thence they are carried to Corsica. The Jesuits in Mexico, and all the other Spanish colonies, arrested, and their property seized. Similar measures pursued in Naples and Sicily.*

THE expulsion of the Jesuits this year from the Spanish dominions, is perhaps one of the

most remarkable incidents that has happened in the course of the present century. This event was not

not more extraordinary in its nature, than it was unexpected at the time, and unforeseen by the sufferers. Mankind have beheld with amazement a nation not only the most violently attached to the Roman Catholic religion, but also to the principles, interests, and views of the court of Rome, suddenly destroy, and almost totally annihilate a religious order, which had its birth and nurture in itself, and that had been long looked upon as the principal strength and support of the papal power.

This order, which had so long ruled the cabinets, and guided the consciences of kings; which had extended its power and influence into every quarter of the world; and which had great possessions, and still greater connections, in the very country from which it was proscribed; now beheld its unhappy members, fugitives, outcasts of all mankind, refused admittance by every nation in Europe, even by the sovereign pontiff, to whom they were so zealously attached; and after wandering about the seas, sailing from port to port, enduring numberless hardships, and finding every port shut against them, were at last happy to meet an asylum, which was procured for them with great difficulty in the barren island of Corfica.

Such is the uncertainty of human affairs, and such the influence that time has upon opinions, that this mighty blow was struck without the least disturbance; with scarce a murmur from the sufferers, and scarcely a remonstrance in their favour from those they might have thought their friends. The time has been, when an at-

tempt of the same nature might have overturned the best founded government in Christendom.

This event sufficiently shews, the great latitude that a freedom of thought and enquiry has gained in countries that were hitherto the most wedded to particular forms and opinions. It also evidently shews, that bigotry is not the reigning vice of the present age; whatever complaint may with too much justice be made of the progress of infidelity.

The real motives for this extraordinary expulsion have not been declared; those general ones that have been given out, are founded only upon uncertain surmises. The king, in the ordinance which he issued for their banishment, talks only in general terms of keeping his people in due subordination, of tranquillity, justice, &c. but professes other just, urgent, and necessary causes, which he reserves within his own breast. This compendious method of condemnation, for causes reserved in the judge's breast, and only known to him, who is at once the accuser, judge, and avenger of crimes; which he does not specify, may upon many occasions be very useful to sovereigns. But however this order may have merited the rigorous treatment, which they met on this occasion, the mode and circumstances of the proceeding against them furnish a striking instance of the miserable insecurity of private property, and the continual danger which all the natural rights of mankind are in of being violated, under a despotic government.

Some are of opinion, that the Jesuits had been the secret instigators

gators of all the late tumults that had happened in Spain; and consequently of the banishment of the Marquis de Squillacci, the king's favourite minister. Others attribute to them schemes still deeper laid and more dangerous, which, they say, the king fortunately discovered in time. It is possible that the example set by France and Portugal, together with the powerful influence which the former power has upon the court of Madrid, might have had its full weight upon this occasion. The Spaniards in general are much averse to this French influence; and it is asserted that the Jesuits, probably from resentment of the sufferings of their brethren in France, had taken great pains to encourage and heighten this dislike.

Many other causes have been assigned, which might have contributed to the extirpation of this society. Their conduct in Paraguay, with respect to the kings of Spain and Portugal; the contumacy with which they not only refused to submit to their edicts, but even opposed their troops in the field; might have given just grounds for the court of Spain to free itself from a body full of ambition and of power. They are also said to have monopolized, in a great degree, the commerce in the Spanish West Indies, to the great prejudice of the state, as well as to the detriment of individuals; and they are charged with holding opinions, and publishing tenets in their writings, which were not only destructive to religion, but subversive of all kingly government.

The secrecy with which all the measures leading to this event were

conducted, and the silence with which they were put in execution, were circumstances as remarkable as any that attended it. The Jesuits, notwithstanding their extensive correspondence and connection, and their usual good intelligence, were surprised in their beds, without the least time to avert the danger, or the smallest warning of the impending blow. This will appear the more extraordinary, as the king's ordinance, which was published upon the occasion, shews, that these measures were the result of a council, held the 29th of the preceeding January; and that the king's commission to the count de Aranda for the execution of them, was issued on the 27th of February.

Between eleven and twelve at night, the Mar. 31st, six different houses of 1767. Jesuits in the city of Madrid, were surrounded by large detachments of regular troops; who, having got open the outside doors, the bells were immediately secured, and a sentry placed at the door of each cell. When every necessary measure was taken, the Jesuits were ordered to rise, and being assembled, they were acquainted with the king's commands, and were then assisted in packing up such things as were requisite for their journey. In the mean time, all the hired coaches and chaises in Madrid, together with several waggons, had been secured, and distributed in proper places; so that without any loss of time, they began their journey to Carthagena very early in the morning, and were escorted by a strong and numerous guard. All this was effected without the least noise



noise or disturbance; the inhabitants of Madrid were in their beds, and knew nothing of what passed till they heard it to their great surprise in the morning, when the affair was entirely over.

On the third day after, in the morning, the Jesuits college at Barcelona was invested by the civil and military power; the members were sent off guarded for transportation, as those at Madrid had been; and their effects were seized upon and sealed up. The same measures were put in execution at the same hour in every part of Spain. The packets which conveyed the orders upon this subject to the governors, were inclosed in letters which gave directions, that they should not be opened till a certain hour; after which no person, to whom any part of the orders were communicated, was to quit the governor's sight till they were executed. In the mean time orders were sent to the sea-ports, to examine all persons who should attempt to take their passage to any part of the Spanish Indies, and to keep the strictest watch, that no Jesuit in any disguise should pass that way. Ships were also provided, and the prisoners were, by different embarkations, conveyed to Italy.

The king then published his pragmatic sanction, or royal ordinance, for the expulsion of the Jesuits. By this ordinance, the temporalities of the company, in every part of the Spanish dominions, are seized to the king's use. In the temporalities are included all their goods, chattels, and estates of every sort, but without prejudice to the real incumbrances affecting such estates. The priests belong-

ing to the society are to have small life annuities. The foreign brothers, which were pretty numerous, were entirely excluded from the benefit of these alimentary annuities, which were confined to native Spaniards.

It was declared by this ordinance, that if any of the expelled Jesuits should quit the ecclesiastical state, into which they were to be transported, or should, by their actions or writings, give the court any just cause of resentment, such persons should be immediately deprived of the pensions assigned them. But the severest injunction of all, and which made their hopes of a livelihood entirely precarious, was, that if the company caused, or permitted any of its individuals to write any thing contrary to the respect and submission due to the king's resolution, under title or pretext of apologies, or justifications, tending to disturb the peace of his kingdoms, or should in any other manner, by their private emissaries, make attempts of that nature; in such case, which was, however, said to be *unexpected*, the whole pensions were to cease and determine.

By the other articles, no part nor body of the company, nor no individual belonging to it, are ever to be re-admitted under any pretence, or for any cause whatsoever; nor is the council, or any other tribunal, ever to admit of any application upon that subject. On the contrary, the magistrates are to exert the most rigorous measures, and to punish, as disturbers of the public peace, all the abettors of such an attempt. All correspondence with Jesuits is forbidden under the severest penalties.

Silence



Silence is strictly enjoined to all the king's subjects upon this occasion; and any person who ventures to write, declaim, or make any stir, for or against these measures, is declared guilty of high treason. This law is extended to all the king's dominions, as well in the Indies, as in Europe and elsewhere.

In the mean time, the news of this event was received at Rome with the greatest astonishment; and before it could in any degree wear off, fourteen transports, under convoy of three Spanish men of war, arrived at Civita Vecchia, with 970 Jesuits on board. The governor refused to let them land till he had received instructions, and immediately dispatched an express to Rome. The arrival of this express threw the people into a great ferment, and the pope immediately summoned a congregation of cardinals to consult upon the occasion. The result of this council was absolutely to forbid the reception of the Jesuits in the ecclesiastical dominions; and orders were given to the governor of Civita Vecchia, to take such methods, as should effectually prevent their being landed.

About this time the King of Spain was said to have wrote the following laconic letter to the pope, as an explanation of the motives of his procedure against the Jesuits:

“Holy father,

All my tribunals having judged that the fathers Jesuits are of no service to my kingdoms, I could do no less than conform to their representations. Of this, as a son of

the holy church, I acquaint its supreme head. I recommend your holiness to the divine keeping.”

These reasons not appearing satisfactory, two couriers were sent to Madrid, who it is said made the following representations: That if the Jesuits are guilty, they are not sufficiently punished; but too much so, if they are innocent. That the laws seem to require, that citizens shall not be driven from their country, till they have undergone a trial, to make evident the proofs of their crimes. That as to the rest, though it is in the power of his Catholic majesty to treat his subjects in such a manner as may seem fit and convenient to him; yet he cannot oblige any other sovereign to give them an asylum in his dominions. That if the Catholic powers should all think proper to suppress the different religious orders in the countries under their dominion, and consign them to the disposal of his holiness, not only the ecclesiastical state, but the whole country of Italy, would be too small to contain such a number of new inhabitants.

No notice was taken of these representations. In the mean time, the convoy at Civita Vecchia, after lying some time in the harbour, received orders to proceed to Bastia; and the French court made use of its influence with the republic of Geneva, to receive the Jesuits in the towns that remained in its hands in the island of Corsica. At length the embarkation from Civita Vecchia arrived at Bastia; here they were as unfortunate

fortunate as before; matters were not yet brought to a conclusion between the French and Genoese, and they were obliged to remain on board, in the harbour. Three other embarkations took at different times the same rout as the first, to Civita Vecchia; where meeting with the same fate, they afterwards proceeded to Corsica, where they lay in the harbours of Bastia and San Fiorenza, but were not admitted to land. The conditions being at last settled with the republic, the different em-

barkations received orders to sail to Calvi, Algaiola, and Ajaccio: at which ports the transports were disburdened of their unhappy freight; and the surviving Jesuits, to the number, it is said, of two thousand three hundred, were landed.

Without considering the religious or political tenets of this society, (which appear to have been dangerous, from the general persecution raised against them in so many countries of their own persuasion,) we are obliged as men, to sympathize with them in the miseries which they underwent in their exile. The lyeing crowded for three months aboard transports, in the hottest season of a hot climate, would be reckoned a severe trial to land-men of the most robust constitutions. In this case we see a number of men of all ages and in every state of health, not inured to hardships, bred up to letters and a sedentary life; the constitutions that naturally attend that course of life, farther impaired by the grief, anxiety, and horror which must be the

consequence of banishment from their native country, from friends, relations and those ties so dear to mankind, and in that situation, obliged to undergo hardships, which prove so fatal to the hardiest and best-seasoned troops. The consequences were what might have been naturally expected: they died in great numbers; and the general calamity was increased upon individuals by some of the ships being separated in storms, and tossed about the islands of the Archipelago for several weeks.

As if all this had been only a prelude to the misfortunes of the Jesuits, the parliament of Paris published an arret against them, wherein they were declared enemies to sovereigns and the public tranquillity of kingdoms; and all those who had been indulged with the liberty of staying in the kingdom by the edict of Nov. 1764, were ordered to quit it in 15 days, under pain of criminal prosecution. By this arret, they are forbid ever to return, under any pretence whatsoever; and the king is to be supplicated to apply to the pope, and to all other Catholic sovereigns, and engage them to abolish a society, so dangerous to christianity and government. The other articles of this arret seemed to be a transcript of those published in the ordinance at Madrid.

The King of Spain's orders relative to the Jesuits were as well executed in the Spanish colonies as they had been at home. In the month of July the Jesuits of Mexico, to the number of 700, were suddenly arrested, without the least

least previous notice, and strongly secured till ships could be provided to convey them home. The same measures were as effectually pursued in other parts of the Spanish foreign dominions; and ships have since continually arrived in the ports of Old Spain, with cargoes of prisoners on board.

It is said that the confiscated estates and effects of the Jesuits in the provinces of Mexico only, were computed to amount to the immense value of 77 millions of piasters, or 385 millions of French livres. It is also said that the effects which were found in their warehouses in the different ports of Old Spain were valued at a prodigious sum; and that the Jesuits of Peru, and the southern provinces of the Spanish West Indies, were richer than those of Mexico. If these facts are truly stated, we may perhaps be able from them to form a more just conclusion of the causes that brought on the destruction of this society, than those that have been already assigned. Immense property in private hands; whether communities or single persons, has even in free countries been always attended with imminent danger to the possessors. In arbitrary governments, the only security that can attend such property, depends upon the wants, the disposition, or the caprice of a king or a minister; a tenure of all others the most precarious and dangerous.

Most of the Catholic powers in Europe had published edicts, during these transactions, to forbid, under severe penalties, the reception of the expelled Jesuits in any part of their dominions; so that

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there is scarcely an instance in history of any body of men so entirely cut off and separated from the rest of mankind. When affairs were entirely settled in Spain; and the novelty of the transaction began to wear off; the storm, which had been for some time expected, fell at last upon the Jesuits in Naples. The different houses belonging to the society in that capital, were suddenly invested by the civil and military power; their effects seized, and the members made pri- Nov. 20th. soners. The garrison in the mean time patrolled the city under arms; and prevented all disturbances.

The same measures were taken in every part of the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; where the Jesuits had possessions; and the prisoners were without ceremony, or leave being asked, all convoyed into the Pope's dominions; the vicinity of whose territories made every scheme of opposition fruitless. The court of Rome complained loudly at this outrage, and presented memorials to all the foreign ministers in that city. In these memorials the Pope complains, that the King of Naples has violated, in the first place, the divine right, by the manner in which his soldiers entered into holy places, and by the sequestration of the ecclesiastical revenues, without consulting the bishops; secondly, the right of mankind, by forcibly depositing some of his subjects in the dominions of his holiness, and by marching his troops into a country that was not his own; and lastly, the right of good neighbourhood,

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bourhood, in not communicating his design to the Pope, both as the head of the church, and as a temporal prince, who has the supreme sovereignty over Naples.

These memorials produced the same effect, which the remonstrances of weak princes to their powerful neighbours generally do; they were carelessly answered, and no farther notice taken of them. The cardinal Orsini, the Neapolitan minister at Rome, made a verbal declaration to the following purport; "That every sovereign having a right to drive from his dominions persons convicted of being enemies thereof," no other means could be found of getting rid of those fathers, than causing them to be escorted to the ecclesiastical state, since the kingdom of

Naples had no other frontiers; and that, as to the confiscation and management of the effects of the society, it no less belonged, by the same right of sovereignty, to the royal treasury.

It is said, that the number of Jesuits transported from the kingdom of Naples, exclusive of those from Sicily, to the papal dominions, amounted to fifteen hundred. This inundation of strangers was the more sensibly felt, as there had been so great a scarcity of corn for some years in the ecclesiastical state, that it was with the greatest care and difficulty that they could guard against a famine, besides that eight hundred of the Portugal Jesuits were still alive, and unprovided for there.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of Corsica; its antient state granted by a Pope to the republic of Pisa; conquered by the Genoese; oppressive and impolitic government of it. The Corsicans offer to submit themselves to the Turks. The beginning of the present troubles in that island; the Prince of Wirtemberg with an imperial army compels the malecontents to submit. The troubles begin again. Theodore proclaimed king. French army subdues the island; but upon their departure the malecontents renew the war with more fury than ever. Pascal Paoli declared general of the Corsicans; he drives the Genoese to the fortified towns upon the coasts; and establishes a regular government. The conquest of the island of Capraja.*

THE strenuous efforts which have been made for a number of years, by the natives of the island of Corsica, to recover their liberty from the Genoese; have in a considerable degree attracted the attention of the other nations of Europe. This seems now to be more particularly the case; as under the conduct of their present chief, they not only bid fair for being entirely independent, but they have drawn

the outlines, and seem disposed to establish a regular and permanent form of government; a measure, which the Genoese, without foreign assistance, are in no degree capable of preventing.

Republics, though fond of boasting of the great advantages of freedom, yet seem to think it too great a blessing to be communicated to others, so they are looked upon to be the worst masters in the world. The Italian republics have

have not escaped this censure; and one of the wisest of them is said to have suffered severely, and to have lost great power and property, by incurring it. Under such a mode of government, it is probable that the Corsicans had frequent and sufficient causes of complaint.

It was the peculiar unhappiness of the inhabitants of this island, that they were in all ages a prey to foreigners; doomed to feel the iron hand of oppression from every comer, they never seem to have had a fixed or permanent government of their own. This continual state of oppression depended in a great measure upon their central situation; in a manner surrounded by great, warlike, and powerful nations.

This island, after a continued series of revolutions, if passing from the hands of one tyrant to another may be called so, was at length granted by one of the popes to the republic of Pisa, which was then a very considerable maritime state. In the long wars which ensued between this republic and that of Genoa, Corsica was a particular object of their contention; and, after a tedious struggle, was conquered by the Genoese about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The conduct of the Genoese in the government of this island, seems in general to have been cruel, arbitrary, and impolitic. So large a number of nobles, who looked upon themselves as joint monarchs of an island, which increased their vanity by having the name of a kingdom, wanted each in his own individual person, to shew some extraordinary exertion of power,

that might perpetuate his fame as a sovereign. Sensible also of their own weakness, their councils were guided by continual fear and distrust; so that their system seemed to be rather to keep the island desert and barbarous, in hope of security in the possession, than to suffer any improvement that could make it beneficial either to the natives, or themselves.

The Corsicans were far from being passive during this long course of oppression. In the 16th century they carried on a bloody and desperate war, which continued several years, and in which they were very near succeeding against the Genoese; and when at last they were overcome, they offered to submit themselves to the Turks, rather than return under the yoke of their old masters.

The present troubles began about the year 1729; it is true, there have been some intervals of tranquillity, but they were only of a short continuance, and peace has never since been thoroughly established in the island. The Genoese, after several encounters, finding their own force insufficient to reduce the malecontents, were obliged to call in an imperial army under General Wachtendonck to their assistance; but this army being also unable to reduce the Corsicans, a stronger was obliged to be brought in under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg. The Corsicans, unable to resist so superior a force, were obliged to come into a treaty under the emperor's guarantee. The gaining of this point is said to have cost the Genoese thirty millions of French livres: The troubles arose from the cruel treatment of a poor

woman, for a single paolo, about five pence English, which was her share of a tax that she was unable to pay.

The peace was but of short duration: Soon after the departure of the imperial troops, the Genoese are said to have broke through every article of the treaty, and

1734. hostilities were again renewed with as much rage as ever. The Genoese, now left to their own strength, carried on the war with little success; there was a great deal of blood spilt, and much mischief done, but no effectual service performed; and while the country was continually wasted by both parties, its mountainous nature greatly befriended the natives. At this time Giafferi, who was the chief of the Corsicans in both these insurrections, chose for his colleague, Giacinto Paoli, father to the present general of that nation.

The Genoese were greatly embarrassed; they hired a body of Swiss and Grisons, who from the mountainous nature of their country, they thought might have been fitter for the Corsican service than their own troops. They also published an indemnity to all their assassins and outlaws of every sort, upon condition that they would fight the battles of the republic in Corsica.

It was during these transactions, that the famous Theodore Baron Newhoff arrived in the 1736. island, and was declared king of it. The history of this adventurer is well known. After about eight months enjoyment of his royalty, being seized with a consciousness of the fatal dangers which would probably attend the

detection of his falsehoods, and the imposition he had put upon the people, he prudently withdrew from his kingdom, under pretence of going to hasten the succours which he had so long promised.

The republic of Genoa was at length obliged to enter into a treaty with France, to reduce the Corsicans to obedience. It was in vain that the malecontents remonstrated to his most Christian majesty, against the cruelty and injustice of this procedure; a detachment of French troops were sent to Cor-

March, 1738. sica under the command of the Count de Boisseaux. Though these troops did a great deal of mischief in the island, yet they were insufficient to subdue the invincible spirit of the islanders. Upon this the French court sent the following year, the Marquis de Maillebois at the head of a considerable army to reduce them entirely to obedience.

This general executed the designs of his court effectually; the Corsicans were every where overpowered, and slaughter, ruin, and destruction were spread through every part of the island. He cut down the standing corn, the vines, and the olives, set fire to the villages, hanged numbers of monks and others who were most forward in the revolt, and spread such terror and desolation in every quarter, that the natives were once more obliged to submit to their antient bondage. The unprecedented and terrible slaughter which had been committed, with the dread of still greater vengeance from so formidable a nation as France, effaced every idea but that of immediate safety. The



two generals, Giafferi and Paoli, were obliged to quit the island, to which they never returned; they retired to Naples, where they got regiments, and spent the remainder of their lives.

Among many other proposals which the republic of Genoa made at this time to France, one was, to assign over a great number of the inhabitants of Corsica, who were to be sent to people the distant French colonies; upon which a French writer remarks, "that the Genoese would have been satisfied to be sovereigns of the bare rocks of Corsica, without subjects."

The French troops being at length withdrawn

from Corsica; the spirit of the inhabitants began again to appear in its full vigour. They had been obliged to deliver up their arms by the last capitulation; their exiled countrymen, in the different towns of Italy, supplied them with some; they stript the Genoese soldiers of others, which they were not very willing to use, but which were afterwards effectually employed against themselves.

No spirit was ever more general than that which appeared in this insurrection; men, women, and young boys, and even the clergy bore arms. They elected two new chiefs under the title of protectors; and having soon overrun the open country, they then besieged and took the capital city of Corte, together with its strong castle. A desultory kind of war has been carried on, with some intermissions, ever since.

In the year 1745, the English, as allies to the King of Sardinia, sent some men of war, who bombarded and took the cities of Bas-

tia and San Fiorenza, which they delivered up to the Corsicans. They however lost these cities soon after, in consequence of the dissensions produced by the ambition and disagreement of their leaders and principal men. In the year 1746, they sent proposals to the British ambassador at Turin, to put themselves under the protection of the crown of Great Britain; which proposals it appears were not accepted. In 1753, their leader Gaffori was assassinated by some ruffians, who were supposed to be set on by the republic, as they had pensions allowed them in its territories.

During these transactions, Giacinto Paoli led a retired life in Naples; his whole time was devoted to the education of his son Pascal, whose genius and disposition were so happy, that no part of it was mispent. The father seemed to have a pre-sentiment of what his son would arrive at; the course of education he prescribed, was calculated to form a prince and a legislator; and the young man made so excellent an use of the instructions which he received, that he became the admiration of strangers, as well as of his countrymen.

The Corsicans tired of the continual dissensions among their principal men, and of the consequent evils that attended them; charmed besides with the character and manners of young Paoli; sent a deputation to invite him to Corsica, and to offer him the supreme government of the island.

This offer was gladly accepted. 1755.

There was much to be reformed in Corsica: all forms of legal justice



had been long laid aside; he found neither subordination, discipline, nor union, amongst the people; all feuds and disputes were terminated by assassinations, every one of which begot a number of new ones; the people, trained up in continual war, despised agriculture, and every species of industry; in a word, Paoli seemed in many instances to have more difficulties to contend with, than the legislators of the most early ages.

The happiness of his genius, and the reverence that was paid to his virtues, enabled him however to triumph over all these difficulties. His persuasion and example had such force in forming the people, that he soon drove the Genoese to the remotest corners of the island; nor had they any security but in the few fortified towns which they possessed upon the sea-coast. He then attended to the civil part of the administration, in which he shewed such abilities and constancy, as were little to be expected in so young a man. He new modelled the government; but instead of taking advantage of the influence which he had on the people to establish a tyranny, he founded a democracy. He formed a great council of the nation, by which every person in it was represented by two members for every parish, who were elected annually. He formed good laws, and had them strictly executed; so that in a little time, he almost entirely eradicated the practice of assassination, as well as many other enormities.

He made many other regulations, which, if he pursues the same virtuous course in which he set out, will perpetuate his name

with great honour to posterity. He established an university at Corte; he had proper schools fixed in all the villages in the kingdom; and by these means he opened the minds of the Corsicans, and gradually prepared them for the reception of laws.

In the mean time, the republic of Genoa finding herself incapable of defending the few fortified places which remained in her hands, entered into a negotiation with France; in consequence of which the latter sent six battalions to secure them, according to treaty, for four years. These troops were restrained, by the conditions, from acting offensively against the Corsicans.

This measure having in a great degree circumscribed Paoli's operations by land; it also served to direct his activity to another sphere. He had for some time past taken great pains to form something like a marine force; he now attended to it with greater diligence, and was so successful as greatly to incommode the Genoese trade, as well as their conveyance of troops and stores, &c. to Corsica. In the course of this year he formed a successful design, which was as unexpected by his enemies, as it was surprising to the rest of Europe.

The island of Capraja, on the coast of Tuscany, belonged to the Genoese; it is about six miles in length, and from two to three broad; it is very rocky and mountainous, but fertile in vines, of which it produces a great quantity. The inhabitants are computed to be about 3000; and the men are said to be the best sailors

in the Mediterranean; the island is so guarded and surrounded by rocks, that it affords but one landing place; the harbour is however a very good one, and a common place of shelter to the ships that navigate that quarter.

Paoli conducted an embarkation for the conquest of this place, with so much secrecy, that the first account which the Genoese received of it, was the successful landing of his troops. The republic used every effort to prevent the loss of the place, and sent out a considerable naval force, with a body of troops, which were continually re-inforced for that purpose. In the mean time, the small garrison of Genoese in that island retired

to the principal fort, which was called the Citadel, where they were immediately besieged by the Corsicans, who guarded the landing place so well, that the Genoese were several times repulsed in the attempts they made to relieve the fort. At length, they however effected a landing, but were totally repulsed with the loss of 150 men; and the garrison being reduced to the greatest necessity for want of provisions, they were at last obliged to surrender the fortress, May 29th, after a defence of 102 days, during which they had lived upon bread and water.

## CHAP. VII.

*Great distresses of the poor from the high prices of provisions; riots and tumults thereupon; several of the rioters taken; special commissions issued for their immediate trial. A proclamation against forestalling; the parliament prorogued; an embargo laid on ships loaded with wheat. The state of the East India company; great disputes between the members of it; their affairs become a subject of general discussion. Message from the ministry to the court of India directors; a great increase of dividend carried by a numerous majority of proprietors. The parliament meets; notice taken in the speech from the throne, of the necessity that occasioned the late exertion of authority, for the preservation of the public safety.*

**S**OON after the formation of the new ministry, the distresses of the poor from the high prices of corn, and every other species of provision, became very urgent, and caused great and general complaints through every part of the kingdom. These complaints were followed by riots and tumults, in which, as usual in popular commotions, great irregularities were committed. In the beginning,

the populace only set up to regulate and lower the markets, and to punish some individuals, who they imagined had contributed to their calamities by engrossing, and other practices for enhancing the price of provisions beyond their just rate. But they did not long confine themselves to these objects. When they had heated by being together in large bodies, they proceeded to the most enormous excesses.

cesses. Much mischief was done, and many lives were lost in different places. The magistrates being almost wholly obliged to call in the militia for the force to the aid of the law, the rioters were easily dispersed, and the jails filled with prisoners. Judges were soon after sent to the counties where the riots had happened, with special commissions to bring the prisoners to immediate trial; in consequence of which several of the leaders, and others the most outrageous of them, were condemned to die; most of these were however afterwards reprieved, several were transported, some got a free pardon, and some examples were made.

In the mean time, Sept. 11th, a proclamation was issued, for putting in

force several statutes that had been formerly passed against forestallers, regrators, and engrossers of corn. But many doubted, whether this proclamation was well conceived, or well timed. It was, in some sort, prejudging the question, and declaring the scarcity to be artificial, which experience has since shewn to have been but too natural. Many of the old laws relative to provisions are not well suited to the present system of our affairs; nor are they quite consonant to latter regulations upon the same subject. The old laws are at present dark in the construction, and extremely difficult in the execution. It was apprehended that this measure would have an effect contrary to the intentions of the council, and by frightening dealers from the markets, would increase that scarcity it was designed

to remedy. This was so well felt, that little was done towards enforcing that proclamation, and it soon fell to the ground. The same day on which this proclamation was passed, the parliament, which was to have met on the 16th of September, was prorogued to the 11th of the following November.

The price of wheat still increasing, another proclamation was issued, (better adapted to its end than the former, but more doubtful in point of law,) to prohibit the exportation of grain. Messengers were dispatched to the sea-coasts, to see that the terms of the proclamation were complied with, and to prevent such ships as were loaded with wheat, or wheat-meal, at the several ports, from proceeding with their cargoes. At the same time, the use of wheat was prohibited the distillery. The former proclamation became afterwards a subject of much altercation in parliament.

We gave in our last volume a particular account of the great acquisitions that had been gained by the East India company; of the flourishing state of its affairs; and the appearances there were of a stability proportioned to this greatness. The later advices not only confirmed, but enlarged the value of these acquisitions; as every day shewed their greater importance, and discovered some new part of the immense property, which the company was possessed of in that part of the world. Immense spoil, as it has often appeared too great for the minds of the conquerors, so it has sometimes sunk them to a worse condition.

dition than that in which they had left the vanquished. The amazing successes of the company, and the vast profits arising from them, first kindled dissension among their servants in the East, and then produced contentions of equal violence in the company itself.

It had been long expected, and much wished by the proprietors of East India stock, that they should enjoy a share of those sweets, which were the consequences of their foreign success; and which they saw hitherto entirely engrossed by their servants, who came home every day incumbered with princely fortunes. As the prosperous state of the company's affairs was now publicly known and ascertained, it was accordingly expected by many proprietors; that the directors would have immediately declared a suitable increase of dividend. This seemed to them the more reasonable, as the state of dividend then stood at the lowest point to which it ever had been reduced, having been lowered from eight to six per cent. in the most critical period of the late war; when the company was in the most distressed situation, and a continuance even of its existence appeared more than doubtful. They thought that a great revenue and a flourishing trade ill agreed with a low dividend, and tended to sink to an artificial lowness, the price of stock, to the great loss of the present possessors, and the advantage of future dealers.

These inclinations of the proprietors did not in any degree coincide with the opinion of the directors. While the greatest part of the former considered only the

successes of the company, the directors saw nothing but its debts. Two factions arose upon this subject, one for increasing the dividend, the other, which was influenced by the direction, for keeping it at the then standard of six per cent. At the midsummer court, it was intended by the former, that if the directors did not voluntarily declare an increase of dividend, to put it to the question, and have it decided by the majority of proprietors present.

As this intention was publicly known, so its success was sufficiently guarded against, and prevented. June 18th. At the opening of the court, a friend of the directors made a motion for increasing the dividend to eight per cent. the directors having declared their disapprobation of this motion, the maker immediately withdrew it. This adroit management put it entirely out of the power of the proprietors to bring it on again at that meeting, as it would have been contrary to the established rules and forms of the court.

The address that was shewn in this transaction did not protect it from censure: the conduct of the directors was scrutinized with great severity: the supposed motives to it were laid open, and the public papers became the common field for the discussion of India affairs, which were canvassed with great animosity, each party accusing the other of the most corrupt designs, and of misrepresenting, for private purposes, the real state of the company's affairs. The party for the directors admitted that the company had gained great advantages in the East; but at

the same time had plunged themselves into great difficulties by the expence attending their extensive military operations. That their profits were comparatively remote and precarious; their debts urgent and certain; and that justice and good policy concurred in recommending, in the first place, a discharge of their incumbrances, before they thought of enjoying their profits. They recalled the transactions of the memorable South-sea year, and the fraudulent methods then used for the raising of that stock. They asserted that such a premature attempt to augment the dividend, would raise the price of their fund to an extravagant height, at which it would be impossible to support it, would add fresh fuel to the ardor for gaming, encourage stock-jobbing, and open a new field to all the mysterious transactions of 'Change Alley.

On the other hand, it was represented as the greatest hardship, that many of those proprietors whose property had lain in the hands of the company during the most dangerous periods of the war, might now, through necessity, be obliged to dispose of their stock, without having the smallest compensation made them for the great risks they had run. That in this case, new men, whether natives or foreigners, would come in for the benefits to which the old proprietors were so justly entitled, as the marketable price of stock always depended upon the dividend it yielded. That it was a novelty peculiar to the present time, to see that the possessors of property were the only people who could not enjoy any of the

advantages arising from it. That the cautious economy of the directors was confined to the proprietors only, while motions for the most profuse private grants were eagerly adopted by them.

As to the debts which the company owed; the reasons drawn from thence for not increasing the dividend, were, they insisted, futile and absurd. It was said, that the company, while ever it continued a commercial one, as well as every other company of merchants, must always, in the nature of things, owe large sums of money; That in the present case, the creditors looked upon their security to be so good, and thought their money so well laid out, that there was nothing they feared more than the payment of it; a clear proof of which was, that the bonds bore a premium, so that they could sell them for more than the original debt that was owing on them. The Dutch East India company was also introduced as a precedent, which divided 20 per Cent. upon its capital, though the possessions and revenues of the Dutch, in that part of the world, were not at present in any degree equal to those of the English.

As to the invidious mention of the South-sea bubble, they observed that it was no way applicable to the present case: that the high rate of that stock was built upon an imaginary basis, which had no real existence; so that its success depended entirely upon the passions and covetousness of the people, which were the only engines it had to make use of. That on the contrary, nothing could be better ascertained than the property of the company; and that nothing could

could be more equitable, than that the possessors of this property, should be able, whenever they thought fit, to dispose of it at the full and real value. That when every man, buyer and seller, knew the intrinsic value of stock, by the dividend which it yielded, there would be no farther room for stock-jobbing; but that the uncertainty which the present mode of conduct occasioned, operated so strongly and so differently upon the minds of the public, that there was a greater fluctuation in the price, and the pernicious effects of stock-jobbing were more sensibly felt, than they had been at any other time.

This course of discussion and altercation between the members of the same company, was productive of consequences, which were then little foreseen or expected. Every thing relative to them was now laid before the public; the exact state of their immense property became known to all persons; their most private secrets were unveiled; their charters, their rights, their possessions, their conduct at home and abroad; their disputes, and their utility to the nation, were now matters of eager and public discussion. The company became the ground for the most absurd projector to build his visionary scheme on; and its property was an object to exercise the invention of the idle, the needy, and the rapacious.

As the quarterly meeting approached, at which it was expected, that the great object of dispute between the opposite parties would come again upon the carpet, it was for some time whispered about by the friends of one

of them, that the government intended to interfere in some manner in the disposition of India affairs.

Such an interference had been so unusual, that the report at first gained no manner of credit. A few days before the meeting of the Michaelmas general court, a message was, however, actually received by the directors from the ministry; and it was immediately noised about, that the government had absolutely forbidden any increase of dividend, and had also denounced threats against the company, which struck at its very existence.

The novelty of an English minister of state venturing to interfere, as an officer of the crown, in a matter of private property, excited in the highest degree the attention of all sorts of people. Many, however, still supposed that the report was calculated only to answer the particular purposes of a party, or at least, that the terms were upon that account greatly exaggerated. The opening of the general Sept. 24th. court, at length relieved this curiosity; a message in writing from the first Lord of the Treasury, and some other of the ministers, was read, setting forth, "That as the affairs of the East-India company had been mentioned in parliament last session, it was very probable they might be taken into consideration again; therefore, from the regard they had for the welfare of the company, and that they might have time to prepare their papers for that occasion, they informed them, that the parliament would meet some time in November."



Letters were at the same time read from Lord Clive, and from the secret committee at Bengal, which not only confirmed, but exceeded the accounts that had been formerly received of the great opulence of the company, the extension of its trade, and the permanent basis, on which, as far as human foresight could judge, its security was now established. The directors, notwithstanding, still opposed an increase of dividend; and, upon a motion being made for that purpose, they insisted on a ballot, by which the decision was evaded for a day or two. Another general court being called, this long contested question was decided by ballot, and the dividend, which was to take place from the ensuing Christmas, was increased, by a prodigious majority, from six to ten per cent.

We shall take no farther notice of the squabbles between the members of the East India company; we have already seen that they had

brought on them the attention of the ministry: a little time more gave them an earnest of the consequences; and as the disposition of their affairs was in a great measure taken out of their own hands, we are from that time to consider them, not as a private, but a public object.

Such was the situation of affairs when the parliament met in the beginning of the winter 1766. The speech from the throne observed, that the high price of wheat, and the great demand for it from abroad, had occasioned their being assembled so early. It took notice of the urgent necessity that occasioned an exertion of the royal authority, for the preservation of the public safety, by laying an embargo on wheat and wheat-flour going out of the kingdom. It expressed a warm sense of the late daring insurrections; a resolution that the criminals should be punished, and obedience to government and the laws restored.

#### C H A P. VIII.

*A bill of indemnity for those concerned in the late embargo, brought in; great debates thereon; the bill passed. The bill for restraining all acts of the assembly of New York, brought in, and passed. Land-tax reduced to three shillings in the pound. Great debates upon India affairs; proposals made by the company for an accommodation with government; the proposals accepted, and a bill passed for that purpose. Bill for regulating India dividends; great debates thereon; the bill passes, and the house breaks up.*

Ever since the 15th of Charles the second, corn, when under a certain price, might be legally exported. Whenever it had been thought proper to break in upon this principle, it was always done by act of parliament. But

when the proclamation was issued, corn had not reached the price within which the exportation had been permitted. To lay an embargo therefore, by any supposed authority legally existing in the king and council under such circumstances,



cumstances, seemed to be a dispensing with an act of parliament. Though the laying of the embargo on wheat was an expedient, and probably at that time a necessary measure, than which nothing could be more highly popular, yet the *mode* of that transaction was looked upon by the more discerning in a very dangerous light, as by it the crown seemed to assume and exercise a power of dispensing with the laws. This was one of the grievances which had been the most effectually provided against at the revolution; at which time it was declared to be utterly and directly contrary to the known laws, statutes, and freedom of the kingdom. To prevent therefore the establishment of so dangerous a precedent, and to perpetuate a knowledge to posterity, that nothing less than a law could protect from due punishment the framers or executors of an illegal act; and at the same time to do justice to the rectitude of a proceeding, which, though not authorized by law, was done for public good, a bill was brought in Nov. 24. to indemnify all persons who had acted in obedience to the late act of council for the embargo.

Those who conducted the ministerial business in the house of commons, gave but little opposition to this bill when it was suggested to them: a principal servant of the crown brought it in; and there appeared on this occasion, for the first time, plain marks of some disagreement in opinion, and alienation in affection among the ministry. However, it was remarked, that though this bill provided for the indemnity of the inferior

officers, who had acted under the proclamation, yet it passed by the council who advised it; and had not a preamble fully expressive of the illegality of the measure. In these respects the bill was amended, and made perfect. But this produced much altercation and debate, especially in the house of lords. Some of the ministry and their friends, who had been not only the warmest advocates for liberty, but who set up as the patrons and defenders of it, were charged with such a change in their minds and opinions, that they vindicated the present exertion of prerogative, not only from the peculiar circumstances that seemed to influence it, but they also supported it as a matter of right; and asserted, that a dispensing power, in cases of state necessity, was one of the prerogatives inherent to the crown. This seeming desertion from the side of liberty, to principles so directly opposite, as it had some severe strictures made upon it within doors, so it was the occasion of many pointed sarcasms without, on the beaten subject of occasional patriotism.

In the course of the debates occasioned by these high prerogative tenets, the real causes of the necessity for the late exertion of power were first enquired into; and then the doctrine of a dispensing power in such cases was ably and powerfully attacked. It was urged, that the ministry had received such information in the beginning of August, of the state of the harvest, the quantity of corn in the kingdom, and of the great increase of its price; that they became then as thoroughly masters of the subject, and as fully sensible

of all the probable consequences, as they had been at any time after that period. That from this information, they should at that time have issued a proclamation for the parliament to meet on the 16th of September, the day to which it was prorogued, to take that important matter into consideration, which would have given the members above thirty days notice, and would have prevented every appearance of necessity for the ministers to commit an illegal action.

That on the contrary, when the distresses of the poor were risen to the highest pitch, they issued, on the 10th of September, an ineffectual proclamation against forestalling, which could not give them the smallest relief; and on the same day prorogued the parliament, from the 16th of that month, to the 11th of November following. That by this long, unseasonable, and extraordinary prorogation, all advice of parliament was precluded; all legal restrictions of the export, as well as of the provisions to increase the stock of grain, were entirely put out of the question; and in case of riots, tumults, or even a rebellion, it was put out of the king's power to receive their assistance. That the proclamation for an embargo was issued in sixteen days after that for so long a prorogation; though the reasons given in it, for so extraordinary an exertion of authority, was, that his majesty had not an opportunity of taking the advice of his parliament.

On the other hand, the advocates for the dispensing prerogative, citing the opinion of Mr. Locke, asserted, that it was ridiculous to suppose any state with-

out a power of providing for the public safety in cases of emergency. That this power must in all states be lodged somewhere; and that in ours it was lodged in the king. They maintained that this doctrine was not contrary to the security of the constitution, or to the spirit of liberty, since they admitted that it could be legally exerted only in cases of great necessity during the recess of parliament, and when parliament cannot be conveniently assembled; that in those cases the evil cannot be very great, since it is but forty days tyranny at worst.

To this it was answered, that this doctrine of necessity was the very principle by which all the evil practices in the reigns of the Stuarts had been defended. That the advocates for the court in the reign of Charles the first, would have added this exception of *necessity* to the petition of right; the house of lords had even come into it; but upon conference with the commons, were convinced that this exception would have enervated the whole law; and it was accordingly rejected. As to the plea of necessity, this answer is ready in the mouth of every one, that if the crown is the judge of that necessity, the power is unlimited, because the discretion of the prince and his council may apply it to any instance whatever; and so discretion degenerates into despotism. Therefore the wisdom of the constitution has excluded every discretion in the crown over positive laws, and emancipated acts of parliament from the royal prerogative, leaving the power of suspension, which is but another word for a temporary repeal, to reside where the legislature is lodged, to which

which only it can belong, that is, in king, lords, and commons, who together constitute the only supreme sovereign authority of this government. Nor did parliament ever allow of the dispensing power, or any thing of the kind, because it was exercised under the specious pretence of the safety of the nation being concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger, which was the usual jargon, and, if true, implied the most urgent necessity.

That the recesses of parliament, or its not being convenient to assemble it, are distinctions not known by the constitution. That as it is now modelled, the parliament must always be in being, ready to be called, and that in so great a degree, that even an expired parliament revives when necessary to be assembled, and another is not chosen. That as to the laws, there are no days in which acts of parliament sleep. They are not like jurisdictions that may be evaded by going into a sanctuary. They are of equal force while in being, at all times, in all places, and over all persons; though made in a short time, they have a constant and lasting force. Acts of the executive power are incident, temporary, and instantaneous; but acts of parliament are permanent, made as the general rule by which the subject is to live, and be governed.

Unless therefore it can be said, that the moment parliament breaks up, the king stands in its place, and the continuance of acts is resigned into his hands, he cannot of right suspend, any more than he can make laws, both requiring the same power. The law is above

the king; and the crown, as well as the subject, is bound by it, as much during the recess, as in the sessions of parliament; because no point of time, nor emergent circumstance, can alter the constitution, or create a right not antecedently inherent; these only draw forth into action the power that before existed, but was quiescent. There is no such prerogative in any hour or moment of time, as vests the semblance of a legislative power in the crown.

If the crown had a legal right to suspend or break through any one law, it must have an equal right to break through them all. That no true distinction can be made between the suspending power and the crown's raising money without the consent of parliament. That they are precisely alike, and stand upon the very same ground. They were born twins, lived together, and together it was hoped were buried at the revolution, past all power of resurrection. That if any difference was to be made, between raising money, and the suspending and dispensing power, the latter is the most dangerous, as that which might do the most universal mischief, and with the greatest speed, as it includes the whole. But that as neither of them ever did belong to the crown, no doctrine is admissible that maintains either the one or the other. That the present distinctions are only an alleviation of the dispensing power to sweeten it so as to go down, it being too nauseous in the full stinking potion. That the safety of the crown, as well as the security of the subject, requires us to shut up every avenue that leads to tyranny: And that the supereminent prerogative

gative of the kings of England, by which they excel in glory all the sovereigns upon earth, is this, that they rule over freemen, not over slaves.

Upon the whole, it was said, that if the doctrine of suspension, on the plea of state necessity, was admitted as constitutional, the revolution could be called nothing but a successful rebellion, and a lawless and wicked invasion of the rights of the crown; the bill of rights, a false and scandalous libel, and an infamous imposition both on prince and people; and that James the Second neither abdicated nor forfeited, but was robbed of his crown.

In the course of these debates, the necessity of the embargo was universally allowed; and the illegality of the authority was only objected to. It was much to the satisfaction of the public, that this bill was passed; and many were surprised, that the gentlemen, who, without regularly agreeing in principles, opposed it, would hazard their popularity upon an occasion, that did not seem attended with any apparent advantages equal to the risk.

The factious turbulent spirit, which seemed to have taken possession of the minds of some of our North American colonies on occasion of the stamp-act, was far from being mollified by the lenient concessions in their favour, and the great consideration shewn to their circumstances by the legislature. Not content with the private acts of outrage that were too often repeated, and marks of disrespect to government which were too frequently shewn; the assem-

bly of New York had, in direct opposition to the act of last session; for the providing of the troops with necessaries in their quarters; passed an act of assembly, by which these provisions were regulated and settled in a mode of their own, without any regard to that prescribed by parliament.

This affair being brought before the house, occasioned many debates; and some rigorous measures were proposed. The general opinion, however, was rather to bring them to temper and a sense of their duty, by acts of moderation, which should at the same time sufficiently support the dignity of the legislature, than by rigorous measures to inflame still farther that spirit of discontent which was already too prevalent among them. Upon these principles, June 15th. a bill was passed, by which the governor, council, and assembly of New York, were prohibited from passing or assenting to any act of assembly for any purpose whatsoever, till they had in every respect complied with all the terms of the act of parliament. This restriction, though limited to one colony, was a lesson to them all, and shewed their comparative inferiority, when brought in question with the supreme legislative power.

An event which happened this session, as it shewed a want of strength in the ministry, so it also made many think that it foreboded a dissolution to their existence in that character. The taxes with which all the necessities of life were loaded in consequence of the expences of the last war, lay so heavy upon the laborious and manufacturing part of  
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the nation, that it was thought more proper, since the conclusion of the peace, to continue the land tax at four shillings in the pound, than to add to the distresses of the people, by increasing those upon necessaries. This was a new measure; any addition to the land-tax, that was formerly granted to carry on a war, was always taken off at the return of peace; but as that custom had been now for some years broken through, the whole land-tax began to be considered as a part of the settled revenue, that was appointed to answer the current services of the year. It was then, to the great surprise and disappointment of the ministers, that a resolution passed the house, supported by a considerable majority, which reduced the land-tax for the present year to three shillings in the pound. This was said to have been the first money bill, in which any minister had been disappointed since the revolution; and it was now looked upon as a fatal symptom of weakness. In this the public was however mistaken, though appearances seemed strongly to countenance the opinion.

The great business of the session was that of the East-India company, from whence great expectations had been conceived, and on which violent debates arose in both houses; as this matter involved constitutional points of the highest nature, and indeed was in all respects of great importance. It was remarked, that though it seemed the capital ministerial measure; yet, whether from disapprobation of the mode and principles of the enquiry, or from some discontent among themselves, is uncertain; but the principal officers of the crown in the house of com-

mons seemed from the beginning very much reserved in this affair.

A committee had been appointed early Nov. 25th. in the session, to look into the state and condition of the company. It was some time after ordered, after several warm debates, that copies of the company's charters, their treaties with, and grants from the country powers; together with their letters and correspondence to and from their servants in India; the state of their revenues in Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, and other places, should all be laid before the house: also an account of all expences incurred by government on the company's account, whether in the naval, military, or whatever other departments. Great part of the session was consumed in fruitless discussions. Violent animosities arose; and all the topics were bandied about, which can agitate the minds of a people, on one hand jealous of their liberties, and on the other, eager by every means to relieve the burthened state of their finances.

In the course of this rigorous scrutiny, an order was made for printing the East India papers. The court of directors upon this presented a petition, setting forth the great injury it would be to the company, and the many ill consequences that would probably attend the printing of the private correspondence between them and their servants. Upon this, a motion being made to discharge the former order, a debate ensued; but it was at last agreed that the private correspondence should not be printed.

Great questions, though not formally put, arose and were discussed

In the course of this enquiry. Among others, the right of the company to their territorial acquisitions was called in question. It was argued that they had no right by their charters to any conquest: that such possessions in the hands of a trading corporation were improper and dangerous; and that if it were even legally and politically right that they should hold those territories, yet the vast expenditure of government, in the protection of that company, gave it a fair and equitable title to the revenues arising from the conquests.

Those who maintained the rights of the company, denied that the crown had made any reservation of such acquisitions as had been made by it. That it was a dangerous infringement on property and public faith to question them, as the company had purchased its charters from the public, and that they were confirmed by act of parliament. That if the crown had any right to the possessions of that body in India, the courts were open for the trial of that claim; that the house of commons was not by the constitution, the interpreter of laws, or the decider of legal rights; that it would be of the most fatal consequence to the liberties of Great Britain, if ever they should assume it. That as to the equitable right pretended from the expences of government, the company stood as fair in that light as the crown, they having expended much greater sums in acquiring the disputed territories and revenues.

Upon these topics, this great point was debated; and though it was frequently taken up, the house appeared disinclined to the determination of a question teeming with such important consequences. A great man, then at

the head of the finances, declared fully against trial of such a right, in such a court as the house of commons, and strenuously recommended an amicable agreement with the company.

On the other side, a large party of the proprietors of East India stock, though they strenuously maintained, that the company was fully entitled by law to enjoy the benefit of the territorial acquisitions it had made in India, during the remaining term of its charter; yet thought it would be happy, by a reasonable composition to prevent all doubtful events. Many meetings were held to this purpose, and many schemes and proposals, by the directors and others, were laid before the company.

In the mean time a general court was held, May 6th, wherein the dividend for the ensuing half year, to commence at Midsummer, was declared to be six and a quarter per cent. and about the same time, a scheme of proposals for an accommodation was agreed to. These were laid before the ministry, which by this time was publicly known to have unfortunately fallen into a state of such distraction, that they had no opinions in common. Accordingly they shifted the proposals from one to another, and could come to no determination upon them, what to accept, or what to refuse. So that the ministry declining to take any part in the negotiation out of the house, a petition was presented to parliament, May 20th, which contained two sets of proposals for a temporary agreement, which was to last for three years.

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medicine, but she desired to postpone it till the next day, that she might go to church; and thus she escaped the fate of her sisters.— This is inserted as a caution not to purchase drugs of ignorant quacks, who, in many instances where there is a resemblance, don't know how to distinguish one drug from another.

A most remarkable accident and escape happened to a labourer at Cuper in Fife, in Scotland, where a bucket having fallen into a well, about 30 feet deep, the labourer was sent down to bring it up, but unfortunately the steining fell in upon him, and inclosed him at the bottom, without any hope of release. Some workmen were however employed to clear the rubbish, who continued their labour till dark, and next morning resumed it. About noon one of them thought he heard a voice, on which the hands were doubled, and all worked with redoubled vigour for several hours, when, to their great astonishment, they found the man alive, without a bone broken, after being 39 hours in that situation.

His Majesty's orders, containing some new regulations for the army in Ireland, were received in that kingdom. By these regulations each troop of dragoons is to have trumpets; cross-belts for all the private men; no officer to wear gold or silver lace on his cloaths; nor to sell out if he did not purchase; nor then, but to an officer on half-pay.

A Gentleman passing through Chancery-lane, observed a man lying on the ground, who had just fallen out of a window, and near expiring. Upon enquiry at the

house before which he lay, it appeared that persons were kept there who had enlisted into the East-India company's service; and the master of the house being carried before the sitting alderman, brought several of the recruits with him, who deposed that the man threw himself out of the window. This is one of the houses called lock-up houses.

7th. A man who had been out in the country to watch a house, in returning home, attempted to discharge his gun in the air, but it not going off, he put it over his arm to examine the touch-hole, when it went off, and shot another man who was passing on the opposite side of the way; on hearing the man cry out, the poor fellow ran to his master, told him what had happened, and offered to surrender himself; but the master advised him to be secret till the man recovered or died; since which the poor man is dead in the hospital.

A large house adjoining to the gateway of the Saracen's-head inn, on Snow-hill, suddenly fell to the ground, together with that part of the house of Mess. Hayes and Warwick which went over the gateway. The house was only occupied by the family of Mr. Dodd, who exhibits the lecture on hearts at Exeter 'Change on the first floor; and that of Mr. Jarvis, a case-maker, in the three pair of stairs room forward. Mr. Dodd's family happily escaped unhurt; but Mrs. Jarvis, and one of her children, perished in the ruins.

The floods are every where out; but the most melancholy effects of these inundations are almost always felt in the fen countries,



tries, where a breach in the banks generally lays whole districts under water; by a breach in Deeping-bank, several thousand acres are now under water; and by the north-bank of the river Glen giving way, the north fens are overflowed, by which the inhabitants of the villages between Peterborough and Lincoln, are reduced to the most deplorable circumstances; their cattle carried away, and their houses laid three or four feet under water; many other places have shared the same fate; and, in short, their consternation and distress is such as none can conceive, but those who have been in the like situations.

In many parts of Scotland, the inundations, on the breaking up of the snow, did incredible damage; at Lochmaben, the waters of Annan came down with such rapidity, as to take houses, cattle, corn, and every thing along with them.

In Ireland, the Liffey did the same; and in Wales, no man living ever saw such floods.—It is amazing, with what solemnity the Thames and Severn rise and fall on these occasions, flowing with an enlarged current and a quicker motion, but neither with so much rapidity as to surprize cattle, nor with so much increased depth, as to overflow houses: The floods on these two rivers, instead of a calamity, are, generally speaking, a common benefit, enriching the pastures on their banks, and fertilizing the countries thro' which they pass.

A schooner and three open boats, taken by his Majesty's armed cutters in the channel, and condemn-

ed for smuggling, were burnt at Torbay.

A man who lodged in Earl-street, Seven-dials, went home in expectation of having his dinner ready, but found his wife on the bed intoxicated with liquor, on which he placed a train of gunpowder, with the diabolical resolution to blow her up, but in setting fire to the same he was so terribly burnt that he was carried to the hospital with little hopes of recovery. The woman escaped unhurt.

A poor old man and his wife, who lived near Christ-church, Surry, and used to sell greens about the streets till the late severe frost, were obliged to live upon their small capital till it was exhausted, and were then forced to sell their bed, &c. for support, which lasted but a little time; after which being missing some days, the neighbours, who respected them for their former industry, went to enquire after their health; when they found the old woman stretched out upon the floor, just expired for want of common necessaries, and her husband almost dead, who was carried to the workhouse without hope of recovery.—He has since, however, got better, and a collection has been made for him.

A farmer near Innerdale going after some sheep that were missing during the snow, took with him a bottle of rum and a small glass; when he found them, some seemed just dying with the cold, to every one of which he gave a little of the rum, mixed with water, which instantly revived them. To those that appeared least affected, he gave

gave none. What is remarkable, he got all that had taken the rum, safe home, but some of the rest died by the way.

Last week Mr. Berrow of the Grange, sent his man to Chepstow, with several horses loaded with meal. Chepstow bridge is repairing and near compleated. The man when he came to the bridge, led the first horse as far as he apprehended there was danger, and then left him to fetch the others, supposing he would go forwards; but the horse turning round short before he had got within the part that was railed, trode on the end of a loose plank, which tilted up, and he fell into the river. It was then low water, and the height from the water between 50 and 60 feet. About 130 yards below the bridge, the horse rose, having broken the girths of the pad, and cleared from his load, swam to the shore without the least hurt.

On the 19th ult. came on at the lying-in hospital, Dublin, a most remarkable trial, grounded on a suggestion made by George Rochfort, Esq; of the idiotcy of Nicholas Hume, earl of Ely. The examination of witnesses employed five days; and on Saturday the 24th, the earl of Ely was himself examined by the commissioners and jurors, in the presence of the said George Rochfort, and of two counsel on the part of the earl; and after an examination of three quarters of an hour and upwards, the jurors without debate returned their verdict, That Nicholas Hume, earl of Ely, is not an idiot, or of unsound mind. The commissioners unanimously ap-

proved the verdict, and have returned the inquisition into the high court of chancery.

They write from Cologne, that the waters of the Rhine having been very low for some time, they had discovered opposite that city the foundations of a bridge, and near the three kings gate a kind of guard-house; supposed to be two antient monuments of the Romans.

Fourteen transports from 14th. Durham, Newcastle, and Morpeth, were put on board the Jenny, Capt. Blagdon, bound for Virginia; at which time ten young artificers shipped themselves for America. One of the indent-servants, we hear, who formerly belonged to Newcastle, has enlisted into 46 different regiments, been whipped out of 19, sentenced to be shot six times, but reprieved, confined in 73 different gaols, appeared under the character of quack doctor in seven kingdoms, and now is only in the 32d year of his age.

Five of the most resolute prisoners in Salisbury goal (among whom were White and Wheeler, two of the rioters) attempted to break out, threatening to murder the keeper, and set the prison on fire. They tore up several of the planks of the floor, and threw brickbats with great violence at their opposers, and continued their noise the whole night, and were so bold and daring the next morning, that the keeper was obliged to apply to the commanding officer for a party of soldiers to assist in laying them in irons, or murder, in all probability, would have ensued.

Was committed to Chester castle  
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the servant maid of Mr. Torkington of Overton-green, charged with poisoning two of his children, by mixing arsenick in some gruel, and endangering the life of Mrs. Torkington; and also one Elizabeth Hawkins of Stockport, fortune-teller, for being an accessory in the said murders.

A jeweller took some girls, and their waiting-maid, in a hackney-coach to a coffee-house in Chelsea; when they came out to return home, the coachman was gone to a publick-house; but it then raining, the waiter let the company into the coach, and called out for the driver, who not hearing immediately, the horses moved on, and one of them being blind, turned towards the Thames, into which they dragged the coach, and the water being very high, it was with the utmost difficulty that the lives of the ladies and maid were saved; but the gentleman being stunned by a blow on his temple, was drowned.

On Thursday died (as was supposed) Mrs. Margaret Carpenter, journeywoman to Mr. Smith, livery lace-maker in Little Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields; and on Friday she was properly laid out, in order to be interred to-morrow; when on Friday night, to the astonishment and terror of the whole family, she came down stairs stark naked, having only been in a trance; as soon as the surprize was over, they put her into a warm bed, and gave her comfortable things for her refreshment; she said she was bitter cold; but her situation so shocked her, that she did not survive above a day or two.

Thomas Davers, (supposed to be nearly related to the late Admiral Davers) who built at a vast expence, a little fort, on the river Thames, near Blackwall, known by the name of Davers's folly, after passing thro' a series of misfortunes, chiefly owing to an unhappy turn of mind, put an end to his miserable life: some few hours before his death, he was seen to write the following card: "Descended from an ancient and honourable family, I have, for fifteen years past, suffered more indigence than ever gentleman before submitted to: neglected by my acquaintance, traduced by my enemies, and insulted by the vulgar, I am so reduced, worn down, and tired, that I have nothing left but that lasting repose, the joint and dernier inheritance of all.

Of laudanum an ample dose,  
Must all my present ills compose:  
But the best laudanum of all  
I want (not resolution) but a ball.  
N. B. Advertise this. T. D.

They write from Newcastle, that at Harrington near Lambton, the wife of one Wilson, as he was sleeping by the fire-side, came behind him with an ax, and struck him on one side of his neck, with all her force, and cut through the gullet; upon which he started up with all the horror of a dying person, but she repeated the blow, and clove him on one side of his head, which brought him to the ground, and he expired directly. She is committed to Durham gaol, but is said to be out of her reason.

Jo. Story, a blacksmith at Belford, having courted the daughter  
of

of Mrs. Eleanor Elliott, widow, near Haggerston, going one day to her house to ask for his sweetheart, found none but the old woman, who told him her daughter was not at home, but asked him why he courted her daughter, who could not bring him above 20l, and if he would please her, she would help him to one of 500l. On which he replied, he would ever with gratitude acknowledge the favour. Then I am the person, (says she,) if you'll accept of the offer: on which a bargain was struck immediately, and on Tuesday se'night they were married at Killo. The bridegroom is only 18 years of age, and the bride 64.

16th. Came on before Dr. Hay, Dean of the Arches court of Canterbury, at Doctors-commons, a remarkable cause between a gentleman of fortune and a young lady to whom he was some time since married in a private house, or room, in Scotland. The question before the court, and upon which the cause turned, was this, Whether the marriage in Scotland (as the young lady was then under age) was binding on the gentleman, or not? when, after many learned arguments by the civilians on both sides, the judge was clearly of opinion that the marriage was good in law, and pronounced accordingly. That marriages celebrated in Scotland do not come within the act of parliament in 1754, to prevent clandestine marriages.—It is remarkable this is the first cause of this nature tried since the act took place, and it is said is to be re-heard before the Court of Delegates,

Two ladies (sisters to the gentleman who was lately drowned at Chelsea in a coach) coming to town from Bath, were robbed on Hounslow heath by a single highwayman—What is remarkable, the ladies met the robber about noon the same day upon Ludgate-hill, who appeared much confounded; but the ladies let him pass, being so much affected that they had not power to call for assistance to take him.

A gold medal was presented to Mr. Dossie, by the society, for his eminent services in communicating the processes of making pot-ash and barilla in America, by which these articles are now become established articles of commerce in that country. He has also given in writing, an ingenious and useful account of pot-ash, with instructions for judging of its comparative value, and discovering the sophistications of it, in order that the same may be printed.

Articles of the peace were exhibited at Hicks's-hall, by a noble Lord, against a woman, for threatening to stab his lordship, and set fire to his house; when the court ordered her to find security, or be committed. She found security.

A person, dressed like a gentleman, went to a register office, and hired a young man for his servant, giving him a direction to come to his lodgings in Westminster the same evening; but the office-keeper having a suspicion of the person, attended the young fellow to the place, and found it to be a lock-up house for recruits; and that the pretended gentleman was no other than a crimp.

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20th. The sessions ended at the Old Baily, when one for horse-stealing and two for highway robberies (one of whom was a negro) were capitally convicted. Thirty-three to be transported for seven years, four to be whipt, and three were branded.

21st. This day his Majesty went to the house of Peers, with the usual state, and gave the royal assent to—The bill to punish mutiny and desertion.—The bill to continue, for a further limited time, the free importation of wheat, and wheat-meal, from any part of Europe, and to discontinue the duties payable on the importation on barley-meal and pulse.—The bill to discontinue the duties on the importation of tallow, hog's-lard, and grease.—The bill to dissolve the marriage of John Stott, Esq; from Ann his wife, to enable him to marry again, and for other purposes.—The bill to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Swynford in Oxfordshire, to the opposite shore.—And also to several road, inclosure, and naturalization bills.

A remarkable experiment in husbandry was tried last spring, by one Mr. Carpenter of Cheltenham. In the beginning of March he sowed about six acres with wheat, which turned out an exceeding good crop, and was fit to reap within nine days of that sowed at the usual time. The land was a light sandy soil, and had been laid down with turneps, which were fed off with sheep during the winter.

24th. At a committee in St. Bride's vestry, an inhabitant who had some time before mentioned to one of the church-

wardens, some suspicion he had relative to the bringing corpses late at night to their burying ground on the side of the Fleet-market, came and declared to the gentlemen present, that he saw their grave-digger last Michaelmas day, at a little after 11 at night, with four bearers, bring down by the side of the Fleet-market, a shell or coffin covered over with a black cloth, which somewhat surprised him; but he and his man followed, and presently coming to the burying-ground door, the leader gave two knocks, on which a woman within-side, asked who was there? One knock more was repeated; on which the door was immediately opened; and the contents left in the passage. On this extraordinary information they sent for the grave-digger, and on his appearing, he was questioned concerning the corpse that was brought at 11 at night some time ago; he flatly denied being concerned in bringing any so late at any time; but after some other questions, he owned bringing one a little after nine, from the lock-up-house in the Butcher-row; and another time, one from a house of the same cast in Chancery-lane. Being asked whom he had orders from, he named a person, who was sent for; but he positively denied giving any such orders. He afterwards named another, who was the undertaker, and he being sent for, acknowledged that he gave such orders, but could not recollect the time; but after going home to peruse his books, found one to be on Dec. 6. 1765, and another on Sept. 29, 1766, from the above places, by the desire of Capt. ———, but not at the

time of night above-mentioned; he also declared he paid the parish dues demanded, and also the bearers for their trouble; that he likewise brought a proper certificate and oath. On referring to the parish register of the above dates, there was found one Evans, aged 18, was buried Dec. 7, 1765, and one Hughes, (a pauper of the parish) Sept. 30, 1766; but neither the certificates nor affidavits were produced at that time; the person in whose custody those papers were kept, declared he took very little care of them after the corpses were buried. On examining one of the bearers who brought the corpse on Sept. 29, he declared, that he and the rest went up into a garret or cockloft, in the lock-up-house in the Butcher-row, where the tiling and ceiling were open, there they found a man lying on the boards naked, only an old blanket flung over him; that he himself laid hold of him to lift him into the shell, and that the flesh of his buttocks stuck to the boards, so that part thereof was left behind; and that they brought him from the above house about half an hour after 10, which corroborates the declaration of the gentleman who acquainted the church-wardens with these proceedings. The gravedigger, and three of the bearers, have been turned out of their employments.

A woman bought an old chair at a broker's, and upon ripping the top off, to have it new covered, found concealed in one corner, 21 guineas, all Q. Anne's coin, and a bank note, value 200l. both tied up in a canvas bag; she

gave for the chair 18d. She has a large family to maintain.

The right hon. lord Baltimore was unanimously elected a fellow of the royal society.

An officer of the customs made a seizure of near four hundred pounds worth of fine Flanders lace, artfully concealed in the hollow of a ship's buoy on board a French trader lying off Iron-gate.

By a letter from the chief mate of the *Plassy* East India country trading ship, to his brother, there is a confirmation of the treacherous character of the Chinese very strikingly set forth; for the *Plassy* having sold a quantity of opium to a Chinese junk of great burthen in the Malaccas, the letter-writer was decoyed on board, in order to receive the money for it: and being entertained in the most courteous manner, till he was off his guard, he was all at once surprised by a gun from the *Plassy*, and rose in haste to see what was the matter, but was instantly seized by six men, from whom he luckily disengaged himself, by cutting down the most resolute of them, gaining the quarter-deck, tho' not without being desperately wounded, and then jumping into his own boat, at which the junk fired, with no other effect, however, but that of frightening his people, some of whom jumped overboard. When he reached the *Plassy*, he found that she, too, had been in the possession of the Chinese, and had freed herself by a most desperate and bloody effort, in which the captain lost his life, and most of the Europeans on board were wounded.



wounded. In this lamentable situation, the Plaffy was obliged to set sail, without the money for the goods sold.

It appears from the report lately delivered to the court of common-council of London, by the committee appointed in 1756, to enquire into the right of the mayor, commonalty, and citizens, to the hospitals of St. Bartholomew, Christ, St. Thomas, Bridewell, and Bethlem; and whether the right has, in any instance, been given up, or taken away :

“ That by three authentic instruments, the mayor, commonalty, and citizens, are the grantees of the hospitals and their revenues, and have the sole power of governing them.

That the right has never been given up or taken away, except during the troubles, and while the judgment upon the information in quo-warranto remained in force.

That the present governors act only by an authority referable to, and derived from the right of the city. But,

That though the common council, as representing the city, might have exercised the right of government at first; yet the lord mayor and aldermen very soon took upon them the sole management of the charities.

That the word commonalty seems in some records to signify not the court of common council, but the citizens at large.

That in the fourth year of Philip and Mary some orders, which had been before made, were revived by the court of aldermen; which orders seem to be the true constitution of the hospitals. There were to be sixty-six governors at least,

fourteen aldermen, and fifty-two grave commoners, citizens, and freemen, four of whom were to be scriveners. They were to be elected, at a general court, on St. Matthew's day, and to continue in office two years; and the election was to be ratified, or reformed by the next court of aldermen. These orders were attended to till 1645; but after the troubles, though the aldermen asserted their right of government, and declared that no unfreeman should be chosen a governor, yet nothing farther was done, except that they kept up the form of the beadies giving up their staves on St. Matthew's day, and preserved a respectable footing as individuals, by confining the presidency to aldermen, and constituting all the aldermen governors without election.”

Yesterday morning were married at White-chapel-church, one William Griffin, a journeyman shoemaker, and Ann Moss, a servant girl. About seven months ago the parties were out-asked (as it is called) at the above church; but the girl falling into an ill state of health, retarded the nuptials, and losing her place, was very soon obliged to pawn the most part of her clothes, even to the buckles out of her shoes. This, though she at length recovered her health, and was willing to join hands, prevented it; she absolutely refusing to go to be married in so ragged a condition, yet incessantly pressed by her sweetheart, who, by her obstinacy, soon grew into a kind of despair, neglected his work, deposited his apparel chiefly as above, and about a fortnight ago, growing weary



weary of his life, took the following methods to get rid of it: He first wrote a letter to Sir John Fielding, by the penny-post, purporting to come from a person at Bethnal-green, who had the night before been robbed by a footpad, and was obliged to go out of town, and would return by the next session, describing himself (Griffin) to be the robber, and where to be found, &c. But this scheme not answering his expectations, as upon an inquiry being naturally made after the supposed author of the letter, none such could be found; he then purchased a pistol, and surrendered himself with it to Joseph Girdler, Esq; a justice of peace in the king's road, desiring him to take his confession of a robbery, which he pretended he had committed, and send him to Newgate, saying he was sorry for what he had done, but times were so hard, trade dead, &c. and he would rather die than live. Whereupon he was actually committed to Clerkenwell Bridewell from the Saturday until the Wednesday following, when he was examined at the public office in Bow-street, before the said Mr. Girdler, Sir John Fielding, and other magistrates; when it appearing that the young lad had a good character, that it was love that was the real occasion of his late extraordinary conduct, and that the girl also on hearing of his being committed to prison, had fallen into fits, and was very ill, he was discharged, and another day appointed for him to come with his intended bride voluntarily before the justices, who promised their assistance in getting them married the ensuing Sunday; ac-

cordingly they both appeared, and a young nobleman being present, on hearing the case, generously gave five guineas to Sir John Fielding's clerk, in order to redeem their little clothes, and pay the marriage-dues, who went with the two young people to four different pawnbrokers on Saturday and redeemed their little goods, and yesterday attended the church, and performed the office of father.

A cause was tried at the court of King's-bench at Guildhall, between one Stroud, a fellowshipping-porter, of Billingsgate, London, plaintiff, and a corn-factor, defendant; the action was brought against the latter for violently assaulting the plaintiff when about his lawful labour, in unloading corn out of a vessel on float upon the river Thames, within the jurisdiction of the lord mayor of the city of London, which was denied by the defendant; and after many learned arguments, by the counsel on both sides, and examining several witnesses, the plaintiff's case being clearly proved, the jury, without the least hesitation, brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with full costs.

27<sup>th</sup>. Was held at the Old Baily, the session of Admiralty, when three prisoners were tried, two of whom were capitally convicted.

John Wynne, otherwise Power, late a mariner on board the merchant-ship Polly, Capt. Cox, bound from Bristol to the coast of Guiney, on the slave trade, of which ship, in the absence of the captain, who was on shore at cape Appolonia, he by force took upon him the command, shooting the chief mate through the head, and wounding.

wounding a sailor; at the same time obliging the company to swear allegiance to him; after which, proceeding to the river Bassan, most barbarously murdered a free negro, who was hostage on board for two slaves, on a surmise that he intended to raise a revolt; first whipping him, and cutting him with a hanger; after which one Fitzgerald, another ringleader, used him in the same manner, till few signs of life were left; when, to compleat the tragedy, one other fellow, named Putt, or Pott, cut off his head with an axe, and threw him overboard. He is to be executed on Monday next.

There is now living at a place called Dulwell; near Nottingham, one Mrs. Melvill, wife of Mr. Melvill, grocer and linen-manufacturer, who is pregnant with her 28th child, 22 of whom are living; and all by the same husband.

A clergyman in Normandy, in order to promote agriculture in his parish, has made a public declaration from the pulpit; that so far from exacting more tythe from those who shall improve their farms, he will lessen the tythes in proportion to the advancement they shall appear to have made in new improvements.

A very curious little ship of 64 guns, compleatly rigged, and but four inches long; executed by an officer in the navy, was introduced to his R. H. the duke of York; with which his Royal Highness was so well pleased from its singular minuteness, the structure and elegance in which it is highly finished; as to recommend it to his Majesty; and his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to accept of it, esteeming it worthy of

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being placed in his royal cabinet of curiosities. The materials of which it is composed are gold, silver, steel, brass, copper, ebony, ivory, hair, &c. the hull, masts, yards, booms, &c. being ivory, the guns, anchors, blocks, dead eyes, &c. silver, the 64 guns weighing but 50 grains; the colours, viz. royal standard, admiralty and union flags, the jack and ensign, are also ivory. It is executed on a scale of forty feet to one inch.

On the 7th of January, a little after midnight, a Turkish man of war of 94 guns lying at anchor in the harbour, near Toffano, at Constantinople, ready to sail with another of the same force for the Archipelago, was set on fire by a pan of coals being put in a room by some of the people to warm them, who fell asleep. The fire had made such a progress while they slept, that the people, despairing to extinguish it, and fearing it should be communicated to the other ship, cut the cables. The wind blowing fresh, drove her to a key called Capani; where she set fire to five saicks (large vessels that trade to the Black-sea) two of which were laden with corn. They were all pushed off from the shore and separated in the harbour. One of them immediately set fire to three other saicks, which lay at another key: Two of them were drove to a place called Giubali, and set fire to the houses on the Constantinople side of the harbour, eighty of which were entirely consumed. Several of the vessels went along shore on this side, and set fire to a Kiosk of the Grand Seignior's, which was soon reduced to ashes.

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Had

Had it not been for the dexterity of the slaves of the Bagnio, who sunk one of the ships while she was on fire, and driving near to eighteen large men of war, which lay moored together before the Arsenal, the whole of them must inevitably have been consumed.

The Grand Signior, the Grand Vizir, and all the great officers of the Porte, were upon the water giving their orders. The human mind cannot picture to itself a more striking and horrid scene, than to see, at the same time, nine large floating fires, in the middle of the night, with two great fires on each side of the water, which threatened destruction to the whole city.

The Grand Signior, who is blessed with an heart of charity and benevolence, has given orders to make up the losses of the unhappy sufferers by water.

The same day a Sultana was delivered of a prince, which was made known on Saturday by the firing of the cannon from the Seraglio and the Arsenal, which continued morning, noon, and evening; and there are great rejoicings in the Seraglio.

The English ambassador sent the usual compliments to the Reis Effendi upon this occasion.

13th. They write from Florence, that "the number of young maidens which the chamberlains of the court have resolved to portion, on account of the happy delivery of the Grand Duchess, is one hundred. They are to receive the nuptial benediction from the archbishop in the metropolitan church, in presence of their generous benefactors, and several other lords and ladies of the first

rank; and after singing te deum, they will go in procession with their husbands to the Royal Palace, where they are to be entertained with a dinner, and to have the honour of being served by the chamberlains, who will afterwards give them a ball."

Letters from Turin advise, that on the 7th ult. at four in the morning, a shock of an earthquake was felt in that city.

They write from Leghorn, that a late shock of the earth had been felt in the isle of Scio, which threw down a Greek church, and destroyed upwards of forty dwelling-houses.

They write from Geneva, that on the 29th of January, M. Francis Maria Rovere having, on that day, compleated his time of two years as doge of this Republic, the great council met the next day, and nominated fifteen persons for one out of that number to be elected to fill up the vacant dignity. On the 31st the small council assembled, and reduced the nomination of fifteen to six: And on the 3d instant the great council met again, and elected M. Marcello Durazzo to fill up the vacant dignity of Doge for two years; upon which occasion the new Doge immediately received the compliments of the nobility of both sexes, and will receive the compliments of the foreign ministers and consuls on Monday.

The last letters from New York bring advice, that more new manufactories are going on there; among which is one for brass wire, and another for enamelling all kinds of trinkets, after the Birmingham and Sheffield manner.

The

The following accounts come from Florence. We learn from Finizzano, a territory of this grand duchy, that between the 21st of last month and the 4th of the present, they had felt thirty-six shocks of the earth; which has damaged a great number of public edifices, and destroyed many country-houses. The mines of copper and silver lately discovered at Angliari, will bring in 40 per cent.

14th. The following account is given of Mr. Higgins, who was lately committed to the castle of Gloucester. That he was born at Cradley near Bromsgrove in Worcestershire. He lived for some years at Knutsford, in Cheshire; where he married a woman of a very good family; that in October 1765, he had some business at Bristol, for which place he set out on foot; that he put up at an eating-house near the market, and there received of different people several considerable sums. He then returned to Gloucester on foot, and in passing on to Upton, he was benighted, and lay under a hedge; that when he came to Upton he took a post-chaise home, whither he was pursued by Mr. Bloxam, who lived with Mr. Wilson of this city, and apprehended on suspicion of breaking open Mr. Wilson's house; that whilst he was in the constable's hands at Knutsford, he made his escape, and having ordered his wife to dispose of the goods there, settled at French Hay. His escape from the constable, he says, induced him to change his name from Edw. Higgins to George Hickson. He desired to be excused mentioning the names of the persons of whom he received the money at Bristol,

or from giving any information whence he drew his resources for the maintenance of himself and family. His wife is a genteel woman, and he has five children, some of whom are grown up. A large party of gentlemen from Bristol were to have dined with him the day after he was taken up.

Two persons from Birmingham, one of whom is the gaoler, came on Friday last, and gave information on oath, before Nicholas Hyett, Esq; that Edward Higgins, lately apprehended at Bristol, was transported in 1754 from Worcester, and that they saw him again in England in 1756.

Died lately at Corfe Castle, Mary Symmonds, aged 106 years. At Corke, Mr. Thaddeus Hynes, aged 105 years.

In Yorkshire, John Wood, aged 102.

At Folkestone in Kent, Mrs. Mary Beddingfield, aged 96.

In Ireland Brien O'Brien, Esq; aged 109 years.

At New Malton, Mary Bielby, aged 107 years.

At Newcastle, John Richardson, aged 101 years.

In Chick Lane, Mrs. Eliz. Fennell, aged 100 years.

In Oxford Road, Mrs. Sarah Proffen, aged 102 years, who had acquired a fortune of 10000 l. by pawnbroking.

In Chancery-Lane Mrs. Pimm, aged 100 years.

### M A R C H.

1st. The supercargo of the Lord Clive East-Indiaman, capt. Barclay, outward bound, for China, came to the India-house with an  
[E] 2 account

account of the above ship being lost off Boulogne. Two of the crew were drowned.

The grand jury of the city of London presented a memorial relating to the keeper of the house in Chancery-lane for lodging recruits for the East-India company's service.

Tuesday last a cause was tried in Westminster-hall, between a gentleman in Surry and a physician: The action was brought against the latter for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's lady, and a verdict was given with 500*l.* damages.

The following instance of the preservation of animal life is the most extraordinary we remember to have heard of, and is also well attested: viz. In the late storm, a gentleman at Dufton near Appleby, had two ewe sheep that lay under the snow from Monday the 18th of January till Sunday the 15th of last month, being thirty-four days, when they got out of it themselves without any help; although they had nothing to live upon but snow all that time; they could run as swift as a child of eight or ten years old; they had stood at about five yards distance from each other.

There is now in the possession of Mr. Barber, of Handley, near Worcester, a sow which has had no less than 345 pigs. In the space of one year in particular, she farrowed three times, had seventeen pigs in the first litter, eighteen in the second, and nineteen in the third; and this prolific creature is now in pig again.

The amount of the toll of the foot-passage over the new bridge at Black-Friars, from Nov. 19th,

1766, to Feb 10th 1767, amounted to 758*l.* 1*s.* 6  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

6th. Mr. Thomas, the principal supercargo on board the Lord Clive Indiaman, stays in France to take care of such of the company's effects as may be preserved out of the wreck. The two supercargoes who arrived on Sunday, were ordered on Monday afternoon to the Downs, to proceed to China on board the Vanfittart.

On Tuesday evening a great number of farmers were observed going along Pall-mall with cockades in their hats: On enquiring the reason, it appeared they all lived in or near the parish of Stanwell, in the county of Middlesex, and that they were returning to their wives and families, to carry them the agreeable news of a bill being rejected for inclosing the said common, which, if carried into execution, might have been the ruin of a great number of families.

Wednesday last were tried, by a special jury, two causes, in both which the chamberlain of London was plaintiff; one against T—— J——, and the other against J—— S——, for buying and selling government securities for their friends, not being brokers: In both which causes verdicts were given for the defendants; by which it is now settled, that every person is at liberty to employ his friend to buy or sell government securities, without being obliged to be at the expence of employing a broker; which will be a great inducement for people to lay out their money in the funds, and consequently a great addition to public credit.

On Tuesday night as Charles  
3 White

Whitworth, Esq; member for Bletchingley in Surry, was returning to his house at Greenwich, a footpad stopped his carriage at the end of Peckham-lane, and demanded his money ; but instead of complying, Mr. Whitworth let down the glass of the carriage, and fired at him with a blunderbuss ; after which the coachman drove on. The man was a few days afterwards found dead a few fields distant, and proved to be an ostler on Blackheath.

10th. John Wynne, otherwise Power, was executed pursuant to his sentence at Execution-Dock.

About one o'clock in the afternoon, the right hon. the lord-mayor, several aldermen, and the committees of common-council and of the skinners company, went from the mansion-house, in a cavalcade of about thirty coaches, to present the freedom of the city of London to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland ; and on their return they were elegantly entertained at dinner by his lordship at the mansion-house.

On Tuesday evening, one of the deputy bearers of St. Bride's, who had been turned out of his post with two others and a grave-digger, for being concerned in bringing a corpse from a lock-up house, to the church-yard of the said parish, at Fleet-ditch, late at night, came to the committee of poor, then sitting in the vestry, and desired to be heard in his vindication ; accordingly he was admitted, when he declared that the grave-digger came, on the 29th of last September, about nine at night, just after he had done supper, and told him he must go with

him and two others, to fetch a body to Mr. — the undertaker. Accordingly he went with him to the undertaker's house, where his servant immediately took a coffin, and went along with them : On coming near Temple-bar, he asked the grave-digger (who was the principal in the affair) where he was going to, who told him to Hyde-park hospital ; but when they came into the Butcher-row, they stopped at a certain house, and as the grave-digger proceeded in with the person who had the coffin, he declared he would not go in, for he did not like the house ; but, after some altercation, he went with the rest, and with some difficulty they persuaded him up stairs ; at the top of the house, they found a poor wretch laying dead, which they put into the coffin, but that the corpse and the house stunk so much, that it made him bring up his supper, for he believed the body had been dead five or six days ; however they brought the corpse down stairs, and rested it in the passage, where the person of the house gave them two pots of beer to drink, which were so bad that they could not drink it ; on which they desired the person of the house to let them have a pennyworth of gin each, and they would pay for it ; but he, rapping out an oath, told them he would give it them ; on drinking which, the door, which was locked all the while they were in the passage, was opened, and they brought the corpse away ; instead of carrying it to the undertaker's, as the grave-digger had told him at first, when they came to Fleet market, he then told them the undertaker would not be at home, and they



might as well carry it to the church-yard, which was done accordingly; that they then went to the undertaker's next morning, for their pay, who gave them a shilling a piece; on which one of the bearers told him it was a very hard jobb, and hoped he would give them something to drink; the undertaker then said he had but fourteen shillings for the burial, seven of which he had paid the parish, and four to them, so they might judge of the smallness of his profit; however he gave them a pot of purl, and they departed.

Was held at Merchant-12th. Taylors hall, a general court of the East-India company, when it appearing by the report of the directors, that the late terms offered by them to government were inadmissible, therefore a motion was made by George Dempster, Esq; that the court should be adjourned to next Wednesday, in order that some farther propositions might be proposed to accommodate the present differences between the company and the ministry; and after a debate of near four hours, Sir James Hodges moved that the court should be adjourned to next Monday, which motion was unanimously approved of by the whole proprietors.

They write from Edinburgh, that on Thursday the 26th of February, between five and six in the afternoon, the ferry-boat on the water of Garry, at Invergarry, near the pass of Killicrankie, containing thirty passengers, was carried down the river by the rapidity of the current, and was over-set; by which melancholy accident, no less than twenty-seven persons

have most unfortunately lost their lives. These unhappy sufferers were returning from Mouline market, where they had been disposing of their lincn yarn. Six farmers, with their wives, perished on this occasion. This passage, though the only access to a populous country, is very rapid and dangerous; and this is the third time, within these twelve months, that this boat has been forced down the river, by the immense rapidity of the current, though on the two former occasions happily no lives were lost.

As some workmen were lately digging down King Barrow at the south end of Stoborough, near Wareham, in Dorsetshire; to make the turnpike road in the centre, at the bottom of the Barrow, and even with the surface of the earth, in the natural sandy ground, was discovered a very large hollow trunk of an oak; rudely excavated, ten feet long, four in diameter, much decayed; on opening it were found many bones of an human body wrapped up in a large covering of several deer-skins, neatly sewed together. On unfolding the covering was found a small vessel of oak, of a very dark colour, in the shape of an urn. On the outside was cut a great number of lines, but nothing was found in it. There were the remains seemingly of a piece of gold lace, four inches long and two and a half broad, found stuck on a deer-skin covering, which was very much decayed.

A west-country barge, laden with seven hundred sacks of flour, and three hundred quarters of malt, is sunk in the river a little above Windsor.

About



**13th.** About eight in the evening, the Dauphiness died at Versailles. Her highness was born at Dresden, the 4th of November, 1731, of Frederick Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, and Mary Josepha Benedict, arch-duchess of Austria, eldest daughter to the emperor Joseph. She was married the 9th of November, 1747, to Louis, Dauphin of France, who died at Fontainebleau the 20th of December, 1765. By this prince she has left five children, three sons and two daughters. Upon this melancholy occasion, his most christian majesty and all the royal family retired immediately to Marli.

Last night the prisoners in the Gatehouse rose in the absence of the head turnkey, rushed upon the deputy turnkey, and knocked him down, then took the keys and opened the door, and six made their escape, but by timely assistance the rest were all secured.

We hear from Richards-castle, (a populous parish of several miles extent, famous for the salubrity of its air, and celebrated by Camden and other historians, for that strong and pure spring, called Bonewell) that only one person died there, in the last year: An instance scarce to be paralleled in the whole nation.—It is remarkable also that this parish divides the counties of Hereford and Salop; that the church stands in the former, and the parsonage-house in the latter county.

Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, a most dreadful fire broke out at Ottery St. Mary, in the county of Devon, which continued till six in the evening, and consumed the better part of the

houses in the town. Upwards of fifty dwelling-houses with shops, backhouses, and the shambles, are reduced to ashes, the wind being very high, it was with the greatest difficulty prevented from destroying the whole town.

**18th.** Was held a general court of the East-India company, at Merchant-Taylors hall, Threadneedle street, which consisted of a very numerous meeting of the proprietors: the court was opened with a speech from a very reputable proprietor, calling to mind the great services and merits of lord Clive; and concluded with the following motions, viz.

That it is the opinion of this court, that the important services rendered to the company by lord Clive, merit a grateful acknowledgment and return; and that a grant to his lordship, and his personal representatives, of an additional term in the jaghire of ten years, commencing from the determination of his lordship's present right therein, would be a proper acknowledgment and return for such important services; and that it be recommended to the court of directors, that upon any future propositions being made, either to parliament, or to his majesty's ministers, this resolution of the general court be humbly represented.

This motion being seconded, a debate ensued, which concluded in a motion of adjournment made by Mr. Dempster; upon which the court divided, and it was carried against the adjournment, by a majority of 73, viz. 243 against 170: then the main question being put, a ballot for the decision of the same was demanded by two different

fets of proprietors; the first consisting of gentlemen who were for the question, the other of gentlemen who voted for the adjournment of the court. At the conclusion of the ballot, the numbers were, for

Sir George Colebrooke's quest. 456

Mr. George Dempster's 264

After the conclusion of these questions, the proprietors formed themselves into a general court, when Mr. Dempster moved to reconsider the question concerning the additional term of ten years proposed to be granted lord Clive in his jaghire, commencing from his lordship's present interest therein, and which was to be ballotted for on the 24th. This motion was opposed by Sir James Hodges, knt. as being entirely contrary to order, and the proceedings of the said court. After a debate, which lasted till half an hour past ten o'clock, the question for adjournment to the 24th was carried by a very considerable majority.

They write from Scotland, that the ruins of the ancient city of Camelon have been lately discovered within four miles of Perth. This city was the capital of the Pictish kingdom before it was over-run and destroyed by the Scots about 800 years ago.

Since the erection of the British linen company at Edinburgh in 1746, the annual amount of linen stamped for sale in Scotland, is increased from 5480324 yards, value 222870l. 13s. to 12746659 yards, value 579227l. 11s. which was the report of that society for the last year.

23d. His majesty went to the house of peers attended by the duke of Ancaſter and the earl

of Eglinton; when the royal assent was given to thirty-one publick and private bills, among which were the following, viz.

The bill for granting an aid to his majesty by a land-tax for the service of the present year.

The bill for the better regulating his majesty's marine forces when on shore.

The bill for rebuilding the parish-church of St. Martin's in Worcester.

The bill for the more effectual maintenance and relief of the poor of Queenborough in Kent.

The bill to enlarge the term and powers granted to the inhabitants of St. Mary Rotherhithe, by certain funeral rates, for rebuilding their parish-church, &c.

They write from Newcastle, that one William Hodgson, aged twenty-two, labourer, at Sir Laurence Dundas's alum work, fell, during the late great snow, from the top of the cliff at the new work at Lofthouse, which from top to bottom measures just 155 yards. The precipice is somewhat slanting for about two-thirds from the top. He slid down that part of the rock on his breech with amazing velocity, carrying down with him a large quantity of snow, which preserved him in a great measure; and being thrown with great vehemence from a projecting crag, which turned him heels over head, he fell down perpendicular upwards of fifty yards into a snow drift at the foot of a cliff, where he lay above half an hour before his companions could get to him to take him up; and indeed they were sometime in suspense whether they should go to him or to the director of the work, in order to

to have the coroner sent for, because they never expected to find him alive. His right thigh was very much broke; the left knee, and the inward extremity of the right collar-bone, were dislocated. He was insensible for some days, and a month elapsed before he recovered a right use of his reason. His left hand is paralytic; but there are at present hopes of his recovering the use of it in a short time. It is remarkable, that he was so far from having any presence of mind during the fall, that he has not the least remembrance of it, and, on growing sensible, would not for some time believe that he had fallen down the cliff, though he remembers being at the top of it just before he slid down; but he knows no more of what followed than if he had not existed, nor has any idea of the space of time during which he was insensible.

His Danish majesty was taken ill of a scarlet fever, which was thought infectious, notwithstanding which, the queen most assiduously attended him, nor would she leave him day or night till his life was out of danger.

A gentleman near Warrington in Lancashire, labouring under a delirium, conceived himself beset by robbers and assassins, and being very much disordered in the night, the servants endeavoured to get into his room to secure him, when he suddenly opened the door, and in the dark discharged a fowling-piece among them, whereby an old servant whom he had a great regard for, was killed, and others were much hurt, to the inexpressible grief of the family.

The numbers upon the ballot

taken at Merchant-Taylors hall, upon the question proposed by sir James Hodges, kt. relating to the grant of an additional term of ten years, after the determination of lord Clive's present right in his jaghire shall be expired, was declared as follows:

For the question	—	361
Against it	—	332

Majority 29

After the above declaration, Mr. Baker moved for an immediate adjournment. This motion was opposed by another proprietor, who offered an amendment to this question, viz. That the court should be adjourned to a certain day, in order to receive the directors report, concerning Mr. Sullivan's, and the other propositions referred to the directors consideration, for accommodating the company's present disputes with government. These two questions, caused long debates, which lasted till after eleven o'clock, when a division demanded upon the first question, there were

For adjourning <i>sine die</i>	86
Against it	76

Majority 10

The following extraordinary affair happened at Ferrybridge. On Monday morning the second inst. the wife of Thomas Benson of that place, being suddenly taken ill, she to all appearance expired, and continued without any symptoms of life the whole day, and every proper requisite was ordered for her funeral; but the husband, hoping for some consolation in his distress, by some money which he had reason to believe she had secreted from him in her life-time, began

began to search for it on Tuesday morning, and found seven pounds ten shillings in crown pieces, concealed in an old box; but upon his attempting to take it away, he was surprized by his wife, who was just then recovered, met him, and terribly frightened him, by appearing as if nothing had happened, and continued seemingly in good health till Thursday noon, when she actually expired.

### LENT CIRCUIT.

At Aylesbury assizes, five were capitally convicted, four of whom were reprieved.

At Bedford assizes, three were capitally convicted, one of whom was reprieved.

At Bristol assizes, three were capitally convicted; two of whom were reprieved.

At Cambridge assizes, two were capitally convicted.

At Chelmsford assizes nine were capitally convicted, eight of whom were reprieved.

At Dorchester assizes, two were capitally convicted, one of whom was reprieved.

At East Grinstead assizes, three were capitally convicted, but were reprieved.

At the isle of Ely assizes, none were capitally convicted; there not being so much as one single bill of indictment before the grand jury.

At Gloucester assizes, six were capitally convicted, three of whom were reprieved. Five of the rioters, condemned at the special commission, were ordered to be transported for life.

At Hereford assizes, seven were capitally convicted.

At Huntingdon assizes, one was capitally convicted.

At Kingston assizes, three were capitally convicted, one of whom was Richard Mihil a baker, for the murder of his brother; an account of which the reader may see in our last year's chronicle. — At this assize a remarkable cause was tried between a gentleman, plaintiff, and Mr. Wm. Courtney, defendant; the action was upon a wager of 100 guineas, which was reduced into writing, that plaintiff procured three horses that should go ninety miles in three hours, which defendant laid he did not; the plaintiff proved his case very well, but it appearing to the court and jury that it was an unfair bet, the jury gave a verdict for the defendant. It seems the manner plaintiff performed this undertaking was by starting all the three horses together, so that they had but thirty miles a piece to run in the three hours, which was done with all the ease imaginable.

At Lancaster assizes, six were capitally convicted.

At Lincoln assizes, two were capitally convicted.

At Maidstone assizes two were capitally convicted, one of whom was Robert Rymes for the murder of Richard Williamson, hostler at the Antelope, at Dartford. Rymes, who had been long a vagabond, came into the kitchen, and demanded beer, which the master of the inn refused, on which he became troublesome: The hostler was ordered to turn him out. Rymes struggled hard, and swore he would stab him. The hostler defended himself with a stick, and then ran from Rymes, who pursued him about

about an hundred yards, overtook him, and gave him a mortal wound in his breast, of which he died two days after. The trial lasted five hours, and the jury brought in their verdict wilful murder, and in consequence Rymes was executed at Dartford next day. He died without the least remorse, saying he was guilty of no crime, nor would ever forgive his prosecutor, for what he did was only in his own defence.

Nottingham proved a maiden assize.

At the assizes at Oakham, two were capitally convicted, but were reprieved.

At Oxford assizes, none were capitally convicted.

At Reading assizes, three were capitally convicted.

At Salisbury assizes, three were capitally convicted, two of whom were reprieved.

At Shrewsbury assizes, six were capitally convicted.

At Stafford assizes, seven were capitally convicted, all of whom were reprieved, except a woman for a robbery, who pleading her belly, was respited to the 20th of June.

At Suffolk assizes, four were capitally convicted; but were all reprieved.

At Taunton assizes, four were capitally convicted; but have been all reprieved.

At Thetford assizes, seven were capitally convicted.

At Warwick assizes four were capitally convicted, one of whom was reprieved.

At Winchester assizes, seven were capitally convicted.

At the assizes for the county of York, five were capitally convicted, three of whom were reprieved.

At the assizes for York city, one woman was capitally convicted.

The late dauphiness hath bequeathed several religious jewels to the queen; her wedding ring to the cathedral church of Chartres; a picture representing Night to the bishop of Verdun, her first almoner, whom she recommends to the king in her will, as also Mr. Pautier de la Breuille, her physician, and Mr. d'Artis, valet de chambre of the late dauphin; a picture of that prince in the regimentals of a dragoon, to the duke de la Vaguyon, with a precious relic; another relic to the countess de Marsan, governess to the children of France; and a superb snuff-box to each of her ladies. That princess has also signified her intentions, that all her domestics be amply rewarded. According to her desire, her heart was deposited in the royal abbey of St. Dennis, by the cardinal de Luynes, and the countess de la Marche accompanied it thither. Her highness's body was removed on Saturday to Fountainbleau, and the next day to the metropolitan church of Sens, where it was deposited in the same vault with the remains of the late dauphin. The funeral service was performed by the cardinal de Luynes.

The governors of the city of London lying-in hospital held their annual feast, &c. when 330 l. was collected for the charity.

As seven or eight musqueteers were coming out of an eating-house in Paris, where they had drank plentifully, they happened to be splashed by a little cart that a poor man was drawing along, on which they fell upon the poor man and beat him severely.

the watch seeing this, called the guard, which being come, would have seized the musqueteers, but they drew their swords, and threatened to run through the body who-soever should dare to lay hold of them. More guards were called, but this reinforcement served only to irritate the musqueteers. They were desired to lay down their arms, and the affair should be dropped, but in vain; nothing could persuade them; so that the guards, after having behaved to them in a manner suitable to their quality, fired a musquet shot, which happily did no hurt, but was the signal of a sharp and obstinate fight on both sides, in which one of the musqueteers was mortally wounded; the others fled. Most of the soldiers of the guard were wounded in this battle, which lasted near two hours.

They write from Hertford in New England of the 12th of January, that the weather, which of late had been very cold, changed to warm; and last Monday it began to rain, which continued that night and next day; there being a good deal of snow on the ground, it occasioned a vast and sudden flood, which has done great damage to the mills, dams, bridges, &c. In this place a large dam is carried away, together with a saw-mill, and the greatest part of a grist mill, in which was destroyed a considerable quantity of grain and meal; another grist mill on the same stream has received some damage, and the great bridge was with the greatest difficulty preserved. A warehouse, fitted up for, and occupied by a family, at the ferry, was entirely carried off by the ice, and the family very

narrowly escaped. Happily the ice stopped before the height of the flood, or it is probable all the stores and dwelling houses at the river side had been swept away. All the west division bridges but one are carried away, and their mills much damaged. Besides the above, the town will suffer greatly in the loss of fences, which are prodigiously damaged. At Middletown, the great bridge lately erected, is carried away, as are also several other bridges on the same river; in the west part of that town several bridges, mills, and dams are swept away. Mr. Stephen Blake of that place, an under sheriff, and his son about twelve years old, were both drowned, in attempting to cross a bridge at the south end of the town. At Suffield, all their mills, dams and bridges, are carried away, or much damaged. At Farmington, a fulling-mill, with its dam, has been carried off; there bridges are a good deal damaged. The bridge at Windsor, which lately cost 200 l. in building, is destroyed. At Wintonbury, a fulling mill, and dam, belonging to Capt. Gillet, were carried away, together with a quantity of cloth. On the post road between this place and New York there are only King's bridge and a bridge at Norwalk left standing. New Haven has suffered very much, having lost three or four large bridges, and two or three dykes made for damming out the tides.

A calculation of the number of cattle, &c. killed in one year in the city of London, made by the late Mr. Empson, 1761: sheep and lambs 711,121; bulls, oxen, and cows, 78,254; calves, 104,760; hogs for pork, 146,932; for ba-



bacon, 41,000 ; sucking pigs, 52,600.

Another fire has nearly completed the total ruin of the unfortunate town of Bridgetown in Barbadoes. It broke out between eight and nine at night, on the 27th of December, and continued burning till morning, with more fury than the dreadful one of the 19th of May. Above forty dwelling-houses are burnt down, besides several considerable stores and timber-yards. It began in an old store of Messrs. Bedford and Co. but in what manner no one can give any account. Several large yards full of lumber and coals being contiguous, it was impossible to extinguish it till it had consumed all within its reach, besides several capital houses belonging to the merchants ; a vast quantity of boards, planks, staves, and heading for sugar and rum casks, &c. were destroyed, as most of the trade was carried on in this spot since the former terrible disaster.

They write from Venice, that the deputies of the republic gave lately to the reigning duke of Wurtemburgh the diversion of a bull-fight in the square of St. Mark. Forty-eight masks, dressed in the English, Spanish, Swiss, and Hungarian manner, harrassed the bulls whilst they were baited by the dogs ; after which two persons struck off at a single blow the heads of six bulls successively. The baiting of three bulls, with fireworks fixed to them, closed the diversion, at which upwards of twenty thousand persons assisted ; and there was afterwards a grand supper.

The edict against luxury is so strictly observed at Stockholm, that a counsellor of state, who had ne-

glected to have a velvet border stript off a cloak which he had worn many years, was summoned a few days ago before the tribunal to whom the execution of the said edict belongs, and reprimanded ; and a lady, respectable no less by her merit than her high birth, has been also obliged to appear before them, for drinking a dish of chocolate in her box at the play-house.<sup>22</sup>

The king of Naples, playing lately with the prince de Spaccatorto, gentleman of his chamber, accidentally tore one of the prince's ruffles. The latter, who ought to have taken it only in joke, immediately uttered some harsh expressions, and was put under an arrest for some days in the castle : from whence he was no sooner released, than instead of going to make his excuses to the king, as good sense dictated, he went to the prince de St. Nitandre, formerly his majesty's governor, and there made use of terms as unguarded as before ; for which audacity he has been again punished : by the loss of all his posts, and banishment to his estate in Sicily.

Letters from Saintonge advise, that the wolves have lately made most terrible ravages in the neighbourhood of St. Jean d'Angeli, where several persons who had been bit by them have died mad.

A woman, by profession a seamstress, has been condemned, by an arret of the parliament of Paris, to make the amende honorable, to be fixed to the Carcan, to be branded and confined to the saltpetre-house for nine years, for having, by means of a forged register of her first husband's burial, contracted a second marriage with another man, whose widow she now is. The writing-master

matter who forged the register, is likewise condemned to the galleys for life, after making the amende honorable, and being branded in the shoulders. This sentence began to be executed last Thursday.

There was lately tried at Chelmsford, in Essex, two causes, wherein William Butler, and John Mungall, or Barking, in the same county, fishermen, were plaintiffs, and an officer of the customs, at Malden, defendant. The action was brought for the illegal seizure and detainer of the plaintiffs fishing-boat, and for killing and otherwise damaging, with a boat-hook, their cargo of fish, for no other reason than the plaintiffs having on board an old rusty musket, a pound of shot, and half a pound of powder, which the officer called fire-arms, against the king. A verdict was found for the plaintiffs, with damages and full costs of suit.

A coal mine has been opened near Campbeltown in Cantire, which promises to succeed well; in time, it may prove an advantageous trade to that port, which promises to be a flourishing place, from whence many vessels are going to the Newfoundland fishery.

The write from Genoa, that the hereditary prince of Brunswick arrived there from Turin, early in the morning of the 20th of February. At half an hour after his arrival, he was complimented by the master of the ceremonies in the republic's name, who renewed the offer of a deputation on behalf of the republic, which his Serene Highness desired, in the most polite manner, to be excused from accepting. The prince will embark, in a few days, on board his

majesty's ship *Montreal*, for Antibes or Toulon.

The late earthquake has done considerable damage to the houses in this city. It has been succeeded by several other shocks not so violent as the first, and there is a constant tremor in the earth, felt in the city and its environs.

On the 9th of February; at a quarter after four in the morning, three successive shocks of the earth were felt at Grasse in France. The first lasted but a few seconds, though it waked several persons in bed, and threw down some tiles and chimnies. During its continuance, a sound was heard like that of a strong gust of wind. The two other shocks were not so sensibly felt. These shocks were considerably more violent in Italy; but diminished in proportion as they were nearer to France. Their force was greatest at Venice; less considerably at Genoa, and still less at Nice.

By the earthquakes at Fivizzano in Tuscany, the cathedral is rent in many parts; the church of the cordeliers has suffered much, and the great hospital, the town-hall, and the salt-magazine, are greatly damaged.

On the 12th of this month, at three in the morning, a fire broke out in the king's palace at Warsaw, and in two hours destroyed one entire wing; in which, amongst other people, were lodged a part of his majesty's own family. No lives were lost, but papers of great importance to the republic are destroyed.

Prince Repnin, ambassador from Russia, presented a declaration to the king of Poland, signed by the empress, by which she demands that the dissidents of Poland and

Lithuania be forthwith restored to the enjoyments of their ancient rights and privileges; and that in order to accomplish this, she has found herself obliged to order 30,000 men to enter Poland, who will not leave the country till the dissidents are put upon an equal footing with the other citizens.

A conspiracy was formed among the felons, in the North Gate jail in Chester, wherein one Evan Thomas, who was confined for a murder and robbery, was the ring-leader. About eight, when the turnkey was going to put him and three others into the dungeon, Thomas seized him, and threw him into the dungeon, and took the key from him and locked him in; his cries brought Mr. Whitehead, the gaoler, down to his assistance, when Thomas ran a penknife into his throat, and killed him on the spot. They went up into the house, and seizing Mrs. Whitehead, demanded the key of the North Gate from her, who told them that her husband had it in his pocket, upon which they went down stairs to search for it. In the mean time Mrs. Whitehead unlocked the North Gate door, to call assistance; but they came up again, and seized her while the door was open; three men, however, coming out of the street, secured 3 of the felons, but the above Evan Thomas made his escape: his irons were found the next day in a field near the city.

About nine at night, four 30th. men coming to town from Holloway, in a hackney-coach, were attacked by four foot-pads, who, on some resistance being made, shot one of the men through the head, and he expired immediately. They took from the rest about 15l.

and helped the dead man (one Griffiths, a turner in Clerkenwell) into the coach, and then made their escape.—Intelligence of this murder, with a description of the murderers, being sent to Sir John Fielding immediately, one of them was taken next day, and by his means all the rest.

A terrible accident happened at a colliery near Farfield, Durham. The pits were 80 fathom deep; and on Friday morning last, when all the hands were at work, it went off with a great explosion, by which 39 persons lost their lives. Most of their bodies are got up, but in a very mangled manner. The owners are now giving 20l. premium per man; and so great is the necessity of the poor, that they are already nearly supplied.

The whole quantity of the different sorts of grain imported this month at the port of London, amounts to 71,153 qrs.

The following are the particulars of a murder perpetrated by Alexander Grant, alias Dearg, weaver, in Drummulie, in the shire of Elgin, on John M'Donald, alias M'Isaac, tenant in Drummulie, on the 15th of March. Grant kept a whisky house, as did M'Donald; the latter supplied with better liquor, and being of a more affable temper, engrossed all the company: Grant's envy was raised, and he was often heard to say, "he would do him an ill turn." On a Sunday, Grant, with M'Donald's brother-in-law, and some neighbours, went to drink whisky at M'Donald's; when, after they were pretty much intoxicated, they agreed to spend the afternoon over Grant's whisky. They set out, but

but when they were at a distance from M'Donald's, Grant told the company, he had something to communicate to him, which he chose to do in private, and desired them to step forward. After waiting some time at a distance, they concluded they had gone back again to M'Donald's; but on returning found them struggling together, and saw Grant plunge a large knife into M'Donald's body, and throw him on the ground. This done, he advanced with his knife reeking with the blood of the unfortunate man, and made at his brother-in-law, who, with the rest of the company, endeavoured to save themselves by flight. Grant overtook him, and gave him several wounds, and, if the rest had not interposed, would have killed him on the spot. The villain fled to the woods, and 200 men are now in pursuit of him. The brother-in-law's life is despaired of.

Between eleven and twelve 31st. at night, large detachments of troops were sent to each of the six different houses of Jesuits in Madrid; and the doors being opened, the bells were first secured, and a centinel was posted at every cell, the occupier of which being obliged to rise, they were assembled, and the king of Spain's commands were signified to them. In the mean time, all the hired coaches and chaises at Madrid, together with a number of waggons, were properly distributed; and early in the morning the Jesuits, to the number of about three hundred and fifty, were in motion. They were allowed to carry every necessary along with them. They took the road to Carthagená, where they will embark for Rome.

There is now living in a village near Ludlow, in Shropshire, one John Saunders and his wife, whose ages, added together, make 212, the man being 107, and the woman 105; they are both chiefly supported by the charity of some neighbouring gentlemen.

Died, Nicholas Dufrenois, a notary at Berrieux, in the diocese of Laon, the 15th ult. aged 101. He married at 75, and had six children; and never had any illness.

At Wigtown in Scotland, Mary Finlater, aged 113 years.

At Hampstead, Mrs. Jane Staples, aged 106 years.

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## A P R I L.

The governors of the Magdalen charity held their anniversary feast at drapers hall, Throgmorton-street, after a sermon preached at St. George's Hanover-square, by the Rev. Mr. Sellon, Chaplain to the Earl of Pomfret. The collection at the church and hall, amounted to 523 l. 8 s. 1st.

A cause, which has been depending for upwards of two years, between two gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Exeter, has at length been determined at the assizes for that city. The action was brought against the defendant for carrying the produce of the harvest of the year 1764 without giving notice to the plaintiff's deputies of their intention of carrying the same, in order that the plaintiff, as owner of the tythes of the said parish, might send for his tenth of the produce; when, after a trial which lasted 14 hours, in which the 2d.

the plaintiff proved that it had been a custom during the lives of his father, grand-father, and great-grand-father, for 100 years last past, to have such notice given; and that it would be impossible for the owner of the tythes to receive a quarter part of his due, without the farmer was obliged to give such notice, the extent of the parish being at least ten miles; a verdict was given in favour of the plaintiff, with full costs of suit.

3d. His majesty went to the house of peers, attended by his grace the duke of Ancafter and the earl of Denbigh, and gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

The bill to raise 1,800,000l. by loans on exchequer bills, and a lottery for the service of the present year.

The bill to apply the sum granted for the pay and cloathing of the militia for 1767.

The bill to enlarge the term and powers granted for building two new churches in the town of Liverpool.

The bill to enable the earl of Strathmore to take and use the name of Bowes, pursuant to the will of George Bowes, Esq; deceased.

And also to several road, inclosure, and naturalization bills.

It is said, there are now in England three dukes of France, and twenty-nine other noblemen of that kingdom.

4th. The general order for the expulsion of the Jesuits which began to be put in execution at Madrid on the first instant, was this day completed throughout all the dominions of the king of Spain.

VOL. X.

The subjects at Cambridge for the prizes of fifteen guineas each, given by the members of the university, are this year,

For the senior bachelors;

*Utrum censoris Romani disciplina reipublicæ utilis fuerit.*

For the middle bachelors;

*Utrum possessorem bearint sæpius an perdidierint divitiæ.*

The exercises to be delivered in by the 10th of June in the usual manner.

A dreadful storm of thunder and lightning did considerable damage at Provence in France. The lightning set fire to the royal abbey of St. James, by which one of the main beams in the steeple was burnt, so as to give way in the angle; two other churches were set on fire in the neighbourhood; the bells of one melted, and the other entirely consumed.

His serene highness the hereditary prince of Brunswick arrived from his travels, at St. James's, after an absence from England, of one year and two days.

His majesty went to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

The bill to continue an act for allowing the free importation of wheat and wheat-flour, barley, barley-meal, and pulse, for a further limited time, from any part of Europe.

The bill for laying an additional duty on bast, or chip, straw, cane and horse-hair hats or bonnets imported.

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The bill to enable his majesty to grant certain annuities to his three brothers, their royal highnesses the dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland.

The bill for making the river Ure navigable from its junction with the river Swale to the borough of Rippon in Yorkshire.

The bill for lightening, cleansing, and paving that part of the parish of St. Botolph, without Aldgate, and the precinct of St. Catherine's.

The bill to enable the trustees of the Museum to exchange, sell, or dispose of, any duplicates of books, medals, coins, &c. and to purchase others in lieu thereof.

The bill to enable Henry duke of Buccleugh, a minor, to make a settlement on his intended marriage with Lady Elizabeth Montague.

The following odd relation is attested as a fact. An inquisition was taken at Newbery, Berks, on the body of a child near 2 years old, who fell into the river Kennet, and was drowned. The jury brought in their verdict *Accidental death*.—The body was discovered by a very singular experiment, which was as follows: After diligent search had been made in the river for the child, to no purpose, a two-penny loaf, with a quantity of quicksilver put into it, was set floating from the place where the child, it was supposed, had fallen in, which steered its course down the river upwards of half a mile, before a great number of spectators, when the body happening to lay on the contrary side of the river, the loaf suddenly tacked about, and swam across the river, and gradually sunk near the child, when both the child and loaf were immediate-

ly brought up, with grabbers ready for that purpose.

One of the crimps who decoy men to go abroad, met with a young fellow who he thought would answer his purpose, and told him that he would treat him with a pot of beer, if he would only say to a person just by that he was enlisted to serve the East-India company, by which he should win a wager; but the young man refused, on which the crimp pulled out a paper, and said he had a warrant against him for stealing a silver tankard from a public house, valued at above 12 l. and thereupon insisted on his going with him; when a man passing by, enquired into the affair, and found it was a trick to get the young fellow to some lock-up house; he thereupon insisted on their going with him to the Mansion-house, but it being late, they were both lodged all night in the Poultry Compter, and on Saturday were carried before the right hon. the lord mayor, when the fact appeared to be as above, that the crimp had no real charge against the young fellow for theft, and that it was an artifice generally used to get men to lock-up houses, where they are confined in such a manner, that it is impossible for them to acquaint their friends of their situation; upon which the crimp was committed to Newgate, and the young fellow bound over to appear against him at the next sessions at the Old Bailey.

The committee of polite arts, &c. in the Strand adjudged the first premium for landscape painting to the ingenious Mr. Jones, formerly pupil to Mr. Wilson, for his truly meritorious performance;



the second to Mr. John Gardnor, master of an academy in Kensington. The merits of both pictures appeared so equal, that the casting vote was left in the breast of the chairman. There was likewise given to Mr. Dean, landscape-painter, twenty guineas as a bounty, his picture having great share of merit.

There has been lately published a sheet list of changes, said to have happened during the present reign; by which it appears, that there have been no less than 2 lord chancellors, 4 lord presidents, 5 lord keepers of the privy seal, and once the seal in commission, 5 first lords of the treasury, 13 other lords of the treasury, 6 chancellors of the exchequer, 5 lord chamberlains, 2 vice chamberlains, 3 grooms of the stole, 31 different lords of the bedchamber, 22 different grooms of the bedchamber, 4 keepers of the great wardrobe, 4 groom porters, 2 lord stewards, 5 comptrollers, 5 treasurers, 5 cofferers, 12 different clerks of board of green cloth, 3 treasurers of the chamber, 5 masters of the horse, 11 secretaries of state, 7 first lords of the admiralty, 23 different lords of the admiralty, 8 first lords of trade, 18 different lords of trade, 9 post-masters, 4 pay-masters, 3 treasurers of the navy, 3 secretaries at war, 5 keepers of privy seal of Scotland, 8 vice treasurers of Ireland.

There are above as many more changes mentioned in the said list.

17th. This morning, between twelve and one o'clock, a fire broke out in the kitchen of Mr. Wood, cheesemonger, in Hungerford-market, Strand, supposed to be occasioned by some linen being left near the fire, which in a few hours consumed that house, a

butcher's on one side of it, and a small house on the other, at the upper end of the piazza, damaged two more houses in the front, and some out houses backwards. The flames were so rapid, that Mr. Wood's family had not time to save any part of the stock, and but little of their furniture. A jeweller, who lodged in the house where it began, lost some diamonds of considerable value.

On the 16th of August last, the Pitt, Capt. Bothomley, from Rotterdam for Angola, ran ashore on Cape Bajadore, on the coast of Barbary; 25 of the crew going ashore, were stript naked by about 100 moors, in which condition they remained 14 days, while the moors were getting all they could from the ship; and then breaking her up, they burnt the pieces, and stove the casks of liquor as they came ashore, for the sake of the iron and hoops, which were divided among them with the rest of the plunder; then separating the crew, they were sold in the country for camels, sheep, goats, &c. About three weeks after, meeting together again, the natives concluded to carry them to the emperor of Morocco. After 49 days travel, they arrived at Teredant, and were carried before the bashaw or governor, who treated them kindly, supplying them with plenty of bread and grapes. After 14 days rest they travelled in seven days to Morocco. The last day's march Mess. Adams and Hosier of Santa Cruz sent two moors to conduct them; but being in two parties, only 12 got safe, and 12 were taken by the soldiers, and Hugh Evans was left upon the mountains, but got safe in. After eight days they were presented to

the emperor, who appointed them a house among the Jews at Miccaneffe, with an allowance of two blanks a day, and liberty to walk about. By producing a Mediterranean pass, after five months they were permitted to go to Salée, where the Danish consul behaved with great generosity and benevolence, supplying them with money and victuals. From thence they travelled to Larach, and then to Tetuan, and passed over to Gibraltar, from whence some came to England, and others entered on board a man of war.

The frost was so severe in the province of Dauphiny, that it destroyed the vines, and totally cut off the blossoms of the early fruit trees.

A body of tinnerns assembled near Truro in Cornwall, and rummaged Lambessa farm for corn, which they seized and paid for; but in searching for the corn, one of their company filched a couple of silver spoons, which were soon missed, and application made to the ringleaders to have them returned; these men, with a frankness not to be expected, insisted on an immediate search of all their companions, in order to discover the thief, who being soon detected, they caused him to be stripped, and scourged to such a degree that he took to his bed, and it was thought would hardly recover.

22d. Their majesties (accompanied by their royal highnesses the prince and princess of Brunswick) were pleased to honour the incorporated society of artists of Great Britain with their presence, at the great room in Spring Gardens; and expressed their satisfaction in observing the several genuine

performances exhibited there, and the present flourishing state of the polite arts among their subjects.

*The following report of the state of the city hospitals was laid before the Governors.*

*Christ's Hospital.*

Children put forth apprentices, &c. last year, ten, whereof had been instructed in the mathematics,	159
Buried the last year,	17
Remaining in this hospital,	873

*St. Bartholomew's.*

Cured and discharged last year,	3745
Out-patients relieved,	3100
Trusses given by the hospital to	11
Buried this year,	349
Remaining under cure,	400
Ditto out-patients,	141
Total,	7746

*St. Thomas's.*

In-patients cured and discharged,	3245
Out patients, ditto,	3797
Buried this year,	308
Remaining under cure,	470
Out-patients, ditto,	236
Total,	8049

*Bridewell Hospital.*

Vagrants, &c. relieved and discharged,	461
Maintained in several trades, &c.	76

*Beth-*

*Bethlem hospital.*

Admitted into this hospital,	195
Cured,	172
Buried,	44
Remaining under cure,	251

A gentleman in Hamilton-street, Hyde-park-corner, stabbed himself with his sword in several parts of his breast; and afterwards pulled out his pen-knife, cut his throat from ear to ear, and immediately expired. It seems the cause of his so doing was, his finding himself beginning to be seized with a canine madness, in consequence of his having been bit by a mad dog about five weeks before, and to prevent his growing worse, or doing mischief to others, he thought proper to dispatch himself in the above manner.

26th. The concerto at the Thuilleries in Paris, was interrupted by a tragical accident, which has occasioned much conversation. Mr. H—y, an English gentleman, having taken offence at a French officer's manner of talking to some ladies that sat next him, made use of some rough language, which the officer resenting, gave a sign for the English gentleman to follow him out. In crossing the benches, the Englishman struck the officer with his fist, and the officer instantly drew his sword, and ran the Englishman through the body. The wound, however, was not mortal; and the French in general seem to be sorry that it was not, as the example of striking a person in a royal palace ought, according to their way of thinking, to be

punished with instant death. The gentleman was, however, taken up, and carried to the Bastile, where his wound has been since cured and at the instance of the British ambassador, he has been released, and conveyed by order of court to the frontiers of France next England, and the French officer enjoined not to depart the kingdom in a limited time.

A machine, of a new construction, for the more expeditious and exact sawing of timber, is now erecting in a timber-yard near Limehouse; it is to be worked by wind, and is said to be the first of the kind erected in this kingdom.

At the sessions at Guild-hall, John Young was tried for illegally confining Henry Soppitt, a sailor, at a lock-up-house in Chancery-lane, with a design to send him to the Indies. He pleaded guilty; but the court finding the action so black against him, he was sent to Wood-street Compter till next sessions, when judgment is to be passed.

Both houses of Parliament met, pursuant to their last prorogation.

As a waggon load of veal was coming to town from Sudbury in Suffolk, destined for the London markets, the mob seized and sold it for two pence per pound to the poor people, when they paid the owners the money received, returned them the cloths the veal was wrapped up in, and went quietly home to their habitations.

The King of Denmark having lately sent a present to the unhap-

py family of Calas, together with a letter to Moni. de Voltaire upon the subject, received the following answer from that learned man :

“ Sire ; The letter which your majesty was pleased to honour me with, grew from me tears of tenderness and joy. Your majesty sets a great example very early. Your benevolence spreads into countries almost unknown to the rest of the world, and you make all your subjects who come within the hearing of your benevolent generosity. We must travel into the north to learn to think and feel. If my weakness and bodily complaints would permit me to follow the emotions of my heart, I would throw myself at your majesty's feet. When my imagination was alert, Sire, I should have made too many verses in answer to your charming prose. Pardon the dying efforts of a man who is not able to express the sentiments which your goodness inspires him with. I wish your majesty as much happiness as you will have real glory.

I have the honour to be, &c.”

They write from Chemnitz in Hungary, that some persons of Frauenmarck, in the county of Honten, having chased for some time a wild boar, and having followed it into the mountains, farther perhaps than they had ever penetrated before, they saw on the snow the vestiges of a human creature, which they followed, and which led them to a cavern, where, to their great astonishment, they found a young girl quite naked, very plump, of a deep brown colour, and to appearance from fifteen to eighteen years of

age. At first she set up cries, but wept not. She gazed afterwards with surprise on those round her, and suffered herself at last to be led away by them. They carried her to the hospital of Carpsen, a little royal town, in the county of Atfal, near Chemnitz, where they clothed her, and made her take nourishment. Hitherto she has constantly refused all the dressed meats which have been laid before her, and she feeds only upon raw victuals, the rinds of trees, and other things of the like nature.

Paris, April 20. By a report made by M. de Roquemont, commandant of the city guard, concerning the manner in which the musqueteers lately treated the Guet, the marshals of France have ordered, that the musqueteer, who was so grievously wounded, shall be broke, and declared incapable of serving the king, and be imprisoned four years. The other musqueteers concerned in that affair have been broke, and condemned to one or two years imprisonment.

5<sup>th</sup>. A fire broke out in a saw-pit in the timber-yard of Mr. Justice Quarrel at Redriff, and the flames catching the timber, a dreadful conflagration ensued, which consumed ten dwelling-houses, with vast quantities of timber, sheds, and out-buildings.

At the anniversary meeting of the trustees of the London Hospital, the collection at church and at the hall, amounted to 1336l. 3s. The sermon was preached by the bishop of Gloucester.

We

We are sorry to take notice, that the assembly of New-York have refused to provide barracks, fuel, &c. for the troops quartered in that city, agreeable to an act passed for that purpose last year, by the parliament of Great Britain; a refusal which, should they persist in it, may be productive of the most disagreeable consequences to that province.

The above-mentioned act has been complied with by the assembly of Philadelphia.

Lieut. Gen. Baron de Goltz, knight of the Russian order of St. Alexander Newski, and Marshal of the confederation of the dissidents for Poland and Polish Prussia, died at Thorn of a violent fever, and his brother, Major General Baron de Goltz, Staroste of Graudent, is elected marshal of the confederation in his room.

Died, at Hales Owen Mrs. Elizabeth Mason, aged 104 years.

Louts Margotten in France, aged 105 years.

Rev. Mr. Paterson at Footscray, aged 100 years.

Mrs. Mary Tufton at Namptwich, aged 109 years.

John King at Stratford upon Avon, aged 105 years.

Baroness Passerini at Rome, aged 108 years.

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### M A Y.

1<sup>st</sup>. The Morocco ambassador had his audience of leave of his majesty, and a ship of war is ordered to be in readiness to carry him home.

2<sup>nd</sup>. This day the ceremony of the coronation of their Danish majesties was performed in the chapel

of Christianburg at Copenhagen, by the bishop of Sieland. On that occasion his majesty assumed the motto *Gloria ex amore patriæ*. My glory is in the love of my country. As the kings of Denmark do not receive the crown from any other hands than their own, the ceremony of putting it on is performed by themselves.

Collections were made in the several churches of Dublin, for the relief of the industrious poor, which amounted in the whole to 2738l. 14s. 5d.

The sessions ended at the 2<sup>d</sup>. Old Baily, when seventeen prisoners were capitally convicted; among these were Gormon and Johnson, sailors, for the murder of the man at Holloway. Some favourable circumstances appearing in favour of Johnson, he was respited; one of the accomplices was admitted king's evidence; and another, against whom there was not sufficient evidence for the murder, was condemned for a robbery.

At this session, forty-five were ordered to be transported for seven years, two for fourteen years, two were branded, and two privately whipped.

A farmer at Morton near York, on finding fault with a servant boy for disobeying his orders, gave him a push from him, whereby he fell backward, and his head pitching on a stone his skull was fractured, and he died immediately. The farmer, shocked at the dreadful accident, next morning cut the arteries of both his arms, so that his life is despaired of. The coroner's jury that sat on the body brought in their verdict accidental death.

The lady of Admiral O'Hara was terribly burnt, by an accident of her ruffle taking fire by the flame of a candle; and her son, Capt. O'Hara, was much scorched by endeavouring to extinguish the flame.

An ingenious experiment was made by the Rev. Mr. Gainsborough, before several persons of distinction, pointing out a cheap and easy method of turning any wheel-plough into a drill-plough, adapted to all kinds of seeds and all proportions; which met with general applause.

The culture of Buck, or French Wheat, is strongly recommended as exceedingly profitable to the farmer. It will thrive well in sandy or gravelly soils; rolled and ploughed in, when green, it makes an excellent manure for three years; reaped and threshed, it produces great increase, affords a delicious food for pigs, pigeons, and poultry; and, by mixing it with oats, it cleanses and smooths the coats of horses: in short, in poor land nothing answers so well. The time of sowing it, is in May.

4th. Francis Gormon, for the murder of Thomas Griffiths, was executed pursuant to his sentence. A young woman with a wen upon her neck, was lifted up while he was hanging, and had the wen rubbed with the dead man's hand, from a superstitious notion that it would effect a cure.

The collection at the rehearsal of the music for the feast of the sons of the clergy amounted to 212l. 10s. 6d. the least that has been known for many years.

Letters from Basseterre, in St. Christopher's, dated Feb. 12, says, "Capt. Dyer, of the Anna Teresa packet, who arrived here a few days ago, informs us, that an insurrection of the negroes has happened at the island of Grenada, where a body of them, to the number of 600 or 700, who had chiefly deserted from the French inhabitants, had taken possession of some inaccessible mountain, from whence they made frequent sallies, and committed terrible devastations upon their masters, many of whom they had killed. When capt. Dyer came away, general Melvill had sent a party of 40 men, with one cohorn, to endeavour to suppress them, but with what success capt. Dyer had not had time to learn."

There has been also an insurrection of the negroes lately in Jamaica, which was soon quelled; but not till they had inhumanly murdered some whites. We are sorry to say, that their cruelties were retaliated in a manner disgraceful to human nature; such of them as were taken, were burnt alive by a slow fire, beginning at the feet, and burning upwards; which the wretches bore with amazing resolution.

7th. Was held the anniversary meeting of the sons of the clergy. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Eyre, and the collection amounted to 165l. 10s. 2d. At the hall to 49cl. 16s. 8d.

A most barbarous and inhuman murder was committed at Anderston, a village near Glasgow, by Johanna Dougal, on her own daughter, between eight and nine years of age. We are informed that



that she had been in terms of marriage with a man who had made some objections to her having a child ; and therefore, to get rid of the poor innocent creature, led her out to the fields, and, behind a hedge, cut her throat to the neck-bone with a common table knife, in a most shocking manner : some people being near, and a herd-boy seeing her at a distance, she was pursued and apprehended ; and blood appearing on her hands, petticoat, and apron, she at once confessed the horrid deed : the instrument with which she did the cruel action, was found in the hedge near where the child was discovered, just in the last contortion of life ; and it appeared that the poor girl had made some small resistance, as her left hand was cut quite across the fingers. The wretched mother was committed to prison.

A sugar-baker in Cheapside, was put into fresh earth up to the chin, in which situation he remained six hours, by way of remedy for an inveterate scurvy, that had baffled the skill of eminent physicians.

At the herbalizing feast of the company of apothecaries, Mr. Latham recommended the *Lamium Album*, or white-nettle, to the notice of his brethern, as containing properties that might be extremely useful in pharmacy.

Advice was received here, that the *Lindenhoff*, a Dutch East-Indiaman, had been set on fire by lightning, on the coast of India, and entirely consumed. The captain and 87 others saved themselves in their boats ; but 40 perished in the flames, or were drowned.

Extract of a letter from Kingston in Jamaica, dated the 31st of January.

The 26th instant came to anchor in this port, the sloop *George*, capt. Jeremiah Rogers, bound from Halifax to New-York, blown off the coast by stress of weather. Being obliged to put into Porto Rico the 15th inst. having only a few biscuits and gallons of water on board ; upon sending the boat on shore to get relief, no notice being taken of the signal made by the sloop, the mate and sailors in the boat were detained as prisoners, and the boat was sent back by their own people, commanded by a lieutenant of a guarda costa, who boarded the vessel, and made the captain and all on board prisoners, with a strong guard on deck ; they then went into the cabin, and opened trunks and boxes belonging to the passengers, and carried away sundry effects and money, as also goods belonging to the vessel. On the 17th instant, being under way, a Spanish frigate brought the sloop to anchor, first firing a shot to leeward, and sent the boat with eight or nine hands armed, commanded by a petty officer, who ordered the captain and passengers to go on board the Spanish vessel ; and during the time the captain and passengers were on board the Spanish vessel, his people were committing many acts of piracy and barbarity on board the sloop, and would not suffer any of the people belonging to the sloop to hale the ship ; and after complaining to the captain of the frigate, no redress was obtained, but a peremptory demand was made to send on board his vessel a barrel of mackrel as a pass. It is to be observed,

served, that the governor of St. Domingo was on board, who said, 'it was not in his power to give any relief, being only a passenger:' it was therefore thought more prudent to leave such an inhospitable coast, than make any further attempts for relief, having a perishable cargo on board.—The above account is taken from a copy of the captain's protest.

Thomas Mompeyson, Esq; bench in the Middle Temple, died lately. He was the elder brother of Henry Mompeyson, murdered by robbers in France, in 1723, with Mr. Sebright, and two other English gentlemen. Mr. Mompeyson was at first wounded, but not mortally, by a pistol, on which he fell, and might probably have survived, had he not, by looking up too soon, been observed by the robbers just as they were going off, on which they returned, and cut his throat. Mr. Mompeyson's remains were brought to England, and interred in the family vault of the church yard of Sundrich, in Kent, with the following inscription:

M. S.

HENRICI MOMPESON,  
Thomæ Mompeyson de Durnfold,  
in agro Dorsetensi, Arm.

Filii natu minoris:

Qui tabe pulmonari graviter affectus,  
ad leniores Galliae Narbonensis auras  
ut unicum quod restabat remedium,  
perfugere hortatus,

Dum istuc iter faceret,

Septimo a Portu Iccio lapide  
truculenti sex latrones

imparatum adorti, [cisso,

Obreptis pecuniis juguloque scdissime dis-  
pro mortuo reliquerunt.

Hoc vulnere,

Cum per 48 horas elanguisset,

Spiritum Deo pie reddidit,

Anno Salutis 1723,

Ætatis suæ 26.

Carissimi (dum vixeret) reliquias,  
Ex Gallia deportatas,  
Hoc tumulo conditi curavit  
Mœrens frater unicus  
T. M.

16th. The committee of mechanics from the society for promoting arts, &c. in the Strand, attended by appointment at one of the keys, near Billingsgate, to see the experiment of Mr. Pinchbeck's invention for improving the wheel crane, and for preventing the many fatal accidents which so frequently happen in that useful and necessary machine, without depending in the least on the care of any of the labourers or persons working therein; when, among many severe trials that it underwent, an hog-head was suffered to run amain, and the men to jump out, when the wheel to the surprise of many of the spectators, stopped of itself before it had made more than half a revolution. This invention is entirely given to the public, and it is thought will certainly prevent any future accident.

The general assembly of the church of Scotland met. On this occasion, his majesty's high commissioner, the Earl of Glasgow, made a grand appearance. His grace opened the assembly with an elegant speech from the throne, to which the moderator made a very suitable return. His majesty's most gracious letter to the assembly was then given in by his grace, and read with all due honour and respect.

The commissioners of the court of requests at Trowbridge, having displaced Mr. Pierce, their clerk, for refusing to receive the monies belonging to the suitors of the said court, a cause, that was com-

commenced by Mr. Pierce, upon his removal, was tried before lord Mansfield, when his lordship was of opinion, that the commissioners had no power to order Mr. Pierce to receive the said monies; and that they had exceeded their authority in removing him for that cause; and a mandamus was thereupon ordered for restoring him.

At a sale of medals in Suffolk-street, a small gold one of Pompey the Great sold for 27 guineas.

A number of subalterns of the army and marines, on half-pay, assembled at the Globe-tavern in the Strand, and deputed lieut. Carrol to wait on the marquis of Granby and gen. Conway, to return them thanks for their gracious reception of their application for an augmentation of their allowance.

As one Thomas Haynes in Sherborne was going in search of his son (a boy of about eleven years of age) who had been missing since Tuesday, he was met by a man who told him, that his son was found drowned in a ditch, near the French prison; on hearing of which, the father dropped down dead, and as soon as the melancholy news reached the mother, she was seized with fits, and it is supposed she cannot live out the night.

They write from Berlin, that on the 12th the ceremony of the christening was performed at Potzdam, when the new born-princess was named Frederick-Charlotte-Ulrique Catherine. The sponsors present were, the king of Prussia, the reigning duke and dutchess of Brunswick, the princess dowager

of Prussia, princess Wilhelmina, the dowager Margravine of Bareith; prince Henry (the king of Prussia's brother); prince Frederick of Brunswick, and the empress of Russia, and queen of Sweden, by their proxies.

A letter from Marseilles gives the following particulars.

“ Signior Romanzo, the Corfican courier, has been among us these ten days past. The duke de \_\_\_\_\_ having said something very impertinent against the British nation, and particularly against a great personage, the generous Corfican told him that the British were a nation of men, and their king the best prince in Europe. He said this with such an emphasis and so indignant a look, that the duke thought proper to call him out, and they fought behind the ramparts. The duke was severely wounded, but signior Romanzo escaped unhurt. This affair has done him great honour with every body. *C'est un beau coup. cela pour prendre conge*, said a colonel of the *Gens d'Armes*. M. Romanzo is preparing to embark, on his return to Corfica.”

His majesty went to the house of peers, attended 20th. by the duke of Ancafter, and the earl of Denbigh; when the royal assent was given to 18 public bills; among which were,

The bill for raising 1,500,000l. by annuities and a lottery, for the service of the present year, to be charged on the sinking fund.

The bill for redeeming certain annuities, in respect of navy, victualling, and transport bills, and ordnance debentures.

The bill for redeeming part of the joint stock of annuities, charged by several additional duties on wines imported, and also on cyder and perry.

The bill for granting additional duties on certain linen cloth imported.

The bill to allow the free importation of rice, sago dust, and vermicelli, for a limited time, from the American colonies.

The bill for improving and extending the navigation of the river Hull, from Frodingham Beck to Driffield, in the east-riding of Yorkshire.

The bill to make Codbeck brook navigable from the river Swale to Thirsk in Yorkshire.

The bill for establishing an hospital in Cambridge.

The bill to prevent extortion by sheriffs and bailiffs, in cases of execution.

The bill for extending the royalty of the city of Edinburgh over certain adjoining lands, &c. and to enable his majesty to grant letters patent for establishing a theatre in Edinburgh.

And also to several road and inclosure bills.

They write from Franckfort on the Mayne, that they had received from Vogeisberg the following account of an observation made by two persons in the night between the 12th and 13th ult. on the latter of which days a shock of the earth was felt at Gotha, Cassel, and Gottingen. Being at midnight in the fields near Ulrickstein, they perceived the sky, which had been before very clear, began to be overspread with clouds and a violent wind arose. About one

o'clock, in their return to the town, they observed a very thick exhalation, which rose on the west side of a meadow, and extended in an oblong form over the whole town, directing its course to the north-east; but a mountain prevented them from seeing it at a farther distance. When they came to Ulrickstein, they were told there had been three violent shocks of the earth felt there, of which themselves had perceived no sign, except the cloud just mentioned.

The stage waggon that goes from Louth to Lincoln, in which were passengers Mrs. Cherry and her daughter, was overturned near Claybridge, by which unhappy accident Miss Cherry, the daughter, was killed on the spot; and Mrs. Cherry so violently bruised, that with what for the loss of her daughter, and the hurt she received, it is thought she cannot long survive. The unfortunate Miss Cherry's life seems to have been attended with a series of accidents: some time ago she narrowly escaped drowning, by falling into a well; and by another misfortune, she had both her arms and legs broke at the same time.

A riotous mob of weavers assembled on the turnpike road near Corke to intercept some cars laden with goods from Dublin, when they burnt, cut, plundered, and otherwise destroyed linens, poplins, silk handkerchiefs, &c. to the amount of about 700l.

A poor housekeeper in Edinburgh being deficient in rent, was seized upon by his landlord, his goods sold when from home, and the door locked against him when he returned. The common people.

people being informed of this act of oppression, assembled about the landlord's house, broke open the door, brought every thing moveable into the street, set fire to the pile, and burnt the whole to ashes, not sparing money, notes, nor even the poor bird that hung in a cage, having execrated all the curled things belonging to so merciless a wretch.

Farmer Matthews was found barbarously murdered near the trooper's on Broadway-hills. His skull was fractured, and many large wounds and bruises about his head and neck. A baker in the neighbourhood of Cambden in Gloucestershire is suspected and apprehended, and it is thought waylaid and committed the murder as the farmer was returning from Evesham market, where he had received near 200l.

They have had a violent thunder storm at Mentz, which broke through the roof of the cathedral church, and set it on fire; and the whole roof was soon destroyed, and the bells melted. The damage is estimated at two millions of florins.

22d. At a court of common-council held at Guildhall, a proposal from the lords of the treasury was laid before the court for taking Gresham college, in order to pull it down and build on that ground an excise-office. The plan was agreed to, and a committee is to be appointed next Tuesday, in order to consider of carrying it into execution.

As some workmen were digging in the road which is now repairing on Clerkenwell-Green, they found several coins and medals, among

which were, a shilling of Charles I. a small copper medal of Charles II. the legend QUATVOR MARIA VINDICO; a base shilling of king James II. dated 1689; a small copper medal, legend round the head CONST. . . . POLIS; another small medal with a man's head on one side, and a woman's on the reverse; a small copper piece, a head on one side, on the reverse, MLNI. DVX; a small copper coin, on one side HISP. RE. . . reverse, DOMINVS MEVM ADIVTO . . . a German coin, with STAST. OSNABRVCK on one side, on the reverse v; together with some other German ones of base metal, the legends of which are mostly illegible.

The plan for the disposal of children out of the Foundling hospital in the course of last year was so well received, that a further supply of 28,000l. is granted for the support of those remaining for the present year; and also 4500l. to apprentice children at a proper age.

Fourteen Spanish vessels, escorted by three xebecs, arrived at Civita Vecchia with the Jesuits from the provinces of Aragon and Catalonia, amounting to 570 in number. A courier was immediately dispatched to Rome, from whence express order was received not to permit them to land. In consequence of this order, the governor of the town posted soldiers, and planted batteries of cannon at several places; and these dispositions being made known to the commander of the convoy, they set sail for Corsica, where the republic of Genoa has offered to receive them.

**27th.** An express arrived at Berlin from Protzen, where young prince Henry (brother to the prince of Prussia) lay ill of the small-pox, with the melancholy news, that that prince died on the 26th, at eight at night. It is not possible to describe the affliction of the whole family, or the general consternation it occasions, as his Highness was extremely beloved.

**28th.** The fortress of the island of Capraia, surrendered to the Corsicans, after a blockade of an hundred and two days: the garrison, which consisted of 30 soldiers and two or three officers, had for many days lived upon bread and water; so that they were all much emaciated; they were treated with the greatest humanity by the Corsican officers, and were permitted by their capitulation to go to Genoa. Among other things that were found in the fortress, there were four pieces of brass battery cannon, and seven smaller pieces, with a large quantity of bullets, powder, and other military stores. Three hundred Corsicans have been left in garrison there: the rest were immediately sent back to Corsica. Lond. Gaz.

**29th.** At the annual feast of a city company held this day, it has always been usual to have green peas; which were this year with such difficulty obtained, that sixteen quarts cost sixteen guineas.

The gold medal given annually by Dr. Hope, botanical professor at Edinburgh, was adjudged to Robert Urquhart of that university for his collection of plants.

The Empress consort died at Vienna this morning about nine

o'clock. The small-pox was of so very malevolent a kind, that from the first moment there was scarce a glimpse of hope. She herself was soon acquainted with the danger, and met it with the most exemplary piety, patience, resignation, and fortitude. Her death was very easy, without struggle or convulsion, so that those about her scarce knew when she expired. All the imperial family, and the whole court, are under the greatest affliction on this melancholy occasion.

According to accounts from France, the frosts have been lately so severe in that country, as to have destroyed all the buds of the vines in many provinces, as well as the fruits which are beginning to form, and even the leaves of the mulberry trees; which last loss is the more considerable, as the silkworms were nearly all hatched, and on that account obliged to be deserted.

Letters from Martinico of the 4th of April, by the way of South Carolina, advise, that the effects of the hurricane, which happened there in August last, continue to be felt very severely through the whole island; and that the French king had done every thing in his power to alleviate the misfortunes of his subjects there, by granting every indulgence that could be wished, and ordering large quantities of beef and other provisions to be transported and distributed among the poorer sort; but that there was an evil which they could not overcome, the want of earth, the island having been so drained of specie by foreign vessels, that an ordonnance was shortly to be issued,



issued, requiring the masters of all such vessels, in future, to give security that they will take in payment for their cargoes nothing but melasses, sugars, and other goods.

The legislature of Rhode Island have passed an act calling in and sinking all the money bills of that colony omitted in March, April, and May, 1762, and empowering George Hazard, Esq; with the general treasurer, in lieu of the bills so brought on, to issue their own notes, properly printed and decorated, to the owners of the bills brought in, payable in seven years from the date of the respective bills. And that the notes given in lieu of the said bills, shall bear interest till the time limited for their return, at the rate of six per cent. per ann. That a tax shall be levied for the discharge of the said bills, and that it shall be death to counterfeit them. The form is that of a common promissory note, with interest. None more than 100l. nor less than 6s.

A letter from New-York, dated April 4, has the following deposition of William Harry, taken before Governor de Windt, of St. Eustatia, 'That he sailed from Bristol in June, 1765, on board the sloop William, for the coast of Africa, John Westcot, master, where they continued twelve months, purchasing slaves for a brig, and themselves, and afterwards proceeded for St. Kitt's; that soon after they left the coast, the captain, for some reasons, beat and knocked down a seaman named Stephen Porter; that in the night, between eleven and twelve, the said Porter and Richard Hancock

murdered the captain and mate, with a broad axe, when asleep; that the sloop was afterwards cast away on the isle of May, and the slaves were sold to the Portuguese for 50 dollars a head.'

There are now four brigs, from forty to seventy tons, and sixteen armed-deck cutters on the lake Ontario; by this means the navigation of the great lakes, and a mart of trade, will soon be established, equal to that of the Caspian sea.

There is now living in a village near Lead-hills, about three miles from Edinburgh, a man named John Taylor, aged 130 years. He was born in England, bred to the business of a miner, in which capacity he worked there some years before he came to Scotland, and has a discharge to show from the earl of Lauderdale, when the Scots mint was given up at the Union. He lately walked two English miles from his house to be present at the christening of his grand-child, and after spending some time in merriment on the occasion, returned home the same evening without any assistance.

Died, John Mitchell at Great Bircham in Norfolk, aged 100 years.

Alexander Crawford at Fermanagh in Ireland, aged 99 years.

Charles Lapierre, a diamond merchant, aged 93 years.

Capt. Branstone formerly a commander in the royal navy, aged 90 years.

Rene de Triffonier at Bouchain in France, aged 103 years.

Mrs. Corbyn at Worcester, aged 98 years. She was an eminent preacher among the quakers.

Henry

Henry Reilton, Esq; at Epsom, aged 97 years.

Mrs Collier at Farringdon, aged 98 years.

Robert Cumming in the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, aged 116 years.

Edward Boswell, carpenter at Oxford, one of seven that have died in that city since Feb. last, whose ages together amount to 616.

## J U N E.

1st. At the sessions at Guildhall, capt. Yong, who was convicted last sessions for illegally confining Henry Soppet at a lock-up-house in Chancery lane, was sentenced to suffer imprisonment in Newgate for 12 months; and to give security for his good behaviour for two years, himself in 100l. and two in 50l. each. One Edward Fielding for charging a young fellow with a robbery who refused to list into the East India company's service, received the like sentence. And Robert Gow and John Ratcliffe for attempting to force a young woman at an inn near Fleet-market, were found guilty, and are to receive sentence next sessions. While the court was sitting, an over-drove ox entered Guildhall, threw the whole court into consternation; but not liking his company, he turned about, and ran back again without doing any mischief. A gentleman passing by at the same time and seeing the croud, asked what was the matter. Nothing, replied a fellow humourously, "but an ox that is just run into Guildhall in a passion, to com-

plain to my lord mayor of the inhumanity of his drivers."

A cause came on to be tried before Lord Mansfield, in which a poor broom-maker was plaintiff, and the toll-master of Hampton-bridge, defendant, who had seized the plaintiff's horse for toll after he had rode him through the river, and had sold him to pay himself the penny and costs. After a long trial the jury brought a verdict for the plaintiff.

The marquis de Courtenveaux, honorary member of the R. A. of Paris, embarked on board a frigate for Havre, to make trial of some instruments, designed to facilitate the determination of the longitude by sea, and particularly the watch of the *Sieur le Roi*, and the megametre, or grand measurer of the *Sieur de Charnieres*. The *sieurs Pengre* and *Messier* accompany the marquis in the enterprise.

The guardian of the Cordeliers, at Sisteron, after having set fire to his convent in eight different places, armed himself with a knife and a cleaver, with which he murdered the cook of the house, whom he wounded in nine different places. He afterwards ran after two religious, with an intent to murder them also, but one of them made his escape in his shirt out of a two pair of stairs window, and the other found means to conceal himself. When the alarm of fire drew people to the convent, the guardian was found in his bed-chamber, and in order to raise suspicion of other persons, he wounded himself very slightly in the throat, and had set fire to the curtains of his bed. After undergoing

going several interrogatories, to which he would give no answer, he was sent to the hospital to be taken care of, but in the night he made his escape.

A most terrible storm of thunder and lightning fell upon the house of Richard Rylance, in Church-street, Ormskirk, carried away the chimney and slates from the roof, the windows of the third story, shattered the side of the building, and melted the lead of the lower windows. A ball of fire traversed the room of a lying-in woman, but providentially did her no hurt.

The constables at Bristol discovered, concealed in a box, in the house of one Langford, a night-watchman, a girl about 18 years of age, almost starved, and quite naked. It appeared that she had been a lodger in the house near 20 months; but had not been confined to the narrow limits of this box (which is about 40 inches long, and 18 broad) more than eight months, during which time she has been often without sustenance for three days together. The position she was obliged to lie in has so contracted her limbs that they are quite useless. They also found a young woman quite naked, with only shavings to lie on; who, being with child, had fled to this place for shelter. Both these deplorable creatures were carried to St. Peter's hospital. Langford, his wife, and daughter, were secured, but the man pleading ignorance, and the girl confirming it, he was released.

Was committed to the Gate-house, Alexander Dunn, for violently beating and threatening to murder a post-boy who had just brought him out of the country.

Vol. X.

This is the person who was some time confined in the King's Bench, charged with the intention of assassinating Mr. Wilkes.

Their majesties having honoured the society of artists of Great Britain with their presence, at the exhibition in Spring Gardens, his majesty has been graciously pleased to order them the sum of one hundred pounds.

This morning, about three o'clock, as the Plymouth stage waggon was going out of town, it took fire in Fleet-street, occasioned by a bottle of aqua-fortis breaking against a bottle of spirits of wine, and setting fire to the same: By timely assistance it was soon extinguished, after doing about 30l. damage, and the waggon pursued its journey.

It began yesterday to snow in Derbyshire, which continued the whole day, and part of this, so that the snow was above half a yard deep.

An uncommon inundation happened in the road between Newington and Clapham, occasioned by the heavy rains that had been falling for three days before; the waters collected in the road meeting with a high tide (wind N. by W. moon's first quarter) running up Vauxhall creek, swelled to such a degree, that they soon covered Kennington Common, and entering some low grounds, (on the south side,) destroyed the brick-works, and did other damage to the amount of 200l. The current making its way, S. E. and over Camberwell road by Wallworth common to the Thames; a poor woman happening to be on Kennington common before the height of the flood, got on the bank

[G]

above

above the turnpike-house, and a working man in the gardens just by, going to assist her over the road, in stepping off the bank, her feet slipped, and she falling, pulled the poor man into the current with her; and both were carried thro' an arch under the turnpike-house, but two feet wide, and three deep. The woman was soon discovered by her cloaths, but the man was carried forty yards down before seen. However, both being taken into a house, they soon recovered.

The magistrates of Edinburgh conferred upon Mr. James Craig, architect, a gold medal, with the freedom of their city, in a silver box, as a reward of his merit, for having designed the best plan of a new town to be built in that neighbourhood.

M. de Larrey, privy-counsellor and secretary to the prince of Orange, sets out for Berlin to-morrow, in order to settle every thing relative to the marriage of his serene Highness with the princess Wilhelmina, sister to the prince Royal of Prussia.

Orders were received at Chatham to take his majesty's ship *Monmouth*, of 64 guns, to pieces, being judged unfit for further services. This ship was esteemed the best sailor in the navy, had a principal share in the actions fought by the admirals Anson and Hawke, when commanded by the brave adm. Harrison, in the war preceding the last; was in the late war in several actions commanded by the captains Gardiner and Hervey, the former of whom was killed on board, when engaged singly with the *Boudroyant*, of 80 guns. She never gave chase to any ship that she did not come up with.

As some workmen were employed in pulling down part of Cundover Hall, near Shrewsbury, they found in removing some stones in the vault, an iron box of about 20 inches long, and 14 broad, in which were contained several very curious ancient medals, together with a brass statue, about 16 inches high, which is supposed to be the statue of some heathen god.

The sessions ended at the 6th. Old Baily, when three received sentence of death; one to be transported for fourteen years; 36 for seven years; and three to be whipped.

Mount Vesuvius began to throw out fire from its summit; an omen of an approaching irruption.

There was a commotion at Troyes in France, the consequence of which might have been very fatal. It was occasioned by the refusal of the officers of police to permit the bakers to raise the price of bread, though corn is grown dearer. A woman took occasion from hence to raise by her clamours a troop of mutinous people, who, suspecting some individuals of carrying on a trade in corn, and profiting considerably by it, repaired tumultuously to their houses, broke open their doors, and destroyed the furniture of their dwellings. Such as seemed inclined to oppose them, were ill-treated; and, it is even said, that three or four were killed. They threatened to set fire to the city; but the town officers took such just measures, that the burghesses in arms gave a check to part of the insurgents, several of whom had disguised themselves like women, and dispersed the rest.

By a letter directed to Mr.

Charles Gibbs of Charter-house-square, a correspondent of that gentleman's asserts, that he has discovered a method of squaring the circle, which has hitherto baffled the efforts of the greatest mathematicians.

9th. A subscription was opened for carrying Mr. Brindley's plan into execution for making a navigable canal from Birmingham through the principal coal works, to join the Worcestershire and Staffordshire canals.

A fire happened at Beer, near Blandford in Dorsetshire, which in an hour and a half destroyed above 14 houses. In the same week was a fire at Ower near Dorchester, which consumed 8 houses.

About three weeks ago a bricklayer's labourer at Marybone sold a woman, whom he had cohabited with for several years, to a fellow-workman for a quarter guinea and a gallon of beer. The workman went off with the purchase, and she has since had the good fortune to have a legacy of 200l. and some plate, left her by a deceased uncle in Devonshire. The parties were married last Friday.

10th. Five of the malefactors who were condemned at the last sessions but one at the Old Baily, were executed at Tyburn.

16th. Came on at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield, and a special jury of merchants, a trial between Messrs. Dalbiacks, silk-weavers, of Spital-square, plaintiffs, and the proprietors of a patent manufactory for painting silk, defendants: the cause of action was to recover a sum of money for

damage on 91 pieces of silk which the defendants had spoiled in painting, containing 5767 yards and upwards; when, after an hearing of six hours, the jury, without going out of court, found a verdict for the plaintiffs of 2633l. 18s. being the full value of the silks.

A cause came on in the Common-pleas, wherein a 17th. gentleman of Norwich was plaintiff, and the commissioners of one of the London fire-offices defendants: The action was, that the gentleman had formerly insured his house at Norwich in the said office to the amount of 500l. and at the time of the riots there, his house was wilfully set on fire, and burnt, on which he applied to the office to make good the insurance, which they refused, as it was not destroyed by accident; and after a hearing of several hours, a verdict of 400l. was given in favour of the plaintiff; but a point of law arising, it is to be decided by the opinion of the twelve judges.

The estates of the late Percival Lewis, Esq; at Tooting, were sold by auction by Mr. Langford and son for 24,925l.

The maid servant of one Mr. Wilson, with his child in her arms, went to view some sheep washed in the Tweed from Kelso-bridge; when, forgetful of her trust, by a sudden motion, the child sprung out of her arms from the lodging, and dropt down into the water. The young woman, in order to save the child, instantly flung herself over after it, and both perished in the Tweed.

At Covent-Garden market common cherries, and but few of them ripe, sold at 4s. a pound. Three

years ago, at this season, finer cherries were sold at 2d. a pound.

Last week at a christening at Widaker, near Whitehaven, of the 21st child of Mr. Wright, by the same woman, the company came from 21 parishes, and the entertainment consisted of 21 pieces of beef, 21 legs of mutton and lamb, 21 gallons of brandy, three times 21 gallons of strong ale, three times 21 fowls roasted and boiled, 21 pies, besides several hams, a great number of puddings, &c. &c.

At a court of common-council held at Guildhall, the freedom of this city was voted to be presented to the right hon. Charles Townsend, chancellor of the exchequer, in a gold box, for acknowledgement of his kind and successful endeavours to serve them in their application to parliament for the several improvements to be made in the metropolis.

At the same court also a motion was made, that a piece of plate of 200 guineas value be presented to deputy John Paterson, Esq; as a mark of the court's gratitude for the many services rendered the corporation by that gentleman, but more especially for his late excellent plan which was adopted by the city of London, and now lies ready for the royal assent, having passed both houses of parliament.

The report made last December, relating to London-Bridge was taken into consideration; when Mr. Milne, the surveyor, being examined, it was after a long debate agreed, that the proprietors of the London-bridge water-works, should be allowed the fifth arch of the said bridge, agreeable to the terms contained in the city lands report, but under the

express conditions, that should this grant be hereafter found prejudicial to the navigation of the river, the city should have liberty to revoke their grant, upon paying the said proprietors their whole expence in occupying the said arch.

The empress queen, who had got the small-pox by her close attendance on her daughter-in-law, the empress consort, is now entirely out of danger.

One Mr. Nathaniel Jardine, a linen-draper at Cambridge, was seized with a fit, as he sat upon a bench by his door, from which he fell, and received a violent cut upon his head, that rendered him senseless; he was immediately blooded, which somewhat recovered him, and he was carried, by his own desire, to the house of Mr. Clay, grocer, in Trompington-street, where he died on Wednesday morning. His brother, a few months ago, was taken much in the same manner, but died instantly. There is something so singular in the lives of these two brothers, that we should not do justice to our readers, if we passed it by unnoticed.—They were about sixty years old, had lived together from their infancy, and had, for more than forty years, kept a linen-draper's shop: during which time, we are informed, they never had their house cleaned but once, which was when their mother died, whom, to save expences, they laid out themselves; they seldom admitted any person beyond their shop or store room, and it is asserted that they had no bed, but used to lie upon some old packing cloths, that their goods came in: And so continually disturbed, lest any of their effects should be stolen, that they frequently watched alternately. So

mi-



miserable were they, in order to amass wealth, they did not even allow themselves the common necessities of life, not a whole joint of meat having been known to enter the house for twenty years past. Thus pinched for want of sustenance within, and through neglect in their linen and apparel, pestered with vermin without, no wonder they always carried a very meagre aspect. It is somewhat remarkable, that if a publican or other person laid out a few shillings with them, they would enquire their place of abode, and frequently go a mile or two to fetch a quart of beer, yet cautious that they should not be seen, lest others might be offended. On the death of their father, they found upwards of 1000 guineas concealed in his bed; and at the decease of the first brother, the survivor found a considerable sum of money that had been secreted from him. It is not certainly known what he died possessed of, but it is generally supposed from 6 to 8000*l.* the whole of which, except a legacy of 20*l.* he has left by will to the above Mr. Clay; who it seems, had lately shewn him some civilities, by now and then sending him a comfortable dinner, &c. The deceased had often declared, he did not know of any relations.

Letters just received from Rome mention, that an express was arrived there from Civita Vecchia, with advice, that fifteen Catalan vessels, escorted by three armed shebecks, were arrived there from Barcelona, with five hundred and seventy jesuits on board; the pope, though with reluctance, consented to their being landed, and ordered them to be conducted to Ferrara.

The archdutchess, intended consort to the king of Naples, is expected in that city by the beginning of November; and the marriage ceremony of their majesties will be performed on the 4th of that month, the festival of St. Charles, whose name the king of Spain bears.

An edict of the empress queen has just made its appearance in Brussels, prohibiting the admission into that country of any of the jesuits expelled from Spain, or exiled from France; it matters not whether they are subjects, by birth, of her imperial majesty, or whether or not they wear the habit of their order.

They write from Madrid, that a treaty is negotiating with Russia, and another with some of the German princes, for allowing a number of their subjects to settle, with their families, in Spain, in order to cultivate a barren track of ground called, Serra Molenos. They are to be allowed the expences of their journey, and, on their arrival in the Spanish territories, are to receive the king's pay, and be provided with necessaries for a year. They are also to be furnished with materials for building, and tools for husbandry; but, after the expiration of the abovementioned term, they are to maintain themselves with the produce or revenue of their respective lands, which will be granted to them as their full property, besides an exemption from all taxes for ten years to come.

They write from Pensacola, that the Spanish governor of New Orleans had received positive orders from his court to prevent the subjects of Great Britain from having the least commercial intercourse

with those of his catholic majesty under his command.

26th. The court of Common Pleas ordered an attachment against an officer of the sheriff of Middlesex, for arresting a gentleman at his house late at night, without notice, for a debt of 60 l. due to his coachmaker, and refusing, though the coachmaker was present, and bail offered, to wait, but forcibly carried away to, and detained him illegally till next morning in a sponging-house, contrary to the laws of this realm.

There was a very great council at St. James's, to which, it is said, no less than 106 members were summoned.

At the general court of the East-India company, held at Merchant Taylor's Hall, it was unanimously resolved to grant a pension of 1500 l. per ann. to Gen. Lawrence, during his life, for his many great services to the company; the said grant to commence from Christmas last. The general enjoyed an annuity of 500 l. a year before; and the above grant of 1500 l. is an addition thereto. It was also moved, to grant the company's servants certain gratuities, for their respective services.

Was found in the mackarel-nets off Folkestone, a strange kind of a fish: It measures in length about thirteen feet; its fore-fins are about two feet long, and the body resembles that of a porpus; it has a broad thin tail, about six feet long. The fishermen declare they never saw such a one before.

Application having been some time ago made to the ministry, to intercede with his majesty to spare the life of one of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate,

on condition that the said convict should suffer the amputation of a limb, in order to try the efficacy of a certain styptic, prepared by Mr. Pierce; and one John Benham having been reprieved, as it was imagined, for that purpose, Mr. Pierce waited upon the secretary of state, when he was informed that the intention of trying his styptic upon John Benham, a convict in Newgate, was entirely laid aside, his majesty being of opinion that it was quite improper to try such experiment.

A Jew was carried before the lord mayor, charged with hawking hats for sale in this city, contrary to law, which subjects all hawkers who presume so to do in any corporation to the penalty of 12 l. or to be committed for a certain time to hard labour in Bridewell. The fact being proved, security was given for the Jew's appearance to answer the above charge before a court of judicature.

The duty of 6 d. per chaldron on coals is granted to the city for 46 years, to redeem the tolls on the bridges, embanking the river, repairing the Exchange, and rebuilding Newgate.

A vein of copper ore has lately been discovered near Glasgow, which, upon trial, promises fair to produce considerable profit. It lies not above three feet deep, and is supposed to lead to a considerable mine.

The prizes of 15 guineas each, given annually by the members for Cambridge, were adjudged to Mr. Stevenson of King's, and Mr. Ward of St. John's College, senior bachelors; and to Mr. Arnald of St. John's and Mr. Clewes of Trinity College, middle bachelors.

A gen-

A gentleman of Derby has lately been into the Downs to make trial of a new marine surveyor. The machine consists of an open tube four inches diameter, and two feet long : on the outside is fixed an oblique plane like a screw ; upon which the water acts so as to turn it round swifter or slower, in proportion as the machine is drawn through the sea with greater ease or less velocity.

Letters from Pomerania advise, that the cattle there have been inoculated with success, for the contagious illness that has for some time reigned in that country.

Her imperial majesty of Russia has particularly recommended to the royal academy of sciences at Petersburg, to make exact observations of the next transit of Venus over the sun's disk, in the most proper places throughout her dominions.

Six or eight acres of the great bog above the lough of Loughcornute in the county of Galway, (part of the estate of Mr. Nettervil) fell suddenly into the lough, and made so prodigious a noise, that it extremely terrified the inhabitants for many miles round. The water of the lough has overflowed the grounds all about ; the passage from the lough through Mr. Nettervil's ground, is quite shut up, and the course of the water totally changed.

On the third instant the deputies of the republic of Venice, entertained the reigning duke of Wurtemberg with one of the finest courses of gondolas that has ever been seen there. There were five divisions, each consisting of five gondolas, most magnificently painted and adorned, and all the rowers

were in uniform. The machine, which served for the butt, represented the palace of Neptune. There was an incredible number of foreigners of distinction at this festival, which terminated with a superb supper, and a ball, given by his serene highness.

The annual produce of the mines in Sweden amounts to 400,000 schipfunds, each weighing 400 French pounds ; and the number of workmen employed in them is 25,600, who are thereby enabled to maintain their wives and children.

From Lisbon we hear, that the French consul there has received some dispatches from the king his master, addressed to his Portuguese majesty, and accompanied with some presents for the prince of whom the princess of Brazil was lately delivered, and for other persons. The prince's present is a cockade set with brilliants, the button in the form of a rose. Don Juan de Braganza, high admiral, has received the king of France's picture set with diamonds : the prince's governess a pair of earrings with a gold-box : the patriarch a diamond cross : and the nurse a gold snuff-box.

There are now 160 looms established in the cambrick manufactory at Dundalk, where in the short space of one year only, above 70,000 yards have been made, the greater part already at market, or sold ; and it is observable, that this quantity has been made between May, 1766, and May, 1767, which shews that this important manufacture is in an improving state, and will be of the utmost national advantage, which is already obvious from the gradual diminution of

the importation of French cambricks into this kingdom.

29th. The following bills received the royal assent by commission.

The bill for erecting a pier at St. Ives.

The bill for regulating the parish poor children within the bills of mortality.

The bill for completing Blackfriars bridge.

The bill for indemnifying persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for employments.

The bill for allowing a longer time for the enrollment of deeds of papists, for relief of protestant purchasers.

The bill for preventing the wear of cambricks.

The bill for extending the window act to Scotland.

The bill for altering the duties on policies, and lessening the allowance for prompt payment of certain stamp-duties.

The bill for granting certain duties in the British American colonies.

The bill for regulating the dividend of the East-India company.—By this act no dividend is to be made from the 24th of June but in pursuance of a vote carried on a ballot, in a general court summoned for the purpose seven days beforehand; nor any increase of dividend beyond 10 *per cent.* till the next meeting of parliament.

The bill for establishing an agreement between the government and the East-India company.—By this agreement the company are to pay the government 400,000 l. yearly for two years, by half-yearly payments, during which time the territorial possessions and revenues

lately obtained are to remain in the company's hands; but if dispossessed of any of them in the mean time by any foreign power, a proportionable abatement is to be made in the annual payments; and money wrongfully paid to be refunded. The monies to be reserved for the disposition of parliament.

The bill for regulating the manufactures, &c. in the Isle of Man.

An order of council was this day published in the London Gazette, requiring lieutenants of counties where the militia have been embodied, to make out lists of the officers, to prevent their being nominated for sheriffs, during the time of their employment in that service.

A fourth convoy, with 203 je-suits on board, arrived at Civita Vecchia, but were refused admittance, and followed the third. The Genoese, it is said, have agreed to receive them.

Two itinerant preachers, one a taylor and the other a dyer, quarrelled in Moorfields about their religion: and the mob taking the dyer's part, the poor taylor was handled in a most inhuman manner, and would certainly have been killed but for the interposition of some gentlemen passing by.

The farms of the kingdom of France have been lately let to the farmers-general for the sum of 132,250,000 livres per annum.

Letters received at Constantinople advise, that on the third of March last, being the second feast of the Bairam, the day on which all the beys and other officers of the city repair to the castle to compliment Hamsy Pacha, governor of Egypt, about sixty persons, most  
of

of whom belonged to Grandees, who have been some time in exile, having formed a design of assassinating several of the beys now in post, got into the Pacha's hall of audience, disguised and well armed; but the Emir Hatch, or conductor of the Mecca caravan, having observed among them some suspicious movements, he signified the same to the other beys; one of whom, on his taking leave of the Pacha, received a pistol shot, which tore away part of his jaw. On this, all the beys had recourse to their sabres, fought their way through, and destroyed the conspirators. One bey remained dead on the spot, others were dangerously wounded, as were also several principal officers. After this bloody scene, wherein many lives were lost, the government ordered the Pacha to be deposed, which was done the same day; and those of his officers, who were suspected to have favoured this plot, were banished. The Janissary Aga has ordered many of the grandees of Cairo, who were discovered to be accomplices therein, to be punished.

The 28th of last month, about five o'clock in the afternoon, the thunder fell upon the parish church of Villa-di-Stellone, a village near Cargignan, by which seven persons were killed, and several others wounded. The curate, who received a slight hurt on the foot, was seized with vomitings the next day, and an extraordinary pain in that foot. The noise of the thunder was terrible, and yet the people who were in the church were so stunned, that they were only sensible of a trifling noise like the report of a pistol. The curate, who performed divine ser-

vice, had no idea afterwards of what he had been doing; and those who carried away the dead bodies could not recollect where they brought them from. At the same time the thunder fell upon the citadel of this place, and took its direction to a centry-box upon the north-west bastion, where it went down the barrel of the centry's musket, and struck the soldier's foot with such violence as brought him to the ground, but did him no other mischief. It rained very hard here at that time; but at Villa-di-Stellone, it neither rained nor thundered before or after the violent clap of thunder above-mentioned. The same storm was felt in other places, upwards of 25 miles off. The evening before, a shock of an earthquake was felt at Turin, but more sensibly in other places, where some damage was done by it.

In a letter from Carthagena, via Jamaica, captain Henderson, of the sloop Fanny, bound from thence to the bay, gives a dismal account of the loss of the said sloop, on the 31st of October last, off Cape Gracious a Dois; with many other circumstances that befel the crew (eleven in number) who all, except three, died through fatigue and the want of subsistence; those who survived being obliged to eat the flesh of their deceased shipmates for food, and drink their own urine to quench their thirst; and to make their case still more dismal, the brutish Spaniards refused them subsistence, as men saved from shipwreck; alleging, that they were not bound to the bay, and therefore must take up their abode in the common gaol among thieves, negroes and murderers.

Died, Mrs. Lowther near Guisborough, aged 100 years.

Mrs. Jackson, who for 50 years kept a boarding school at Kensington.

Mr. Mathard, surgeon in Oxford-road, aged 102 years.

Peter Stuart, near Air in Scotland, aged 103 years.

## J U L Y.

1<sup>st</sup>. The sum of 60,000 l. was this day paid down for the purchase of the royal theatre in Covent Garden, pursuant to agreement. The patentees are Messieurs Colman, Harris, Rutherford, and Powel.

2<sup>d</sup>. His majesty gave his assent to the following bills.

The bill for granting certain sums out of the sinking fund; and for empowering his majesty to permit the importation of corn, duty free, for a longer time.

The bill for taking off the duty of 1 s. a pound on all black and Singlo tea, and for granting a drawback on teas exported to Ireland and America.

The bill for granting certain duties on foreign linen, and a premium for the encouragement of raising hemp.

The bill for restraining the assembly of New York from passing any act, till they had complied with the act of parliament for the furnishing his majesty's troops with the necessaries required by that act.

The bill for putting the American duties into the hands of commissioners.

After which his majesty made a most gracious speech, which the reader will see in our state papers;

and the parliament was prorogued to the 31<sup>st</sup> of August.

The demurrer of the feigned issue, directed by the 3<sup>d</sup>. court of King's Bench, between the mayor, &c. of Norwich, and Mr. Jeremiah Berry, an attorney of the court of Common Pleas, was argued in the court of King's Bench, when judgment was given for Mr. Berry. The question was, whether the privilege of an attorney exempted him from serving the office of sheriff? and all the judges of the court of King's Bench were clearly of opinion, that such privilege excused him from serving that office, and even offices of a superior nature, to that of sheriff of a corporation.

Lord Holland having lately erected a new tower built with flint and chalk, at his seat near Margate, the following inscription in black letter, on a large piece of white stone, is placed on the front next the sea.

D. M.

Danorum et Saxonum hic occisorum  
Dum de solo Britannico  
Milites nihil a se alienum putant  
Britannis perfide et crudeliter olim expulsi  
Inter se dimicaverunt  
Hen. de Holland posuit  
Qui duces qualis hujus prælii exitus  
Nulla nota historia  
Annum circiter DCCC.L. evenit pugna  
Et pugnam hanc evenisse fidem faciunt  
Ossa quamplurima  
Quæ sub hoc et altero tumulo hic vicina  
sunt sepulta.

The instructions given by the bishops to the clergy of their several dioceses, in consequence of a motion in the house of lords, to take an account of the number of catholics in their respective parishes, has nothing alarming in it. A like order was given in 1746, to the clerks of the peace, when by a  
list



list then delivered, the whole landed property they were possessed of, amounted to 384,166l. 14s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. If a like account should be now given in, it will at once be seen whether they increase in property or not.

Within these few days several ships have arrived in the river with wheat from abroad, whose cargoes consist of 7485 quarters, besides these great quantities of barley, oats, and other grain. Since the 23d of March last, there have been brought into the port of London, 115,497 quarters of wheat, a great part of which has been bought up for the country markets.

5<sup>th</sup>. This morning, at a quarter before nine o'clock, their royal and serene highnesses the prince and princess of Brunswick set out in one of his majesty's coaches for Dover, on their return to Germany. The young prince of Brunswick set out some time before them.

7<sup>th</sup>. This day at noon, his royal highness the duke of York set out from Pall-Mall, with a grand retinue, for Dover, in order to embark for Germany.

In the course of last sessions of parliament, 209 bills received the royal assent, viz. 95 public, and 114 private, which is the greatest number that has received the royal assent in one sessions for several years.

The intended marriage between the prince Stadtholder, and the princess Frederica-Sophia-Welhelmina, of Prussia, was publicly declared at the Hague. As the prince Stadtholder, was taking the diversion of hawking, a dog caught a heron, with a brass inscription

round his leg, setting forth, that he was taken and released by the elector of Cologne, in the year 1737.

One of the clerks of the bank was apprehended on suspicion of filing guineas. In the evening he attempted to cut his throat, but without success. On searching his house, many curious instruments for the purpose above-mentioned, and also a quantity of gold dust, were found.

His royal highness the 11<sup>th</sup>. duke of York arrived at Brussels, under the title of earl of Ulster, and in the evening went to the comedy, where he was received by prince Charles, who had already entertained the prince and princess of Brunswick with all imaginable magnificence.

His excellency Sir James Gray, bart. set out on his embassy to Spain.

A young man in France, being lately attacked by a fever, became delirious, and afterwards raving mad. In this condition, the only objects of his fury were his parents; and he was at length so seemingly sensible of his error, that he talked of nothing but expiating his sins by fire; and for that purpose, having raised a pile of wood, he found means to light it, and to throw himself in; but the torments he felt in the flames, soon brought him to himself, and he endeavoured to save his life, but too late; for tho' he had strength enough to get out, yet he was so terribly scorched, that he died the next day in great agony.

They write from Paris, that an ingenious mechanic of that city has lately invented and finished a curious snuff-box with chimes in the lid,

lid, that plays five tunes, and will hold half an ounce of snuff.

A broker near Old-street, having purchased a room of goods belonging to a poor old woman in that neighbourhood, upon opening the drawers of an old bureau, discovered a private one within another, in which he found a lottery-ticket for the year 1765, which, upon examination, proves to have been drawn a prize of 500 l.

13th. A cause came on to be heard before lord chief justice Wilmot, in the court of Common Pleas, Westminster, on a special jury, wherein Mr. Slater, of Southwark, was plaintiff, and an eminent surgeon, and an eminent apothecary, were defendants. The action was, that about a year since Mr. Slater unfortunately broke his leg, and it was set, and thought to be out of danger, by a surgeon, not one of the defendants; but the above surgeon being sent for to loosen the bandage, his leg was again broke, and a cure not performed. After a hearing of seven hours, a verdict was given in favour of the plaintiff of 250 l. damages from each of the defendants.

Came on at Guildhall the trial of a tradesman's wife in the Little Old-Bailey, for cruelly beating a girl, about 11 years of age, whom her husband had taken apprentice out of the Foundling-hospital. It appeared on the trial, that she had tied the girl to a nail, and beat her with a rope's end, that from being a fine healthy child, she was, by ill usage, almost reduced to a skeleton. The trial lasted till six o'clock, when the jury, in about half an hour, brought in their ver-

dict guilty. She is to receive sentence the first adjournment-day after the sessions at the Old-Bailey.

On Friday last their royal and serene highnesses the prince and princess and young prince of Brunswick arrived at Brussels in perfect health. They were received with all the honours that possibly could be shewn to such illustrious personages. There was a company of grenadiers with the colours to receive them where they lodged, and the equipages of the court ready to attend them. In the evening, they went to the comedy.

In an hour after their arrival all the nobility in town went to pay their court to them; and an express having been sent to his royal highness prince Charles, informing him of their arrival, he immediately came to town, and went directly to the playhouse to meet them, and expressed the greatest joy and pleasure in having the honour of seeing them at Brussels.

This morning, about three o'clock, a terrible 14th. fire broke out at a house in New-street, near Shadwell church, which burnt with great fury for some time, and destroyed about 14 houses, together with a large cooperage, before it was extinguished. A person is taken up on suspicion of having set fire to the house where it began; and another person, with a large sack filled with linen, &c. was taken in Fleet-market, and carried to the Compter, on suspicion of having stolen them at the above fire.

The great cause between his grace the duke of Hamilton and Archibald Douglas, Esq; was decided

cided in the court of sessions, at Edinburgh, in favour of duke Hamilton.

As the wife of John Bennet, of Handsworth near Bermingham was ringing a pan, to settle a swarm of bees, they fixed upon her head, neck, and breast, and continued till the evening, when she shook them off into a hive; and received no other hurt than a few stings on her arms and breast.

15th. Lord Clive arrived in town from Portsmouth, where he landed the day before, from on board the Britannia Indiaman, from Bengal, in perfect health; general Calliot and governor Palk arrived in town at the same time.—The cargo of the Britannia consists of piece goods, raw silk, red wood, and salt-petre.

A most melancholy accident happened at a gentleman's seat near Greenhithe in Kent, where the game-keeper having put a quantity of gunpowder into the warm oven to dry, very thoughtlessly left it there, and went into the field to work. Just before dinner the under cook-maid, as her custom was, went to light the oven, when the powder instantly took fire, and the blast came full in the unhappy girl's face, set her all in a blaze, and she expired in five minutes a dreadful spectacle to look at. Her terrible shrieks alarmed the family, and one of the men servants throwing his coat over her to extinguish the flames, brought off the skin of her face and neck, when it was removed, and increased the horror of her appearance. A like accident happened a few days before at a gentleman's seat near Boulogne in France, where the gardener playing with a gun, and firing it

off in sport, set fire to a box of gunpowder, and blew up the house with seven persons in it; himself and a maid servant were killed on the spot, but five others, though wounded, wonderfully escaped with life.

His grace the archbishop of Canterbury, in obedience to his majesty's command, has sent circular letters to all the bishops, his suffragans, desiring them to procure from their respective clergy complete lists of all papists, or reputed papists, in their respective dioceses, distinguishing their sexes, ages, and occupations, and how long they have been resident there. His grace has also sent letters to all the clergy in his diocese, requiring them to make out lists in the same manner for their respective parishes; which lists are to be laid before the house of peers the first day of next session of parliament. The same orders have been issued by the archbishop of York to the bishops and clergy of his diocese.

The sessions ended at the Old-Bailey, when three pri- 17th.  
soners were capitally convicted, one to be transported for 14 years, 30 for seven years, and four branded.

Twenty-four former capital convicts received his majesty's most gracious pardon, on the following condition, ten to be transported during their natural lives, seven for fourteen years, and seven for seven years.

A cause was tried in the court of King's Bench, between Edward Lunson, an elected freeman of Morpeth in Northumberland, plaintiff, and Christopher Fawcett, steward of the court-leet of the lord of the manor, defendant; on a mandamus for refusing to admit the plain-

plaintiff to his freedom, which was determined in favour of the plaintiff; by which decision the people of Morpeth are restored to their ancient right of electing their own members. Thirty-two other causes depended upon this verdict.

19th. The princess Poniatowski, sister to the king of Poland, arrived at St. James's.

A most terrible thunder-storm happened at Leeds in Yorkshire, as ever was remembered by any man living. It struck one of the chimneys of the workhouse, shivered the slates from the ridge to the eaves; it entered the garret, and struck a poor woman dead. It also struck the two opposite sides of the room, and made a way through the wall on the north side, and through a window on the south, by two large apertures. It likewise struck an old man who sat in a window below whetting his knife, set fire to his clothes, and burnt him so terribly that it is thought he cannot recover. Three other persons in a house at some distance were miserably scorched; and at Scot-hill-mill it fell upon a chimney, entered some lodging-rooms, and made its way out at the windows, carrying the glass and frame along with it.

20th. We hear that lord Clive has brought over, and presented to his majesty, a fine sword set with diamonds, and a fine pearl necklace, for her majesty, both of very considerable value. He has likewise brought a fine diamond as a present from the Nabob to his majesty, of immense value, and many curiosities of that country.

By a letter, dated the first of December last, from a gentleman who was on board the Falmouth East-

Indiaman when she was struck with lightning, we are informed, that they were afterwards wrecked in the mouth of the Ganges; and of 360 men, whom they carried from England, there are only about 160 now alive at Calcutta; the rest being either killed by the lightning, burnt in the ship, drowned, devoured by tygers when they got on shore, or dead of fatigue.

An inquisition was taken at 21st. Guy's hospital, on the body of Elizabeth, the wife of Edward Hascar, otherwise called Sarah Bartlett, (for by that name she was brought to the hospital) when it appeared, by the evidence of Elizabeth Aldridge, servant to Patrick Dawson, of Bermondsey-street, surgeon and apothecary, (the only witness as to the fact,) that the deceased was formerly housekeeper to her master, and that she used frequently to come to his house and cohabit with him; that last Thursday evening, on his coming home, he asked the witness whether the deceased had been there, who informed him she had not; he then expressed a great desire to see her, and directed the witness to rise early next morning and fetch her, which she did, and on coming in, her master being in bed, the witness informed him the deceased was come; whereon he desired them to come up stairs to him, and a boy was sent for some brandy, which being drank, he ordered the witness to make some chocolate for their breakfast; and on the witness's quitting the room for that purpose, the deceased immediately followed her into the kitchen; that soon after her master came down, and he and the deceased breakfasted together in

in the kitchen; that after breakfast, Dawson saluted the deceased, saying, My dear, I love you; I have something in particular to tell you: to which the deceased answered, the maid would go out of the kitchen; he replied that would not do. The deceased then proposed to go into the little parlour, and several other places, but none would do besides his bedchamber, to which, at length, she consented to go; and on their going up stairs, she said, it is not the first time I have trusted myself with you alone, by many, and expressed a great desire of knowing the secret he was to communicate to her: That on her entering the bedchamber, the door was immediately fastened, and they continued very quiet about a quarter of an hour, when on a sudden the deceased cried out several times, murder! murder! Betty! Betty! That the witness ran directly up stairs, and found the bedchamber door locked, and heard Dawson say, Betty, you are too late; that she burst open the door, and saw the deceased lying on the floor in a gore of blood, her master standing near her with a bloody knife in his right hand; and on the witness crying out, You wicked, blood-thirsty man, what have you done! He moved the knife, aiming at her, as if he intended directly to stab her, and d—d her, saying, he would stab her too. That on the witness asking the deceased, what occasioned her master to use her so? she informed her, that because she had refused to permit him to be criminally concerned with her, he on a sudden opened his bureau, and from thence took a knife, with which he stabbed her. The

surgeons, on examining the deceased's body, discovered three wounds in her belly, which they made no doubt were mortal, and confirmed the above witness in the deceased's declaration as to the occasion. The deceased was sent to Guy's hospital, and there died the next morning; where she also declared the reason of ill treatment, and acknowledged she was above five months gone with child, but was uncertain who was the father of it. The jury brought in their verdict, wilful murder. The above Patrick Dawson is not yet taken.

A terrible storm of thunder, lightning, hail, and rain, happened in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes, in France, which did considerable damage to houses, trees, corn, and cattle. It began a few miles to the south-west of that city, and proceeded in a north-east direction as far as the province of Holland, causing great desolation in its progress, not unlike the storm of 1763, which laid waste a part of Kent.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York who lately set out on his travels through France and Germany, had an interview with the king and queen of France, at Compeigne, to whom he was introduced by the title of Earl of Ulster.

A ball of fire fell at Norrington farm near Overton, in Hampshire, and set fire to a barn, in which were large quantities of corn, which, together with two stacks of hay, were consumed. (Mingling pearl-ash with the water in engines for extinguishing fire, has been discovered to be very effectual for that purpose.)

A col-

A collier, burthen 150 tons, was burnt at Blockhouse Point, near Portsmouth, on account of brandy and tea being found buried under her cargo of coals. At the same time and place a smuggling sloop was burnt, and strict orders are given to the officers of the customs to suppress the infamous practice of smuggling.

The public has hitherto in vain expected a manifesto from the king of Spain against the jesuits of his kingdom. It is now said, that this state-paper, (if there should be one) will be only delivered to the sovereigns of Europe.

Mr. Fortree, one of the commissioners of the victualling office died lately. What is remarkable, a commissioner of the same board having dreamed that one of their number had fallen down dead, and telling his dream the next morning, the words were scarce uttered, when Mr. Fortree suddenly expired.

23<sup>d</sup>. Her Royal Highness princess Amelia made a visit to the R. H. Lord Edgecombe, at Mount Edgecombe, and passed through Plymouth in her progress, where all imaginable honours were paid her; and she was highly pleased with her reception.

The dragoman of the British consul at Aleppo, by birth a subject of the Sultan, having incurred the displeasure of his superiors, he was lately imprisoned, and his commission demanded from the consul, on pain of cutting off his head; on which, the consul found it necessary to comply; but at the same time, preferred a complaint to his majesty's ambassador at Constantinople, who having presented a memorial to the Porte on

that occasion, was answered haughtily, that such were the orders of the sovereign.

A clerk of the Bank, confined in the Poultry compter, for filing guineas, being recovered of a wound he gave himself when first apprehended, was, after examination, committed to Newgate. He made no defence; but a friend said for him, that the dust produced was not gold.

A few days ago, as the archbishop of Paris was at Conflans, and the workmen were repairing his palace, some unknown persons entered the palace, forced open two doors and several locks, and took out of his cabinet several papers, and a pocket-book, belonging to that prelate, which deprives him of the means of making his defence if he was attacked, which makes it believed that the persons concerned in this proceeding, had other motives than to plunder. The archbishop has taken the proper steps, in order to obtain redress by law, and last Wednesday he informed the king of the affair.

Cardinal de Bernis, archbishop of Alby, has lately given a great proof of his humanity, by discharging all his servants except three, on account of the high price of provisions, which renders him unable to relieve the distresses of the poor in the manner he used to do. He daily feeds two hundred poor people who come to his palace for that purpose, exclusive of the sick, and other unhappy objects, whom he relieves in his metropolis, and other towns belonging to his diocese.

25<sup>th</sup>. About eight in the morning three large boats (in which were above 100 persons armed



ed with guns and cutlasses) came in to the harbour of Kinmare, in the county of Kerry, in Ireland, and surrounded the sloop Henry, laden with tea, from France, then under seizure of the revenue officers; and after several shots being exchanged, the smugglers overpowered the officers, and forcibly carried off the whole cargo. Another desperate engagement has since happened between the officers in two custom-house barges, and a party of smugglers, on the north coast, in which several were killed on both sides, but the smugglers at last got the advantage, and carried their goods clear off.

28th. They write from Vienna, that Wednesday last, being the day appointed for the publick, thanksgiving, the empress appeared in publick for the first time since the late emperor's death.

Last Saturday in the evening, the marriage of the princess Louisa Henrietta Wilhelmina of Brandenburg, with the reigning prince of Anhalt Dessau, was solemnized in the royal chapel at Charlottenbourg, by the Rev. Mr. Sack, first chaplain to the king of Prussia.

Yesterday in the evening the ceremony of betrothing and exchanging of rings, between her royal highness the princess Wilhelmina of Prussia, and his serene highness the prince of Orange, was performed at Charlottenbourg, in the presence of his Prussian majesty, and the rest of the royal family, &c.

A young woman at Lyons very handsome, but little advantaged in point of fortune, was the object of criminal desire to three young fellows. Each endeavoured

separately to seduce her, but without success. The better to succeed, they joined, and had recourse to the stratagems of a procuress, who having contrived to bring the girl to her house, the three gallants there forced her, and dreading afterwards the punishment of their crime, cut her body to pieces, and threw it into the Rhone. For some days the unhappy parents sought their daughter in vain; but the river having thrown up several parts of the mangled carcase, it was then concluded she was murdered. Information having been taken, it was found she had been at the procuress; whereupon the latter was taken up and interrogated, when she confessed her crime and her accomplices.

The princess Poniatowski, sister to the king of Poland, 30th, and the prince de Ligne, who accompanied her, visited Oxford, and expressed great satisfaction.

Letters from Jamaica inform, that the Spanish government have actually expended three millions of dollars in augmenting the fortifications at the Havana, which were extended in land several miles.

Letters from Bastia say, that on the 8th inst. three Spanish xebecs and fourteen transports, having on board 970 expelled jesuits, got under sail, and that orders were sent to the other transports lying in the gulph of St. Florenzo to proceed to Calvi, Algaïola, and Ajaccio, and to land the jesuits at those places; the whole number of whom, arrived in Corsica, is 2300: and that orders were sent, at the same time, to the commanding officers of the French troops

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in

in those places, that, as soon as the jesuits were landed, they should embark with the troops on board the transports that carried the jesuits, and proceed to France.

They write from Bois le duc, that the advices received of the damages done by the late dreadful storm, of the 20th, which fell upon the town, and its environs, are most deplorable. Nineteen villages have suffered by the hail, which has damaged the houses, and broke the windows to pieces. They count at Rosmalen no less than 509 oak trees torn by the roots by the impetuosity of the wind; and between 70 and 80 houses and barns carried away or partly destroyed, as also the reformed and catholic churches. Letters from the lordship of Empeland Meerwyk bring advice, that the Protestant church and school there are stripped of their roofs, that of the Roman catholic churches and 18 houses converted into heaps of ruins; that the village of Hartwick had undergone the same fate, and that all the damages put together amounted to an immense sum.

They write from Mobile, in West Florida, that Messrs. Ferguson and Atkins, two Indian traders, had lately returned from a town eleven hundred miles up the great river Mississippi, where they had each married the daughters of an Indian Chief, and thereby established a mart of trade for beavers, fur, deer-skins, &c. from whence great advantages were expected.

By a private letter received by the Speaker Indiaman, from Bombay, we learn, that the Arabs on the sea-coast up the gulph have lately cut off one of our country

vessel's, captain's name Brewer; and that they are fitting out, at Bombay, two of the company's frigates and the Salamander Bomb, to go in quest of the robbers. The same advices add, that they are getting ready troops there to go out upon an expedition to Mocha.

They write from Malta, that the captain of a ship lately arrived there has informed them, that a small Corsican armed vessel, having perceived, not far from that city, that a Turkish galley, returning from the coast of Africa with a considerable quantity of treasure for the Grand Seignor, was in chase of her, and that she could not avoid falling into the hands of the infidels, the crew immediately resolved rather to perish than to be reduced to slavery; and animated with an heroic courage, they boarded the galley, and made great slaughter there, till at length being almost overcome by superior force, they were succoured by a Maltese galley, under the command of the chevalier Rosselmini of Pisa, who immediately with his crew leaped on board the Turkish galley, and completed the victory which the Corsicans had begun. It is added, that the latter had for their share of the booty several cannon, fire-arms, and ammunition, together with 16,000 crowns in ready money.

A few days since died at Ware in Hertfordshire, said to be upwards of 105 years of age, a poor man, without any known surname, but must be well remembered about London, which he used to traverse, with a remarkable long beard, selling matches and ballads, and playing some tricks of

dexterity or sleight of hand, and used in his patrol commonly to be saying, *Poor Jo, all alone*, by which term he was well known. He is reported not to have lain upon a bed for more than fifty years past, notwithstanding which he died worth upwards of 3000l. which he has by will left for the benefit of widows and orphan children, under the direction of certain persons named in his will for that purpose. This remarkable old fellow had acted the part of a spy in the rebel army in Scotland, in the year 1745, where he sold gingerbread; whiskey, &c. and was well known to many of our military people.

John Ubers, Printer, at Amsterdam, aged 106 years.

Mr. Gerard Lamb at Madras, aged 103 years.

Mrs. Waters on Saffron Hill, aged 102 years.

A woman near Cockermouth, aged 102 years.

## A U G U S T.

1st. A dividend warrant, dated in 1698, for 700l. being a year's interest on 10,000l. bank stock, was presented at the bank for payment, but, being of so early a date, the books were to be examined before the claim could be confirmed.

The count de Malzahan, envoy extraordinary from the king of Prussia, and Count de Welderen, from the States General, having notified to his majesty the approaching marriage of the prince Stadtholder with the princess; neice to the king of Prussia, his majesty sent compliments of congratulation on this alliance to the

king of Prussia, the States General, and to the prince and princess who are to be espoused.

At Salisbury assizes a very interesting cause, was tried, 4th. in which two cheese-factors were plaintiffs, against the hundred of Chippenham, for a load of cheese, value sixty pounds, which was forcibly taken away upon the king's highway, by a company of rioters. After a long trial, the jury found for the plaintiffs.

James Brownrigg, a painter in Fleur de Luce Court, was committed to Wood-street compter for cruel usage to two girls, his apprentices. His wife, who made her escape, is said to be the chief instrument; but he, it seems, was accessory. The barbarity of this man and his wife to these poor orphans, is shocking to human nature.

About three in the morning, the inhabitants of Leeds in Yorkshire were greatly alarmed with a sudden and uncommon swell in the river, which rose upwards of two yards perpendicular height in the space of an hour, by which several fields of hay were swept away. Much more damage was done by the sudden rising of the river Wharf, which was higher than has been known for near 20 years past. At Beamsley two houses, and Lindley and Dob-park bridges were carried away. Great damage is done to all the corn-lands adjoining to that river; and great numbers of oxen, horses, and sheep, along its banks, were carried down by the current. At Morton-banks many farmers are almost totally ruined. At Woodsome, a mill, and part of a house, and near 40 cottages were destroyed,

stroyed, and several other houses are much damaged. The river Nidd overflowed its banks, and has done an incredible deal of mischief.—It is remarkable that on the same day, but at a different hour, the river Slitterick, which runs through Havick in Scotland, rose to an uncommon height, without any extraordinary rain falling that day, or for some days before; and the river Teviot was then fordable. It began to rise about four o'clock in the afternoon, and continued increasing till after six, when the water was 22 feet higher than usual. The consternation of the town's-people is scarce to be conceived, for the water rushed into the streets with inexpressible violence, threatening universal desolation. Fifteen dwelling-houses, with the corn-mill at the end of the town, were presently swept away, and the very rock, on which they were founded, washed so clean that not a bit of rubbish, or vestige of a building is left. As no human assistance could avail, the minister of the place called the inhabitants to church, to supplicate Heaven to avert the judgment that seemed to threaten them. At the height of the flood, a servant-maid belonging to a merchant of the town, recollected that her master had in the house (which was then surrounded with water) about 300l. in gold. Her master being from home, she acquainted the neighbours, and begged their assistance to recover it, but none of them would venture; upon which the girl herself boldly waded into the house, and got hold of the bag, with the money; but, in coming out, she was carried down by

the stream. Providence, however, interposed for her safety. She was cast ashore on a green a little below the town, just alive, and the money grasped in both her hands so fast, that with some difficulty it was removed. A little above the town three houses were quite covered with water, except the chimney-tops; they were in an eddy, which saved them. The river Rye likewise rose to an uncommon height.

The report was made to his majesty of the three malefactors under sentence of death in Newgate; when they were all respited.

Saturday last about five hundred shear men, from the clothing towns of Somersetshire and Wiltshire, assembled together upon Corsley heath, and went in a body to Hornisham, near Warminster, Wilts, and pulled down and destroyed a new gig-mill, just erected for dressing broad-cloth, belonging to Mr. Everet of that place; whereby one man and a boy could do as much work in two hours, as thirty men could do in a day.

On Saturday a journeyman stonemason at Knightsbridge, went to a public house in that place, and sent for a girl he had for some time kept company with, and under pretence of treating her with sixpennyworth of rum and water, he infused into the same a quantity of arsenick; the consequence of which was, that she died yesterday in great agonies. The man has absconded.

We hear from Killcorney, in the county of Clare, that on Sunday last a man of that village, touched by jealousy, assaulted his wife, and with a pair of tongs beat her

in so cruel a manner, that her  
was despaired of. The wretch  
seeing his wife thus weltring  
ood, and in his thoughts past  
opes of recovery, as if seized  
madness, threw off his cloaths,  
ran naked to a stone-wall, a-  
t which he repeatedly struck  
head with so much violence as  
fracture his skull, whereof we  
he died last Tuesday.

he deputy-overseer, or gover-  
of a country parish workhouse,  
carried before the Right Hon.  
brd mayor, charged with the  
wing offence, viz. That he had  
lly inveigled a girl, about  
een years of age, from the  
h workhouse to London, where  
id endeavoured to sell her to  
office-keepers, in order to  
her abroad. The office-keeper  
ng the girl had a particular in-  
ty upon her, he refused to take

The overseer upon this en-  
oured to drop the poor girl in  
hill; but a gentleman hap-  
ing to overhear what was said,  
ed Mr. overseer and the girl,  
carried them before his lord-

The charge appearing pret-  
ain, the overseer was commit-  
to the Compter, and the girl  
aken care of until the parish  
rs could be informed of the  
e inhuman particulars. A  
boy, covered with vermin, al-  
appeared against Mr. overseer,  
ew his lordship what great care  
aken of the parish poor in the  
workhouse.

The coroner's jury finish-  
ed their enquiry, at the  
Cow, in Smithfield, on the  
of Mary Clifford, late ap-  
ice to James Brownrigg,  
er, in Fetter-lane; when it  
ared by the evidence of the

surviving apprentice, that; about  
a year and a half ago, the deceas-  
ed was put apprentice, and was  
upon trial about a month, during  
which she eat and drank as the fa-  
mily did; that soon after, her mis-  
tress, Elizabeth Brownrigg, began  
to beat and ill-treat the deceased,  
sometimes with a walking-cane, at  
other times with a horse-whip, or  
a postilion's whip, stripping her  
quite naked, tying her hands across  
with a cord sometimes fixed to a  
water-pipe, and sometimes to a  
staple in a beam in the kitchen un-  
der ground, striking her over all  
parts of her body and head, under  
pretence that she had not worked  
hard enough; that particularly on  
the 31st of July last, her mistress  
obliged the deceased to strip herself  
naked, and then tied her up to the  
staple in the beam, and beat her  
with a whalebone riding whip on  
several parts of her body, and with  
the butt end, divers times about  
the head, the blood gushing from  
her head and other parts of her  
body; that she repeated such ill-  
usage that day five several times  
afterwards; and the deceased con-  
tinued bleeding, from her head and  
shoulders, from that time till the  
4th instant, when she was convey-  
ed to the workhouse, no dressings  
having been applied to her wounds.  
A late journeyman of Brownrigg's  
deposed, that his master once whip-  
ped one of the girls, he could not  
tell which; when the whip being  
broken, he mended it again. The  
wife of a tradesman in Flower-de-  
Luce Court deposed, that she had  
often heard lamentable cries and  
groans issuing from the lower part  
of Brownrigg's house; whereupon,  
on Monday the 3d instant, she de-  
sired her journeyman to look down  
Brown-

Brownrigg's sky-light (part of which happened that day to be taken off) to see if he could discover from whence those groans arose; when he seeing something lie on the ground, he threw down a little piece of the wall; and the deceased lifted up her head, made a sort of noise in her throat, but seemed unable to speak. On this discovery, information was given to the parish officer, on whose coming to the house, and desiring to see the girl, Brownrigg said that she was at Stanstead in Hertfordshire, and had been there a fortnight; but being confronted by the man who had seen her lying under the sky-light, and threatened by the officers, he at length produced the unhappy creature in a most shocking condition and speechless. The surgeons gave it as their opinion, that the wounds she had received had occasioned her death. The jury brought in their verdict, charging Elizabeth and James Brownrigg, as both guilty of wilful murder, the latter for having aided and abetted the cruelties of his wife. The youngest son, who was confined in the Poultry Compter, was ordered to be discharged, no accusation having been laid against him at the above inquest.

At Mantes, on the river Seine in France, a most dreadful storm of thunder, hail, and rain, laid thirty parishes under water, carried away many houses, destroyed the produce of the earth to a great extent, and did irreparable damage to many farmers in that neighbourhood.

Anne Sowerby was burnt at York, for poisoning her husband. She declared just before she was

brought out of the cell, that a man gave her some *nux vomica* in order to poison her husband, which she burnt; that he gave his own wife some of the poison, who died soon after; that some days after, he brought her some arsenic, and assisted her in mixing it with curds, which she gave her husband for breakfast, who died a few hours after eating them.

The duke of York was most magnificently entertained at Chantilly, by the king and queen of France, to which entertainment the Prince of Conde, by the king's order, invited more than 300 of the principal nobility of that kingdom.

The society of arts in the Strand came to a resolution to give 100 l. to Mr. Philips, for the discovery of his manner of dying red and yellow leather.

The inhabitants of the town of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, came to a resolution to prosecute, to the utmost rigour of the law, every stranger presuming to come into that town to be inoculated. *Query, By what law?*

Early this morning a gang of 16th. of villains, to the number of twelve or more, attacked two men in coming over Tower-hill, who crying out vehemently, several watchmen came to their assistance, one of whom the villains cut in a most shocking manner; his cheek, in particular, was cut from the mouth to the ear, and his skull on the forehead laid bare for six or seven inches. Two of the rogues, however, were secured, and the wounded man carried to the hospital.

Elizabeth Brownrigg, who, with John Brownrigg her son, had fled from



from justice, being charged on the coroner's inquest with the wilful murder of Mary Clifford, her apprentice, was taken at a chandler's shop at Wandsworth, and brought to the Poultry-Compter. In order to secrete themselves they passed for man and wife, lay together in the same bed, and kept themselves very retired. The master of the shop, however, reading the advertisement describing their persons, and offering a reward for apprehending them, thought he could perceive some similitude between the persons described, and his lodgers; and, without taking any notice of his intentions, set out for London, and acquainted Mr. Owen, churchwarden of St. Dunstan's with his suspicions, who, with two constables, immediately set out for Wandsworth, where they found the mother in bed, and the son walking about the room. They were so disguised that the constables, who were well acquainted with them before, could hardly know them. Upon entering the prison the mother fell into fits, which have occasionally attacked her ever since.

A tradesman's son, in St. Martin's, passing through Duke's-court, with a bank-note in his hand, began to play carelessly with two goats belonging to the Mews, when one of them nibbled the bank-note out of the lad's hand, and swallowed it.

At the annual meeting of the clergy and sons of the clergy, at Bristol, the collection, at church and at dinner, amounted to 201 l. 3 s. 9 d.

21st. John Brownrigg, eldest son of Brownrigg, the pain-

ter, was examined before the lord mayor, relative to the murder of Mary Clifford; when the surviving apprentice deposed, that about six months ago the said John beat the deceased with the buckle-end of a thick leather belt, till the blood ran from her head, neck, and shoulders (several wounds she had before received being but just skinned over,) because she did not turn up a bedstead, though (as appeared to the deponent) she had not strength to do it; and that about three months ago the said John came into the cellar, just after his mother had been horsewhipping the deceased, who was then naked, when the former told him, that though she had beaten the girl severely, yet she could not make her do any thing, and bid him whip her; whereupon he gave the deceased about twenty cuts with the lash of the whip; after which the mother and son went away, leaving the poor creature naked. The witness having added, that the son had not, to her knowledge, beat the deceased after the last mentioned time, and it being the opinion of the surgeons that the wounds which occasioned her death, were those which she received on the 31st ult. and the whippings given by the son being before that time, he was not judged accessory to the murder; but was remanded to the Compter, till it could be known whether the parish-officers had any other charge against him. It appeared in the course of this examination, that Elizabeth Brownrigg began to beat the deceased, at about one month after her being bound apprentice, and from that time the wounds of the unhappy girl were never suf-

ferred to heal thoroughly, but constantly kept open by repeated severities.

Some regulations have lately been made for the more amicably carrying on the trade with the Indian tribes, in the southern district of America, by which all white people are forbid, on very severe penalties, from hunting deer, or bears, in any of the woods or hunting-grounds of the Indians, and are prohibited from trading with them clandestinely, or supplying them with more than a certain quantity of spirituous liquors at a time; which, it is believed, will prevent much bloodshed.

Two English schooners, laden with beef, pork, flour, cured fish, and live stock, from the continent, have been seized by order of the governor of Martinico; although the poor inhabitants are in the greatest distress for want of provisions.

At Philadelphia, Stephen Porter was apprehended and committed to gaol for the murder of captain Westcoat, of Bristol. Porter had been guilty of some offence on ship-board, for which the captain beat him. Porter, in revenge, on the night following, with three others of the crew, split the captain's skull with an axe, as he lay asleep, and afterwards dispatched the mate.

At the assizes at Croydon, John Baptist Malony was tried for unlawfully exercising the function of a popish priest, and administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper to divers persons, after the manner of the church of Rome, when he was found guilty, and received sentence of perpetual imprisonment.

Twenty live bullocks and cows,

the property of Mr. John Hawthorne, of Drogheda in Ireland, were massacred by the mob, on pretence of their being designed for exportation into England.

The following particulars are given by a gentleman, who is now at Erfurt in Germany. In the church of the Peterburg Benedictines here, is shewn the tomb of Louis, Count Gleichen, of the illustrious house of Scharzbourg, which hath given an Emperor to Germany. The count was made prisoner in an engagement against the Saracens, and suffered a long and severe captivity. As he was at work one day in the gardens of the Sultan, he was accosted and asked some questions by his master's daughter, who was walking there. The agreeable person of the Count, and his address in working, so greatly pleased the princess, that she promised to set him free, and to go off with him, provided he would marry her. 'I have a wife and children,' answered he.—'That signifies nothing,' says she, 'the custom of my country allows a man to have several wives.' The count was not obstinate, he acquiesced to this reason, and gave her his promise. The princess made use of such speed and address to release him from his captivity, that they were soon ready to embark on board a ship. They arrived safely at Venice. The count there found one of his domestics, who had been travelling about to gain intelligence of him, and was informed by this servant, that his wife and children were well. He hastened immediately to Rome, and after having ingenuously related what had happened, he obtained of the pope a solemn permission to keep

keep both his wives. This happened in the year 1240, and in the pontificate of Gregory IX. If the holy father shewed himself indulgent, the count's wife was not less complaisant; for she greatly caressed the Saracen lady, who had been the cause of her recovering her dear husband, and conceived for her rival a particular tenderness. The Saracen princess made a suitable return to all her civilities; and being herself sterile, she tenderly loved the great number of children which the countess bore. At Gleichen is still shewn the bed whereon the count and his two wives lay. After their death they were all three buried in the same tomb, as appears by the following epitaph.

‘ Here lie the bodies of two rival wives, who with unparalleled affection, loved each other as sisters, and me extremely. The one fled from Mahomet to follow her husband; the other was willing to embrace the spouse she had recovered. United by the ties of matrimonial love, we had when living but one nuptial bed, and in our death only one marble covers us.’

24th. John Brownrigg was again carried before the lord mayor, charged with a misdemeanor in beating the surviving girl, apprentice to his father; when it appeared, on the oath of the girl, that he had whipped her naked three successive days with a horse-whip, twice by order of his mother, and the third time of his own accord, because she had eaten two or three chestnuts which lay in her way, and afterwards he drove her up stairs naked and bleeding, to shew his mother what he had done. He was re-committed to the Poul-

try Compter; upon hearing of which his mother again fell into fits, (having been free from them two days before,) and continued ill.

## S U M M E R A S S I Z E S.

At Abingdon assizes, two brothers were capitally convicted for a robbery.

At Appleby assizes, none were capitally convicted.

At Bedford assizes, two were capitally convicted, one of whom was reprieved.

At Bodmin assizes, six were capitally convicted, of whom four were reprieved.

At Buckingham assizes, none were capitally convicted.

At Bury assizes, none were capitally convicted.

At Cambridge assizes, none were capitally convicted.

At Carlisle assizes, one was capitally convicted.

At Carmarthen assizes, three were capitally convicted.

At Chelmsford assizes, five were capitally convicted, two of whom were reprieved.

At Croydon assizes, six were capitally convicted, of whom four were reprieved.

At Derby assizes, two were capitally convicted, but were reprieved.

At Dorchester assizes, one was capitally convicted.

At Durham assizes, none were capitally convicted.

At Exeter assizes, two were capitally convicted.

At Gloucester assizes, three were capitally convicted, of whom one was reprieved.

At

At Hereford Assizes, three were capitally convicted.

At the assizes at Lancaster, one was capitally convicted.

At Maidstone assizes, seven were capitally convicted, four of whom were reprieved.

At Newcastle assizes, two were capitally convicted.

At Northampton assizes, one was capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Northumberland assizes, two were capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Norwich assizes, five were capitally convicted; four of the rioters, who had been respited during pleasure, were ordered to be transported for life.

At Nottingham assizes, five were capitally convicted, four of whom were reprieved.

At Salisbury assizes, four were capitally convicted, three of whom were reprieved.

At Shrewsbury assizes, one was capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Stafford assizes, one was capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Wells assizes, two were capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Winchester assizes, two were capitally convicted.

At Warwick assizes, one was capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Worcester assizes, one was capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At York assizes, Ann Sowerby for poisoning her husband, was capitally convicted, and afterwards burnt; five more were capitally convicted, three of whom are reprieved.

We have an account of the following outrages and villanies from Charles Town. Different gangs of robbers and horse-stealers

have lately infested the forks of Saludy and Savannah rivers, and committed many robberies and cruelties, among which, being questioned by captain Bafard, who demanded their pass on passing Canon's-creek, they presented a pistol telling him there it was, and shot him in the breast, robbed him of every thing valuable, and then went to the house of one Wilson, burnt him with red hot irons to discover his money, and there robbed him of all he had. From Denis Hayes they took to the amount of 3000*l.* brutally and lustfully used his wife and daughter, stripped them, and left them naked. They robbed Charles Kitchen on Broad River, beat out one of his wife's eyes, and burnt the poor man most cruelly. On the same river, they so inhumanly beat and burnt Gabriel Brown, that his life is despaired of; and on Lynche's-creek road, they met Mr. Davis, whom they tied, and tortured with red-hot irons, and because he had no money, they set fire to his house, and left the unhappy man to behold his all in flames. These miscreants are now become such a terror to the back-settlers, that they are preparing to quit their habitations, and seek settlements where their lives and properties may be more secure.

John Goodere and James Butcher were executed at 28th. Chelmsford for horse-stealing. The next day a reprieve came down for Goodere; on which a report was spread to the disadvantage of the principal officers concerned; but the fact was, that an application having been made in favour of Charles Harrington, condemned for burglary at the same assizes, the

the secretary by his majesty's order, sent a reference of the case to the judge who tried him, and at the same time sent a respite, to prevent accidents from any delay in receiving the judge's report. No application, however, had been made for Goodere; but the judge in reporting on the case of Harrington, was also prompted by his humanity to mention that of Goodere, whose crime appeared to his lordship less flagrant than that of Harrington; he therefore recommended it to his majesty, in case he should think proper to shew his royal clemency to Harrington, to extend the same mercy to Goodere. This report of the judge was not received at the secretary's office till Friday, the very day on which Goodere unfortunately suffered.

A comet was observed at Liverpool in the south east quarter of the Hemisphere, about 53 degrees above the horizon. Its tail described an angle of 30 degrees, and its direction was towards the Pleiades.

A silver statue of the goddess Cybele, weighing 36 pounds, of excellent workmanship, was lately taken out of the Tyber, three miles below Rome.

The island of Cephalonia, a Grecian island, was almost overturned by an earthquake, many of the inhabitants were swallowed up, and those who remained alive are reduced to the utmost distress.

The cardinals Albani and Orsini, ministers plenipotentiaries, the one from Vienna, the other from Naples, notified to the pope the approaching marriage of the arch-

dutcheß Josepha with the king of the two Sicilies.

The emperor designs to accompany his sister as far as Rome; and it is believed the grand duke of Tuscany will be of the party. They have declared, in the most express terms, that they will be incognito, and receive no visits or ceremonies of any sort. The pope, however, will order all such diversions and entertainments to be given that Rome can afford. A girandola will be one; and they say, likewise, an illumination of St Peter's.

The French troops in Corsica delivered up the fortresses of Calvi and Ajaccio to the Genoese, and embarked on board some Spanish transports for France. The troubles in Corsica, it is computed, have already cost the Genoese nine millions sterling: and they are now less likely to subdue that brave people than they were at the beginning of the war with them. Paoli, their chief, is making great preparations for war. He has already obtained possession of Albagliolo, and is actually besieging the two fortresses which the French have evacuated.

They write from Charles-Town, South Carolina, that his majesty's ship Cygnet, Philip Durell, esq; commander, having touched at the Havannah in her way from Pensacola, was fired at by the Spaniards from the Moro castle, and a 24 pounder beat through her larboard side. Captain Durell complained of the insult, was answered, that the king's orders were to let no English ship into the port. The Adventure frigate a few days after, being sent with dis-

dispatches from captain Parry to the Spanish governor, met with the like treatment.

And they also write from the same place, that on the 24th of July arrived there from Great-Britain and the West-Indies, last in 24 days from Pensacola, his majesty's packet the Hillsborough, commanded by Capt. Lessie Grove. From the length of the voyage, the captain being in want of refreshments and other necessaries, went to the Havannah for a supply; but, on attempting to go into the harbour, after applying to the governor, had two shot fired at him, which were certainly designed to sink him, and, had he not put immediately about, a number of cannon, ready charged and pointed, would have sent his majesty's ship to the bottom. The Spaniards said no ship or vessel with British colours should enter that harbour. This is the third insult the British flag has received at the same place within a few weeks.

Lisbon, Aug. 18. Mr. Lytton, who is to reside here in quality of minister from his Britannic majesty, arrived the day before yesterday, on board an English frigate. He was introduced last night to Count d'Oeyras, and is forthwith to have an audience of the king and royal family.

Six vessels are arrived in the Tagus, very richly laden; four from Fernambuco, and two from the bay of All Saints.

Madrid, Aug. 25. The court has received advice, that the Eagle frigate, which sailed from Lima the 18th of March last, ar-

rived at Cadiz the 13th inst. with a cargo of 1,679,527 hard pieces in gold and silver, 5723 chests of cocoa, 885 quintals of copper, 187 of tin, besides other articles.

They write from Paris, that on last Sunday the Dauphin entered into the 14th year of his age and was declared to be out of his minority, but has since been indisposed with a cold and a fever.

They write from Bourdeaux, that the duke of York, who arrived there on the 17th, had supped with Marshal Richelieu, and dined with the intendant of the province, and that on the 20th his royal highness set out for Languedoc and Provence.

The Abbe Roehon, who sailed from the road of Brest on the 7th of April, on board the Union, commanded by count de Breughon, who went to Morocco, is returned from his voyage, having made his intended observations. He has viewed several eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites with an instrument of his own invention, which obviates a difficulty with which these observations have been hitherto attended. The difficulty consisted in keeping the star in view during the agitation of the ship, by a telescope magnifying not less than sixty times; but with the Abbe's instrument, whatever be the motion of the ship, the star can never be lost above four seconds of time. It has been approved by a committee of the academy of sciences, to whom a memoir has been sent for examination, containing an account of the observations made with it.

They write from Quebec, that father Rabo, a 20th. learned



learned jesuit, had just returned from a second expedition to Lake Superior, in which he traced the course of a great river some hundred leagues west and by north, which there was great reason to conjecture penetrated into the south seas.

They write from Naples, that on the 23d. of July, letters were received from Catanzaro the capital of the Higher Calabria, which bring advice, that in the night between the 14th and 15th inst. several violent shocks of the earth were felt there, and that the province had sustained considerable damage. The town of Cozcuza suffered much; and Luzzi, St. Agatha, and other villages, were entirely demolished. About forty people were killed, and a great number wounded. The shocks continued till the 18th, and were felt in a direction from west to east, from the gulph of Squillace to Gallipoli.

They write from Lisbon, that on the 24th of this month arrived in the Tagus, opposite to that city, a shalop, with an express on board, dispatched by the governor of Senegal, with orders to repair to London as soon as possible, to inform the government that a mortality rages with such violence among the troops, that out of 300 men, of which they were composed, scarce 90 are remaining; and moreover, that there is a great scarcity of provisions.

In another letter from Lisbon is the following observation, 'We think it no small aggravation here, that the petty state of Algiers can, at any time, terrify the haughty Portuguese into the payment of

enormous sums, merely to purchase a temporary truce; while Great Britain, their friend and ally, has not been able to procure even common justice to her trading subjects in this kingdom, by a four years negociation.'

By a letter from New Providence, there is advice, that an English sloop belonging to Rhode island, had been taken by a Spanish guarda costa in the West Indies, and carried into Musket harbour, in the island of Porto Rico, where the vessel and cargo were confiscated, and the crew thrown into prison, on pretence of illicit trade.

Died, Edward Norris of Virginia, aged 103 years. He was 70 years pilot within the Capes.

Mr. Benjamin Perryn in Oxford road, aged 103 years.

Mrs. Darby at Great Haylock, aged 105 years.

## S E P T E M B E R.

As the duke of Grafton and Mr. secretary Conway were returning from Camden place in Kent, a man of 70, much intoxicated with liquor, rolled against the wheel of their curricule, which threw him down and very much hurt his leg. His grace ordered all possible care to be immediately taken of the man; and when he arrived in town sent Mr. Adair, Mr. Hawkins, and Mr. Gataker to his assistance; but the wound soon turned to a mortification, and the man is since dead.

John Fisher, Esq; was by request chosen mayor of Yarmouth. The

The inquest, consisting of 12 men, were shut up in the Guildhall three days and three nights before they agreed upon their choice.

There was a violent storm of hail and rain accompanied with the loudest thunder, and most dreadful flashes of lightning, at Genoa, ever known in the memory of man: Seven persons were killed, and much damage done to the churches and houses. The foremast and topmast of a Spanish frigate were so much shivered, that both must be changed, and one man was killed, and two others much hurt by the lightning.

A very remarkable cause was tried at Bristol assizes, before Sir Joseph Yates—It was as follows: Mr. Bryant of Magotsfield, sent his servant with two mares to sell at St. James's fair, 1766, where one Thomas Jackson met him, and agreed to give him 23 guineas for them. Some difficulty arising how to procure the money, a person of the same gang came in at the instant, and bought a gelding (which Jackson had at the door) at the same price he was to give for the mares. The gelding was to be sent to the Bell Inn in St. Thomas's-street, to one Crook, who was to pay for him; but Jackson being lame, prevailed on Mr. Bryant's man to take him, whilst he prepared a dinner. He accordingly went, but finding no such person there, returned, and found that Jackson had gone off with the mares, and countermanded the dinner. Jackson was with much difficulty discovered, and this trial brought on for the recovery of the price of the mares. Great villany appearing through-

out the whole transaction, the mares were judged to be stolen, and Jackson was immediately sent to prison, and Mr. Bryant and his man bound to prosecute him at our next gaol delivery.

The London Gazette of this evening contains two 5th orders of his majesty in council, dated the 28th ult. by the first of which the free importation into this kingdom of oats or oat-meal; rye or rye-meal, wheat or wheat-flour, barley or barley-meal, peas, beans, tares, callivancies, malt, bread, biscuit, and starch, from any part of Europe is permitted from the expiration of the time before limited, viz. the 10th instant until 20 days after the commencement of the next sessions of parliament. By the second, the prohibition of the exportation of any sort of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, or starch, is further extended from the said 10th instant, until 20 days after the commencement of the next session of parliament.

The following accident happened at the Whalebone, two miles from Rumford:—Bullock, Esq; of Stratford, and Daniel Le Gass, Esq, a Genoese merchant, returning from Rumford (where they had been taking the diversion of shooting) having their guns loaded in the chaise with them, by some means one of the pieces went off, and killed Mr. Le Gass on the spot.

Between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, soon after high water, the water in the Liffy, near Dublin, suddenly sunk about two feet, and in a moment after rose upwards of four feet, and immediately

mediately fell to its proper level; on this occasion several vessels received considerable damage, by being drove from their moorings, &c. It is apprehended from this extraordinary phænomenon, that an earthquake has happened somewhere, as an event of the same kind was felt at Corke at the time of the great earthquake at Lisbon."

Much about the same hour, it being low tide at Ostend, and the ships aground, in less than three minutes the flood returned with such violence that it set all the ships afloat, and forced several from their anchors; and, what was very extraordinary, the mud from the bottom rose to the surface, in a manner which is seldom seen in the most tempestuous weather, though at that time the air was serene, and the wind moderate. This tide continued turbulent about a quarter of an hour, and in sixteen minutes after it ebbed five feet.

A model of the famous bell, vulgarly called Great Tom of Lincoln, is now actually made in order to be hung up in an antique building, the north east corner of the castle hill in that city, for the gratification of curious strangers; and the custom of setting open the doors of the cathedral on all public occasions, will for the future be entirely discontinued.

At the triennial meeting of the three choirs of Worcester, the collection amounted to 1921.

Gen. Monkton's regiment of foot, (the 17th) arrived at Salisbury, having landed a few days

before from New York. It consisted of 110 men and 17 officers only, the general having permitted all who chose it to enlist into other regiments. The rest chusing to stay in America enlisted.

A stone in the church-yard of St. Paul, Covent-garden, to the memory of James Worfdale, master-painter to the board of ordnance, has this inscription upon it, written by himself.

Eager to get, but not to keep the pelf,

A friend to all mankind—except himself.

This morning a dreadful fire broke out at a stocking-9th. trimmer's in Tower-royal, opposite St. Antholin's church, Budge-row, which entirely consumed the same; the flames were so rapid, that the master of the house and his wife were obliged to leap out of a two pair of stairs window into the street, when the latter, being big with child, was killed on the spot, and the husband broke his thigh, two of his ribs, and was otherwise so much bruised, that he was carried to the hospital without hopes of recovery: An infant of two years old was saved by being caught in a blanket, and the man and maid escaped over the tops of the houses. By the activity of the firemen and engines, the flames were prevented from spreading, and thus probably preserved the whole neighbourhood.

An uncommon phænomenon was observed on the water of Isla, near Cupor Angus, preceded by a thick dark smoke, which soon dispelled, and discovered a large

luminous body, like a house on fire, but presently after took a form something pyramidal, and rolled forwards with impetuosity till it came to the water of Erick; up which river it took its direction with great rapidity, and disappeared a little above Blairgowrie. The effects were as extraordinary as the appearance. In its passage, it carried a large cart many yards over a field of grass; a man riding along the high road was carried from his horse, and so stunned with the fall, as to remain senseless a considerable time. It destroyed one half of a house, and left the other behind, undermined and destroyed an arch of the new bridge building at Blairgowrie, immediately after which it disappeared. As few appearances of this kind ever were attended with like consequences, various conjectures have been formed concerning it.

11th. The noted Mr. Edward Higgins took his trial at Carmarthen assizes, and was found guilty, and the next morning condemned. Upon being asked by the judge, What he had to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him? He answered, That he thought he had not a fair trial. But it seemed to be the opinion of all who heard it, that he was convicted on the clearest evidence. The trunk broke open at lady Maud's, on inspection, was found to have a small part of the key left in the lock, and the other part of the key was found on Higgins when he was taken. This was the most material circumstance against him, though several others strongly con-

firmed his being guilty of the burglary. It is said that as soon as the jury brought in their verdict, guilty, he burst into tears.

At the anniversary meeting of the sons of the clergy, held at Newcastle, the collection amounted to 315l. 18. 9d. which was distributed to one clergyman incapacitated, 20 clergymens widows, 14 clergymens sons, and 41 clergymens daughters, according to their several necessities and circumstances.

The Portuguese have offered 600,000 crowns by way of ransom for their slaves in Morocco, and 15,000 crowns a year to purchase peace, and as an acknowledgment so long as it shall last; and nearly the same offer is made to the Dey of Algiers. The Venetians, on the contrary, gave orders to their admiral Emo, that in case the Dey should not comply with his demands of peace, he should declare war, keep cruising with the eight ships under his command in those seas of Barbary, and sink and burn all Algerine vessels that he should meet with.

The following warlike experiments are said to have been lately made at Woolwich by Mr. Cross, and were found to answer, but are not adopted for particular reasons. 1st. To fix gunpowder under the earth, and when trod upon to be blown up. 2. To fix gunpowder under a gate, and when opened will be blown up. 3. To fix gunpowder under the earth, and by lifting up any thing that he may lay thereon, will be blown up. 4. To fix gunpowder under the greatest building on London side of the Thames, Mr. Cross

Cross will stand the opposite side and blow it up, without using match or train. He has brought to perfection also a moving battery, which is to be drawn by horses, and is to be made use of in time of battle, when fifty men can withstand one thousand, firing cannon, small arms, hand grenades, &c.

14th An inquisition was taken on the body of Mr. Daniel Agasse of Broad-street Buildings, when it appeared, that the deceased being in a one horse chaise, in which also was Wm. Bullock, Esq; of Stratford, each having a double barrell'd gun standing by them, with which they had been shooting, on a sudden jolt of the chaise one of the guns went off, and shot Mr. Agasse dead.

Elizabeth Brownrigg was carried in a cart from Newgate, attended by two clergymen, amidst a numerous crowd of spectators, and executed at Tyburn, for the murder of Mary Clifford. Her body was afterwards carried to Surgeons-Hall for dissection. Before she left Newgate that morning, her husband and son took leave of her in the cell. She appeared very penitent in the way to, and at the place of execution, where the crowd was so great, that several persons were much hurt.

They write from Moscow, that on the 10th of August most of the deputies, charged to form the new code of laws, being arrived in this city from all the provinces of the empire, the commission was opened with much solemnity, by order of the Empress. The deputies assembled at seven in the morning in the convent of Tschudow. At ten her majesty, wearing

the imperial robe, and a coronet on her head, proceeded to church in a coach, which was followed by twenty other coaches and six. As soon as the empress arrived at the church, the deputies walked thither two by two, conducted by the attorney general, holding the marshal's staff in his hand. They were preceded by the superior departments of the empire, the colleges, and chanceries, which were followed by the twenty governments and particular districts. After singing Te Deum, the archbishop of Twer made a pious exhortation, and all the deputies took the oath, and afterwards signed it with their own hands. In the mean time her majesty withdrew to the audience chamber, where the attorney general conducted the deputies to the foot of the throne, in the same order as before.

The sessions ended at the Old Baily. At this 16th. sessions 118 prisoners were tried, six of whom were capitally convicted, two to be transported for 14 years; 45 for seven years; four branded, and four whipped. James Brownrigg, and John his son, were indicted for assaulting Mary Mitchel, their surviving apprentice, in stripping and whipping her; they are to be tried next sessions at Guildhall.

Thomas Bowers and Isaac Hills, the porters concerned together in carrying off 2000l. from Mess. Paynes, bankers in Lombard-street, which they were intrusted to carry to the Nottingham wagon, were tried at this assize, and sentenced to be transported.

William Guest, lately belonging to the bank, was convicted of high

high treason, in filing and diminishing his majesty's coin: This unfortunate gentleman's counsel moved, in arrest of judgment, but their plea was over-ruled.

A shoemaker's lad having found a basket in the streets with something packed up in it, carried it home to his master, who on opening it, being enraged to find in it a new-born child, threw it out of a two-pair of stairs window, by which it was killed.

At Worcester fair old hops sold from 5l. 10s. to 7l. 10s. There were only eleven pockets of new hops, the quality of which was very bad, the price 7l. to 9l. Last year's fair near 3000 pockets were sold, and the duty amounted to upwards of 21,000l. but this year it will not be 3000l. The failure of the fruit is as great as that of the hops. Cheese sold from 24s. to 27s. the long hundred.

Was held a court at 17th. Christ's hospital, when the president declared that a benefaction of 2000l. had been received from Sir James Cockburn, Bt. upon which the thanks of the court and a staff was voted to that gentleman. Dr. Pitcairne received his charge as a governor, as did John Small, Esq; who gave 1000l. The report from the committee of almoners was also read, in relation to the residue of the estate of Mr. John Butteris, late of Hertford, amounting to 5460l. which he bequeathed to the hospital, on condition, that the corporation might have always one child there, and it was unanimously agreed to accept the same.

The foundation stone of a new infirmary at Salisbury was laid amidst a numerous concourse of

people. On this occasion the principal nobility and persons of distinction, (subscribers to the infirmary) dined together, and all expressed the utmost zeal to support a charity that has for its object the relief of the unfortunate poor of whatever county they be.

A great mortality prevails in the British settlements on the African coast; and a number of troops are preparing to embark to supply the place of those that have been carried off.

An oak tree was lately felled near Ludlow in Shropshire, the produce of which were 37 tons of timber, 43 cords of wood, 200 park pales, and five cords of brackets. A bough broke off before the tree was cut down, which weighed seven tons and an half, and three men were employed a month in stocking it. The whole tree was valued at 1400l.

Sarah Langford was tried at the sessions of the peace held at Bristol, for imprisoning Jane Bryant in a box, and reducing her to a most deplorable condition. She was found guilty, and sentenced to suffer 12 months imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 13s. 4d.

The Prince of Orange took leave of the states general on Friday last: He left the Hague early on Saturday with a numerous retinue, and arrived at Loo the same day, where he continued Sunday and yesterday; and this morning set out for Brunswick, where he will stay two or three days, and then proceed to Potsdam by way of Magdebourg; and it is said, the marriage will be celebrated at Berlin on the 4th of October.

The



25th. The fellows, &c. of the college of physicians, had a meeting and a dinner at their college in Warwick-lane; and in the afternoon a great number of gentlemen, licentiates of the college, (between whom and the fellows there has been a strong dispute,) went to the college, and not being admitted, forced the gates, and then with the assistance of a smith forced the door of the college, and rushed in upon the fellows; some of the gentlemen broke several of the windows to pieces with their canes, which caused great confusion; but after some time they broke up without further violence.

The palm-tree, known by the name of the Palma Japonica, which flowered and produced fruit in the garden of the Schombrunn at Vienna in 1765, and which is now 113 years old, has again blossomed this year, as has likewise another of the same species, 56 years old. The foreign and rare plant, called the Arbor Draconis Clusij has likewise blossomed, and the fruit, about the bigness of a cherry, and of an orange yellow colour, shews fair to ripen, which it is supposed is the first time they have arrived at such perfection in Europe.

They write from Lisbon, that on Sunday last an Auto de fe was celebrated there, in which 11 men and three women received sentence. Not one was condemned to die; and most of them were convicted of offences, for which much heavier punishments would have been inflicted on them, had they been proceeded against in the king's temporal courts. Since his most faithful majesty's accession,

the burning of heretics has been disused.

A detachment of the Elestor of Bavaria's troops destroyed a mill which stood on the side of the Danube belonging to the bishop of Ratisbon, which, it is thought, will cause much bloodshed.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Whitehall, Sept. 29.

On Sunday last captain Wrottesly arrived here from Monaco, with the melancholy account, That his royal highness Edward Augustus, duke of York and Albany, died at that place on the 17th instant, about eleven o'clock in the morning, of a malignant fever, after a severe illness of fourteen days, to the great grief of their majesties and all the royal family. The body was opened and embalmed; and was ordered by commodore Spry to be put on board his majesty's ship Montreal, captain Cosby, to be brought to England.

The following are some of the particulars that are related, and said to be authentic, of the sickness and death of his royal highness the duke of York.

His royal highness had danced rather too much at the chateau of a person of fashion; and this had not only fatigued him, but occasioned a very strong perspiration. As soon as the ball was finished, the prince gave orders for his carriages to be got ready immediately, to set off for Toulon, from whence he was distant some three or four leagues. The gentlemen of the train, colonels Morrison and St. John, and Capt. Wrottesly, earnestly represented to his royal highness the necessity of his remaining where he was, if not to go to

bed, yet till he was cool and had shifted himself: The prince declared there was no actual occasion for such caution, that he would wrap himself up in his cloak, and that would be sufficient; he did so, and stepped into his carriage—This was on the 29th of August. The next day his royal highness complained of a slight chillness and shivering; the indisposition, however, appeared so very trifling, that he went at night to the comedy; but before it was over, his royal highness found himself infinitely worse, and was obliged to withdraw. He was feverish, thirsty, and complained of an immoderate heat all over his body. By proper care, and drinking plentifully, the duke was greatly better in the morning, and therefore set forward for Monaco, the prince of which (who was personally acquainted with his royal highness, in his former tour to Italy) was waiting there in expectation of the honour of a visit from him; and the duke was the rather inclined to accelerate his journey thither, as in that prince's palace he might naturally look for an assistance and accommodation superior to what he could reasonably hope to meet with in common places.

The weather happened to be uncommonly hot, which not a little incommoded his royal highness: He nevertheless arrived at Monaco in good spirits, but yet feverish, and with an head-ach; the latter of which he imputed principally to the intense heat of the sun that whole day. The next day the duke was worse, and took to his bed entirely. In hopes of

a recovery, and unwilling to unnecessarily alarm the king, his royal parent, and relations, the duke enjoined his attendants on no account to write concerning his illness to England. All possible advice and assistance was given, but to no purpose; the fever was unconquerable. His royal highness now saw the danger of his situation; and he saw it with a fortitude and resignation rarely to be met with, where bloom of youth and dignity of station are united! Convinced, that without some unexpected turn in his distemper he must die, his royal highness, with the utmost calmness and composure of mind, adjusted every step consequent of the fatal event himself. His royal highness ordered that Capt. Wrottesly should bring the news to England, and in what method it should be disclosed. The captain was first to wait on Mr. Le Grand, of Spring-gardens, and with him to go to Leicester-house, and then to Gloucester-house, and having communicated the event to the dukes his brothers, to proceed to their majesties, submitting it to the king and queen in what manner and by whom it should be imparted to his royal parent. After his royal highness had settled this arrangement, he seemed remarkably easy. He declared himself perfectly resigned to the divine will; and he spoke of his dissolution with all the piety and resolution of a christian and a man; acting up to those exalted characters to his latest breath. His royal highness, through the mercy of the great creator, was sensible to his last moment; and the very morning of his death dictated a letter to  
their

their majesties, his illustrious parent, and the royal family; desiring the writer to expedite it, as he had but a few minutes to spare, and those to employ in still more momentous concerns.

Before his Royal Highness died, we are told, that he ordered all the gentlemen of his retinue to his bed-side, where he took a very affectionate leave of them, and desired, that as he could not possibly live many hours longer, his blisters might be taken off to give him a little ease in his last moments, which, it is said, was done accordingly.

The following paragraph is said to be extracted from a letter written by col. St John (dated at Monaco the 17th ult.) to his Royal Highness the duke of Gloucester. — 'The inclosed letter is of your royal brother's inditing; and which he affectingly desired me to go on with as fast as ever I was able, lest his senses should fail him before I got to the end.'

Among many other particulars related upon this melancholy occasion, the following seem also to be authenticated. 'His Royal Highness had not taken to his bed above two or three days before col. Morrison also found himself exceeding ill. The Duke insisted on the colonel's declining his attendance on him, and that he should keep his own chamber. The colonel humbly begged permission to continue in the performance of his duty. His Royal Highness, nevertheless, was still very pressing; most amiably and benevolently urging, 'Morrison, thy life is of much consequence, the preservation of it is of more importance than mine; you have a

family, (the colonel is married; and has six children,) be careful of your health for their sakes: 'However, col. Morrison importuned so strongly that the Duke, at length, acquiesced. His Royal Highness had a very high opinion of James's fever powder, and lamented the omitting having some along with him: In this dilemma somebody recollected that capt. Schutz, an English gentleman who had been some time in Italy for the recovery of his health, had mentioned the having some with him. An express was immediately dispatched to the captain, which returned in a day or two with a packet of it. The first dose had a very good effect, causing a most plentiful perspiration; the second dose was given, but no good consequence ensued; the disorder increased. After a proper interval, his Royal Highness desired to have a third, declaring he should cherish no farther expectations of life, if that should likewise fail. The third dose was unhappily (for what medicine is infallible!) as unsuccessful as the preceding one, the fever having gained too great an ascendancy. His Royal Highness was desirous of being attended by a protestant clergyman, and expresses were sent to several sea-ports, distant as well as neighbouring, in hopes of meeting with some ships of commodore Spry's squadron, on board of which might be a chaplain; but the search was fruitless. Several portions of scripture, particularly from the Psalms, and many of them of the Duke's own pointing out, were however read, at various times, to his Royal Highness.

The morning his Royal Highness

ness died, he called Mr. Murray, his first page, to his bedside; he asked him some questions, gave him some particular directions and advice, and took a moving leave of him; even, in dying, his Royal Highness shewed the most zealous affection for him; 'Ah, Murray! (said he) thou wilt lose thy master!'

An order was sent to the managers of both theatres to suspend acting on account of the death of the duke of York.

His majesty's ship Montreal set sail from Villa Franca, for England, with the remains of his R. H. the Duke of York.

The order for the mourning is the same as it was for the late Duke of Cumberland.

At the anniversary meeting 30th. of the college of physicians, Sir William Browne resigned the chair, and proposed Dr. Thomas Lawrence to be president for the year ensuing, who was accordingly elected; as were also Dr. Askew, Dr. Munckley, Dr. Thomas, and Dr. Brooke, censors; Dr. Hinckley, treasurer; and Dr. Askew, regiter. On this occasion the licentiates demanded admittance, which was not complied with. A smith was offered ten guineas, and an indemnification of 300l. to force the gates; which he refused.

Several inn-keepers have, during the course of this month, been informed against for not having the word *Wine* put over their doors, according to act of parliament. The penalty is 30s.

The following is said to be the cause of the late disputes in Warwick-lane.

The colleges of physicians in London, Dublin, and Edinburgh,

are by charter invested with a power of calling before them all physicians not educated at the respective universities, who practise physic within their precincts; to examine, and if found duly qualified, to license them. It was always, until of late, understood, that such licentiates had no right to demand admission to fellowships; and that whenever this was done, it was not granted in compliance with a claim, but conferred *speciali gratia*. Upon those occasions the college of London made use of the expedient of procuring for such licentiate a *mandamus* degree from Oxford or Cambridge, which intitled him to a seat as fellow.

Though such favours were bestowed but sparingly, the licentiates seemed to acquiesce under regulations which were supposed to be warranted by charter: but the fellows having lately enacted a bye-law, excluding from all prospect of being fellows, such of the licentiates as had at any time practised surgery; (though it appears from former lists of the London fellows, that this was not always considered as a sufficient objection,) the licentiates were alarmed and offended at the stigma fixed on a number of their members, many of whom bear a very distinguished rank in medical reputation and practice; and being assured by their council learned in the law, that their previous admission as licentiates gave them a claim to fellowships, they have taken the extraordinary method taken notice of in the public papers, of vindicating and asserting this their supposed claim. How far this claim is founded in justice,

or whether it can be supported by law, the event alone must determine.

On the 8th of this month in the evening, the duke de St. Elizabeth, the Neapolitan ambassador extraordinary, went in state to the castle of Sconbrun. He was first admitted to an audience of the emperor, and then to that of the empress queen, of whom he made a solemn demand of the archduchess Maria Josepha in marriage for the king his master. After this, her royal highness was introduced into the audience chamber, on which she made a deep curtsy to her august mother, who informed her she had given her consent to the demand that had been made. Then the archduchess received from the ambassador a letter from his Sicilian majesty, and a picture of that monarch, which was immediately fastened to her royal highness's breast by the mistress of her household, the countess of Lerchensfeld. There was a ball at night, opened by the emperor and the future queen, and afterwards a supper of several tables.

They write from Florence, that the great duke and duchess have now fixed their residence for the winter in the palace in town, where all the dispositions have been made for the reception of the emperor and queen of Naples, whose suite is so great, that apartments in four large convents, as well as many others in private houses, have been appropriated for them.

Mount Vesuvius has been much agitated of late, continually throwing up great quantities of inflamed matter with explosions; and though it has been rather more quiet for these two days past, it is

thought the first rains will increase the fermentation, and that it will discharge itself in a lava. The ashes and stones which it has thrown up, have added at least 60 feet to the height of the mountain since the end of June last.

On the 28th inst. the queen of Denmark was formally declared to be with child; and orders were given accordingly for public prayers to be offered up to heaven for her happy delivery.

The court of Spain has been greatly alarmed by a misfortune which happened on the 7th inst. to the prince of Asturias, who fell with his horse, and dislocated his shoulder; but it was soon after set, and his Royal Highness blooded; so that no bad consequence is apprehended.

Died, in Maryland, Francis Ange, aged 134 years. He was born at Stratford upon Avon, remembered the death of K. Charles I. and left England soon after. At the age of 130, he was in perfect health; his wife, aged 80, had a son by him not then 27 years old; and at the time of his death, his faculties were perfect, and his memory strong.

At Sunbury Mrs. Fulcher, aged 100 years.

At Abinghall in Gloucestershire, John James, aged 101 years.

At Wooton Bassett, John Haynes, aged 105 years.

At Greenwich, Downes Twyford, Esq; aged 100 years.

At Cobham in Surry, Robert Forrest, aged 100 years.

Robert Partin, aged 93 years, one of the oldest pilots in England.

Elizabeth Parker, near Moorfields, aged 103. When young,

she was stolen from her parents, her eyes put out, and carried about by two beggars to move charity.

## OCTOBER.

1<sup>st</sup>. The parliament, which stood prorogued to the 7<sup>th</sup> instant, was farther prorogued to Tuesday the 24<sup>th</sup> of November, then to sit for the dispatch of business.

A steward belonging to M. Buffy, of France, has disappeared, after robbing him of 5 or 600,000 livres.

At Retford fair, in Northamptonshire, the prices of new hops were from 9l. to 10l. 17s. 6d.

Agnes Doughal was found guilty, at the sessions of justiciary for Glasgow, of cutting her child's throat; but some dispute arising between the sheriff of the county, and the magistrates of the city, concerning the right of attending her execution, the same has been suspended.

We have the following extraordinary account from Winburne in Dorsetshire. A few days ago died here Roger Gill, shoemaker, and one of our singing men, aged about 67, remarkable for chewing his meat or cud, twice over, as an ox, sheep, or cow, &c. As it is very singular, his case will be somewhat amusing to the reader. He seldom made any breakfast in his latter days; he generally dined about twelve or one o'clock, eat pretty heartily and quickly, without much chewing or mastication. He never drank with his dinner, but afterwards about a pint of such malt liquors as he could get; but no sort of spirituous liquor in any

shape, except a little punch, but never cared for that. He usually began his second chewing about a quarter, or half an hour, sometimes later, after dinner; when every morsel came up successively, sweeter and sweeter to the taste. Sometimes a morsel would prove offensive and crude, in which case he spit it out. The chewing continued usually about an hour or more, and sometimes would leave him a little while, in which case he would be sick at stomach, troubled with the heart-burn, foul breath, &c. snuoking tobacco would sometimes stop his chewing, but was never attended with any ill consequence. But on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June last this faculty entirely left him; and the poor man remained in great tortures till the time of his death.

The managers of the theatres received an order for opening them again on Monday. 3<sup>d</sup>.

His Prussian majesty sent the order of the black eagle 4<sup>th</sup>. of Prussia, with a fine diamond star (valued at 40,000l.) to his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange; and in the evening, the marriage of her R. H. the Princess Frederica-Sophia Wilhelmina of Prussia, with that prince, was solemnized in the palace at Berlin, when the nuptial benediction was given by the Rev. Mr. Sack, first chaplain to the King of Prussia. The entertainments that succeeded, were splendid, gay, and magnificent.

The extraordinary dyet of Poland was opened with the usual solemnity. The king made a pathetic speech, exhorting them to concord. They sat till four in the afternoon; met again the next day;



day ; but as the affair of the diffi-  
dents came upon the carpet, they  
adjourned.

A great snow fell in the Peake  
in Derbyshire, which lay 13 inches  
deep upon the ground.

6th. At a court of aldermen, a  
representation from Sir The-  
odore Janssen, city chamberlain,  
praying leave to appoint a deputy  
for a few weeks, his physicians  
having advised him to go to Bath,  
for the recovery of his health,  
was taken into consideration ;  
when it was determined that the  
court could not empower any sub-  
stitute to exercise the magisterial  
part of that office.

The first stone of the intended  
bridge over the river Tyne, at  
Hexham, was laid by Sir Walter  
Blackett, who walked at the head  
of the procession of the principal  
gentlemen, freeholders, and free-  
masons of that town and neigh-  
bourhood, from the market-place  
to Tyne-Green, with colours fly-  
ing, drums beating, &c. and the  
bells kept ringing. After the cere-  
mony of fixing the stone, the gen-  
tlemen returned in the like order,  
and were generously invited to an  
elegant entertainment at the Ab-  
bey, provided by Sir Walter.

This day the Jewish feast of ta-  
bernacles commenced.

8th. They have had the greatest  
flood at Manchester ever  
known. The rivers Mersey and  
Irwell overflowed several fields  
on each side their banks ; large  
quantities of hay and corn were  
borne away, and the damage  
sustained at Salford-Quay, in su-  
gars, spirituous liquors, die stuff,  
&c. damaged and destroyed, is sup-  
posed to amount to several hundred  
pounds. His grace the duke of

Bridgewater's canal received no  
damage. At Stratford, the bridge  
belonging to the canal, was forced  
from its foundation, and the rub-  
bish going along with the water,  
was left upon the adjacent fields,  
and quite altered their appearance.  
At Bollen, the bridge which carried  
the canal over that river, had one  
third part carried away, but no o-  
ther material damage ensued ; the  
works at this place are reckoned as  
grand as those at Worley, and the  
damage done at the two places, is  
computed at about 2000 l.

A letter is just published at Paris,  
from Don Emanuel d'Amas, vice-  
roy of Peru, to the king of Spain,  
bearing date the 6th of September,  
1766, by which he informs his  
Catholic Majesty, ' that the jesuit  
priests have a warehouse in the city  
of Lima, where most of the agents  
of South America reside, and whi-  
ther all sorts of merchandize are  
sent for sale in that country ; and  
that they have like warehouses in  
the other cities, in order to car-  
ry on an universal, and, indeed,  
an exclusive commerce ; for paying  
no contribution, and being at very  
little expence, they find a quick  
sale for their goods, and take ready  
money ; leaving only for the lay  
merchants the debts and failures of  
those who purchase on credit.' In  
short, the griefs contained in the  
viceroy's letter, joined to the dif-  
ficulties the king of Portugal met  
with when he attempted to reform  
the jesuits, might have been alone  
sufficient to oblige his Catholic  
Majesty to get rid of so irreligious  
and prejudicial a body.

The justiciary rotation for  
Southwark was opened at the 9th.  
Town-hall on St. Margaret's-hill,  
by which regulation one justice  
will

will be in attendance from ten in the morning to one in the afternoon, every day in the week, Sundays excepted.

The new hospital near Pancras was opened for the reception of patients to be inoculated for the small-pox.

The high frosty winds, and great fall of rain, have retarded the harvest so much in the north, that great quantities of oats, pease, and beans, were this day in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, uncut. Cheviot-hills, and the high lands to the west end of that town, were two days before covered with snow, and an excessive rain on the 9th raised the Tyne many feet.

They write from Bermingham that there fell so great a quantity of snow on the hills in Derbyshire and Cheshire, that on its melting it caused great floods in those parts, particularly last Thursday at Northwich the waters were so high, that the inhabitants went about the streets in boats.

11th. The court of France went into mourning 11 days for the duke of York.—Gaz.

This morning about two o'clock a fire broke out at Mr. Pitt's a grocer, in High Holborn, which in a short time entirely consumed the same, with all the stock in trade, and the adjoining house, and greatly damaged five others. The flames were so rapid, that the inhabitants had but just time to escape with their lives; a maid servant and a boy belonging to the grocer being missing, it is feared they perished in the flames.

They write from Leeds, that last Thursday morning they had the largest flood that has been known in

that neighbourhood for many years, occasioned by an excessive fall of rain westward of them the preceding day and night, by which a deal of damage was done to the lands adjoining to the river.—But the damage was much more considerable upon the river Calder, where the rise was so great and sudden, that several persons were obliged to climb into trees to save themselves from being carried away by the torrent; the new navigation from Wakefield to Halifax has suffered much; and the crops of several whole fields of oats and beans in that neighbourhood are entirely swept away.—One person at Peniston has lost near 20l. worth of oats; and the accounts received of the damage done in several other parts of the country, by this inundation, are almost incredible.

Letters also from Denbighshire in North-Wales, Sheffield, Stockport, Stratford, and Warrington, mention incredible damage to have been sustained in those parts from very great and extraordinary floods.

The prince Stadtholder 13th. having notified in form the completion of his marriage with the princess Wilhelmina of Prussia, to the different colleges of the government residing here, that agreeable event was yesterday made known at the Hague by the firing of cannon, displaying of flags, and by other demonstrations of joy; and prince Lewis of Brunswick gave an entertainment upon the occasion to a great number of the principal persons of the country. Their serene and royal highnesses the prince and princess of Orange were to leave Berlin yesterday; and as they will rest at Potzdam, Brunswick,

wick, Loo, and Soefdyck, in their way home, they are not expected at the house in the wood before the 3d of November, when the rejoicings here will begin again. The states of Friesland have set the example to the other provinces; by voting an annuity to the prince of Orange; and it is probable that other presents will be made by other provinces, to shew their satisfaction upon this occasion.

Four human skeletons were dug up in a gravel-pit in Barnsby-field, near Pocklington, in Yorkshire; three were without coffins, the fourth was inclosed in a coffin, with an urn at the head, after the manner of the ancient Romans, on the outside of which were engraved several ancient characters: The coffin mouldered into dust as soon as exposed to the air.

His excellency lord viscount Townshend, lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived at Dublin, and was received by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and commons, in their formalities.

14th. William Guest, for filing guineas; John Spires and William Bryan, for the highway; and Thomas Davis, for burglary, were executed at Tyburn. Mr. Guest was drawn in a sledge to the gallows, and after the three others were tied up, he got into the cart; he was not tied up immediately, but was indulged to pray on his knees, attended by the ordinary, and another clergyman of the church of England: He joined in prayers with the clergyman with the greatest devotion, and his whole deportment was so pious, grave, manly, and solemn, as to draw tears from the greatest part of the numerous spectators.

The archduchess Maria Josepha, the intended queen of Naples, died of the small-pox, at the castle of Schonbrun near Vienna. She was taken ill the 4th instant, and there were the greatest hopes of her recovery a few days ago; but last night the distemper took a sudden and fatal turn. The pock, which had never filled as it should do, sunk and struck in, and there soon appeared manifest indications of an inward mortification. This day, about seven o'clock in the evening, she expired, after a long and painful agony. She had frequent lucid intervals, knew the danger, and met her fate with the calmest fortitude, seeming to feel nothing so much as the affliction she caused, which she endeavoured to alleviate, by repeatedly begging the emperor and empress (who continued with her till the last moment) to remember, that at any rate she was soon to have been separated from them for ever.

At Wayhill fair, which ended this day, hops sold from 8 l. to 12 l. and some as high as 14 l. Many, however, remained unfold. 16th.

The lord mayor, sheriffs, and commons of Dublin, came to the following resolution, That the obtaining a law for limiting the duration of parliament, under proper qualifications, would be of the highest advantage to that kingdom in general, and to the city of Dublin in particular; and that it will be adviseable for that city to take all constitutional measures for the procuring such a law.

The journeymen weavers in Spital-fields have assembled in a riotous manner, cut the work out of several looms, and done other da-

damage, on account of the prices of their work being reduced. The guards were called in to quell the rioters, but the damage they had done is said to exceed 1000 l.

There died lately, at his house in Whapping, aged 84 years, the noted Mr. Daniel Day; equally remarkable as an humorist, and for his great skill in mechanics. He was the first promoter and founder of Fair Lop fair in Hagmatt-forest, in the county of Essex, which was held the first Friday in July, every year; where he has for forty years eat beans and bacon, under a certain tree, he constantly walked to and from, while his strength would admit; his dress was a blue serge waistcoat and breeches embroidered with needle-work, the last eight years, as he grew feeble, he went in a coach attended by a fidler. He endeavoured to make the fair statute, but could not succeed, or would have been buried under the tree, and ordered a monument to his memory; but to show his great regard for the tree, and its situation, he procured a limb, of which has been made a coffin, which he has had by him many years, in which he used often to lye down, to see if it fitted him. He has ordered his body to be laid in Barking church-yard, (the parish in which the tree is in) to be carried by water attended by his men, with white gloves and aprons, each man to have 2 s. 6 d. and a full pot. His fortune, which was easily kept in the bank, as he always declared against interest for money, and used to quote a passage out of the Psalms, "he that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the in-

nocent, he that doth these things shall never be moved."

Ham mills, near New-  
bery, Berks, were burnt to  
the water's edge, supposed to be  
maliciously set on fire. The da-  
mage is estimated at 2000 l. 18th.

A dreadful fire broke out about midnight on the 25th of September at Constantinople at the house of a Milanese tailor, who perished in the flames, which spread and raged with great violence for six hours, notwithstanding the grand signor, grand vizir, and great officers of the Porte, assisted in giving orders, and encouraging the firemen and janissaries with money, to exert their utmost efforts for extinguishing the flames. Their progress was stopped on one side of the way at the church and convent of St. Anthony, being a stone building, and at the other by the vacancy of an house, which had not been rebuilt after a former fire. If it had not been a very calm night, the whole suburb, which is of large extent, would probably have been laid in ashes. Fifty houses are entirely consumed, most of them large ones, inhabited chiefly by Frank merchants, and by Drugomen, with some shops. The palaces of the Dutch ambassador, the Neapolitan envoy, and the Russian resident, two houses of the English factory, and a small Roman Catholic convent, were burnt down.

James Brownrigg, and  
John his son, were tried at  
Guildhall, on two separate indict-  
ments, for assaulting, whipping,  
and ill treating Mary Mitchell, the  
surviving apprentice girl of the  
said James; when they were both  
found 19th.

found guilty, and recommitted to Newgate, in order to receive sentence at the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey. The jury recommended the father to mercy. The son appeared to be very ill and weak, and so deaf, that it was with much difficulty he could be made to understand the questions put to him.

Two time-pieces, or sea-watches, one made by M. le Roi, the other by M. Berthaud, were examined and compared before the royal academy at Paris, with the principles of that made by Mr. Harrison of London, and the preference, as might be expected, given to the French watches.

A person in the neighbourhood of Plymouth having lost some calves, upon opening them found the passages full of worms.

21st. The society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, came to a resolution to give Mr. Phillips one hundred pounds for his important discoveries of the method of dying leather red and yellow; the colours are allowed to be superior to any imported from Morocco or Lisbon, and upon repeated experiments are found to be more durable.

23d. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey. At this sessions 7 received sentence of death; one, transportation for 14 years; 30, for seven years; 4 to be whipped, and 3 fined and imprisoned.—James Brownrigg and John his son, were sentenced to pay a fine of 1 s. each, and to be imprisoned in Newgate six months; at the expiration of which, to enter into recognizances for their good behaviour for seven years.—It appeared on the trial that James Brownrigg had twice dipped Mary Mit-

chell's head in a water-tub, once broke the gristle of her ear with a walking-stick, and once horse-whipped her, but not naked: In answer to which he said, he owned the dipping her head in water, but denied striking her over the ear; urged several instances of her misbehaviour; pleaded the good character given him by five apprentices; and added, that some of his boarders must have known something of the alledged ill-treatment; but, on account of their circumstances, he did not chuse to call them. The son was indicted for whipping Mary Mitchell three days successively naked; the two first times were by his mother's order, the last of his own accord, for taking some chefnuts: he said in his defence, that the girl never lay ill of his beating, and that he had taught her to read.

An order of council was issued, importing, that his majesty having received information that the price of wheat in the port of London, has been, for two successive market-days, above 48 s. the quarter; his majesty therefore prohibits the making, extracting, or distilling of any kind of low wines or spirits from any wheat, wheat-meal, wheat-flour, and wheat-bran, or any mixture therewith, until 14 days after the commencement of the next session of parliament.

On Wednesday morning, 29th, between eight and nine o'clock, his majesty's ship Montreal arrived at St. Helen's, with the corpse of his late royal highness the duke of York, where she laid to almost half an hour, while she received her orders from the Tweed, which was stationed there for that purpose, in case the Montreal should

should touch there. After she had received her orders, she stood to the eastward of the Downs. At first, when she appeared in sight, she hoisted the royal standard half staff high, and fired minute guns, which were answered by the Tweed. The minute guns at the Tower are to fire, and his royal highness's corpse is to be brought up the river to the Jerusalem Chamber; but if it should not arrive till after three in the afternoon, then to lay in state at Greenwich one night.

It is reported, that in the jesuits college at Barcelona, in Spain, were found riches to the amount of twelve millions of crowns. It consisted of several tons of gold and silver, a large quantity of gold dust, emeralds and diamonds, crowns of gold ornamented with brilliants and rubies, some bales of Cocoa, and some rich merchandize from the East Indies.

A dreadful earthquake ruined the isle of Cephalonia, and almost destroyed the city of Zante, in the Levant. The inhabitants had been alarmed by former shocks, and had taken to tents and boats, to pass their time in the fields and on the river; by which precaution many lives were saved; but their consternation and distress is inexpressible.

A law has been published at Stockholm, declaring, that in consequence of the measures taken by the states and their secret committee in the last Diet, the course of exchange should be fixed, for the year 1768, at 42 marks copper for a rixdollar, Hamburg banco, and proportionably for all other money; forbidding any person to bargain for bills at a higher price after the first of January next, un-

der the penalties prescribed by the law which fixed the exchange in 1766.

The last week has exhibited scenes of the greatest horror in Italy, the eruption of Mount Vesuvius having continued with great violence: Many fine vineyards are destroyed, and some villas; but his Sicilian majesty's palace and the museum of Portici have escaped, by the lava's taking another course, when it was within a mile and a half of them. The concussions of the air from the explosions of the mountain were so violent, that many doors and windows, even at Naples, were forced open by them. The explosions and concussions of the air were most terrible on Thursday. The noise generally continued, each time, between five and six hours, and then ceased as suddenly as it began. The stones thrown up by these explosions were of an enormous size, and were thrown between five and six hundred feet high, and many of them fell more than half a mile from the crater. The clouds which issued from the mouth of the volcano, and hung over it, striking one against the other, occasioned continual flashes of forked lightning, the thunder of which was heard when the mountain was silent. The mountain is now calm, and the lavas no longer run. This eruption is universally allowed to be the most violent that has happened this century, both as to the loudness of the explosions, which were heard above thirty miles from Naples, and to the quantity of lava. It is impossible to describe the confusion the city of Naples has been in for a week past.

The



The late general Pulteney, is said to have devised by his will the following legacies: To the hon. William Pulteney, Esq; who married his niece, only daughter of the late Daniel Pulteney, Esq; the youngest brother of the late earl of Bath, and who changed his name from Johnstone to Pulteney, his two large estates, one of which is 14,000 l. per ann. and the other 12,000 l. per ann. To the Right honourable the earl of Darlington, 150,000 l. in money, in the stocks. To the hon. Frederick Vane, and Raby Vane, Esqrs. brothers of the earl of Darlington, 600 l. per annum each, for them and their children for ever. To Mr. Livermore, his gentleman, 1000 l. and his wardrobe. To his cook and clerk of the kitchen, 100 l. per ann. each during life. To Mr. Thomas Heron, a distant relation, 1000 l. and 50 l. per ann. To his coachman, all his carriages and coach horses. To Mr. Garden, his steward, 1000 l. and a genteel annuity for life. To Dr. Douglas, his library; the said library was first devised to the doctor by the late earl of Bath, which the general purchased for 1000 l. and now has left to him again, agreeable to the intention of the original devisor. To George Colman, Esq; 400 l. per ann. for life. To his housekeeper, 100 l. per ann. for life. To his two grooms, two years wages, and all his fine riding-horses. To all his other servants, each, two years wages. Besides a great number of charitable and other legacies. The name of the house he died in, in Piccadilly, is ordered by his will to be called for ever BATH HOUSE.

Died in Virginia Edward Plea-

sants, Esq; aged 94 years, who had married seven Indian wives.

Father Rabo, the jesuit, who last summer went from Quebec to discover if any navigable river communicated from the westward of lake Superior, in Canada, to the S. seas.

Capt. Thomas Wilson, aged 86, who served in all the campaigns under the great duke of Marlborough.

Rev. Mr. Tho. Trigge, vicar of Horlie, near Riegate, Surry, and possessed also of a donative in Suffolk. He was educated in Christ's hospital, and many years since presented by the governors to the above two benefices; about six years ago, he presented the hospital with 100 l. out of gratitude, and about two years after, with 200 l. more; upon which the general court voted him a governor; he has by his will added a third gift of 200 l. which will make up 500 l. in return for his education and the preferment he received from that royal hospital.

At Ghent, the famous Jenny Cameron.

At Paris, Anne Louisa Allard, aged 117 years.

John Key aged 85, in Pensylvania. Wm. Penn, the first proprietor, gave him a lot of ground in compliment, being the first child born in Philadelphia.

Geo. Wilford, aged 100, wanting four days, at Penny-bridge in Lancashire. About 3 years ago died James Roberts, aged 113, near the same place; where is now living William Rogers, aged 105, in perfect health.

Elizabeth Harwood, at Whitechurch in Shropshire, aged 102 years. Her husband, a shepherd,

is

is still living there, aged ninety-eight years.

At his house in Thackham's-court, Chandois-street, in the 100 year of his age, Mr. Wood, who had for upwards of seventy years, belonged to the Heralds office.

## NOVEMBER.

1st. The Montreal arrived in the river, where the coffin in which his royal highness's remains were brought home, was changed for one made by the king's upholsterer, on which his highness's titles were elegantly inscribed.

2d. This day, about noon, the queen was happily delivered of a prince. Her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales, his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, several lords of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, and the ladies of her majesty's bed-chamber were present.

3d. The remains of his late royal highness the duke of York were deposited in the royal vault in king Henry VIIIth's chapel. For an account of the procession, see the Appendix to the Chronicle.

An order was issued by the lord mayor for apprehending all vagrants found within the liberties of the city, and passing them to their respective parishes.

Some labourers in sinking a well at Benacre in Suffolk, found an earthen jar, containing near 400 pieces of silver coin, the chief part of K. Edward I. and II. and struck at London, York, and Dublin. The workmen honestly carried them to Sir Thomas Gooch,

lord of the manor, who rewarded them handsomely for their trouble.

A session of high court of admiralty was held at the Old 4th. Bailey, for trial of offences committed on the high seas, but no material offences came before the court. A commander, charged with wilfully casting away his ship, with intent to defraud the insurers, was discharged of that offence, no indictment having been preferred against him. Another commander of a vessel, charged with cruelty to his apprentice, was likewise discharged.

The following extraordinary attestation of the coroner of Bergen county in New-England, was communicated by a gentleman of such credit, as leaves not the least doubt of its being genuine. "On the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1767, I Johannes Demarest, coroner of the county of Bergen and province of New-Jersey, was present at a view of the body of one Nicholas Tuers, then lying dead, together with the jury, which I summoned to enquire of the death of the said Nicholas Tuers. At that time a negro man, named Harry, belonging to Hendrick Christians Zabriskie, was suspected of having murdered the said Tuers, but there was no proof of it, and the negro denied it. I asked if he was not afraid to touch Tuers. He said No, he had not hurt him, and immediately came up to the corpse lying in the coffin; and then Staats Storm, one of the jurors, said, 'I am not afraid of him, and stroked the dead man's face with his hand, which made no alteration in the dead person, and (as I did not put any faith in any of those trials) my back was turned

ed towards the dead body, when the jury ordered the negro to touch the dead man's face with his hand, and then I heard a cry in the room of the people, saying, 'He is the man,' and I was desired to come to the dead body; and was told that the said Negro Harry had put his hand on Tuers's face, and that the blood immediately ran out of the nose of the dead man Tuers. I saw the blood on his face, and ordered the negro to rub his hand again on Tuers's face; he did so, and immediately the blood again ran out of the said Tuers's nose at both nostrils, near a common table spoonful at each nostril, as well as I could judge. Whereupon the people all charged him with being the murderer, but he denied it for a few minutes, and then confessed that he had murdered the said Nicholas Tuers, by first striking him on the head with an axe, and then driving a wooden pin in his ear; though afterwards he said he struck a second time with his axe, and then held him fast till he had done struggling; when that was done, he awaked some of the family, and said Tuers was dying, he believed.

JOHANNES DEMAREST, Cor."

Nine young apprentices, the oldest not 18, having sometime since formed themselves into a gang in order to go on the highway, having committed robberies, it is said, to the amount of 500l. five of them were this day taken, and diligent search is making after the rest. Their principal rendezvous was at a little public-house near Shepherd's Bush, where they used to put up their horses, change their cloaths, and transact all their business. The ringleader of those

hopeful youths some time ago, having discovered a sum of money, to the amount of near 200l. which his mother had saved unknown to his father, took the whole, and immediately laid it out in cloaths, pistols, &c. for the rest of his companions.

At a court of common council held at Guildhall, a motion was made that the thanks of this court be given to the Hon. Thomas Harley, Lord Mayor elect; Sir Robert Ladbroke, knt. Sir Richard Glynn, knt. and bart. and William Beckford, esq; this city's representatives in parliament, for the constant and diligent application and attention which they have shewn, on all occasions (during the course of this parliament) to the welfare and interest of this great metropolis in general; and particularly to the several matters which have from time to time been recommended by this court to their care and consideration. Which was resolved, and fair copies ordered to be signed by the town-clerk, and one delivered to each of the said representatives.

The corpse of the late general Pulteney, after lying in state, was carried from the Jerusalem chamber in a grand procession, and interred in Illip's chapel in Westminster-Abbey.

This day the noted Higgin was executed at Car. 7th. marthen, from whence we have received the following particulars.

"On the 23d. of October, the Sheriff of Carmarthen received the warrant for the execution of Edward Higgins on the 7th instant, which was read to him, and which affected him greatly for a few minutes, but his spirits reviving,

said,

[K]

said, I'll get a reprieve before then; so on the 26th of October he wrote to some of his friends for one, which accordingly came down on the 3d instant, of which the following is a copy.

Whitehall, Oct. 29, 1767.

Sir, notwithstanding his majesty's royal mandate for that purpose, you are hereby required to postpone the execution of Edward Higgins, convicted at your last assize for burglary, till further orders.

Your's, &c.

SHELBURNE.

To the High-Sheriff of the county of Carmarthen, or his Deputy, the Gaoler, or his Deputy.

"On the arrival of this sham-respite, Higgins's wife and sister, in order to countenance the cheat, dressed themselves that evening in white, but the under-sheriff suspecting the reality of this respite, made all the enquiry about it, and finding it a forged one, went to the prisoner the evening preceding his execution, advising him to prepare himself for eternity, for that he would be executed the following day; to which Higgins said, you are a scoundrel for suspecting so evident a truth, move me from this place to morrow if you dare, cursing and swearing most shockingly all the time. The clergyman of the town, and especially the Rev. Mr. Rogers, the rector, and his curate, were very assiduous in administering good advice to him, which he regarded not, still insisting upon a respite, and offering to bet 1000l. on the reality of it, and saying, you threaten me with the gallows, thinking I will confess many things, I must be a d—d fool if I do.

"Yesterday, the 7th instant, about eleven o'clock in the morning, he was fetched out of gaol, and taken to Petfarn, the place of execution; but was very desirous of being hanged within the walls of the castle, which was denied him. On the road to the gallows he walked so fast, that the spectators could hardly keep up with him, still cursing and swearing that the respite was real, and calling the under-sheriff a scoundrel for taking away his life with the reprieve in his pocket; he further said, that the lord-chief justice will take the matter in hand, and many will suffer by it; and it is reported, that he desired his wife to insert his trial, execution, &c. in the London papers; and at the gallows delivered her two letters, but the contents are not known. He made no confession at all, but declared he never wronged any person of a shilling in his life, and in a manner denied the crime for which he suffered. He mounted the ladder boldly, and addressed the spectators thus: "Gentlemen now is the time, do as you please, you have my reprieve in your custody." He prayed for about five minutes, and then said, "I am ready," and was turned off before one o'clock."

This day at noon the prince and princess of Orange made 9th their public entry into the Hague. The procession was very magnificent, and in great order, notwithstanding the prodigious affluence of people, which had crowded from all parts of this country to see it. The magistrates of the Hague received and complimented their highnesses under a triumphal arch, erected at the side they came into

into town by. The burghers were under arms, as was likewise the garrison; and the prince of Weilburgh and prince Lewis of Brunswick marched in the train at the head of their respective squadrons of guards. The artillery was fired at the same time from the ramparts; the bells rung; and the stadtholder, with his royal bride, were conducted to their apartments amidst the acclamations of the people. The whole town was magnificently illuminated at night. This evening their highnesses make their appearance at the French theatre; and on Thursday next the prince of Orange will give a ball and supper at the old court, with which the public festival will conclude.

A breakfast was given to the friends of the marquis of Kildare, at the Rotunda in the New Gardens, in Dublin, of which the following is the bill of fare:

100 rounds of beef: 100 neats tongues: 1000 sheeps ditto: 100 baked pies: 100 sirloins of beef: 100 geese roasted: 100 turkies ditto: 100 ducks ditto: 100 pullets ditto: 100 wild fowl: 1000 French loaves: 2000 large prints of butter: 100 weight of Gloucester cheese: tea, coffee, and chocolate, in abundance: 2000 saffron cakes: 4000 plain ditto: 50 hams, 2500 bottles of wine: and a most splendid and large pyramid of sweetmeats in the middle of the desert in the centre of the room; likewise a great number of stands of jelly, and a curious fountain playing, handsomely ornamented with ivy, &c.

This day the right hon. 1<sup>th</sup>. the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of Lon-

don, in common-council assembled, waited on his majesty; and being introduced to his majesty by the right hon. the earl of Heriford, lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, James Eyre, esq; the recorder, made their compliments in the following address.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

May it please your majesty,

'We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, happy in every occasion of approaching your royal presence with our most dutiful congratulations, beg leave to express our unfeigned joy on the safe delivery of that most excellent princess the queen, and the further encrease of your royal family by the birth of another prince.

'We cannot but feel ourselves deeply interested in every event which affects the illustrious house of Hanover, under whose mild government the British subjects have, for more than half a century, been blessed with a full enjoyment of their civil and religious rights, and a series of happiness unknown to the same extent in any former period.

'Permit us therefore, royal Sir, at the same time, humbly to offer our sincere condolence on the much lamented death of your majesty's royal brother the duke of York, whose many eminent and princely virtues have most justly endeared his memory to all your majesty's loyal subjects, and made the private loss of the royal family, a public misfortune.

'May the divine providence long preserve your majesty; and

may there never be wanting one of your Majesty's royal descendants to be the guardian of our most happy constitution!

Signed by order of court,  
JAMES HODGES.'

To which address his majesty was pleased to return this most gracious answer :

'I thank you for this loyal address, and for the satisfaction you express in the increase of my family : Those expressions of your zealous attachment cannot but be agreeable to me : The religion and liberties of my people always have been, and ever shall be, the constant objects of my care and attention ; and I shall esteem it one of my first duties to instil the same principles into those who may succeed me.

'I regard your condolence on the melancholy event of the Duke of York's death, as an additional proof of your attachment to me and my family ; and I take this first opportunity of expressing my thanks for it.'

They were all received very graciously, and had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand.

14th. This morning early a terrible fire broke out at the house of Mr. Bailey, turner and chandler, near Gray's-Inn-Lane, Holborn, which entirely consumed the same, together with another house, a pawn-broker's, adjoining, and damaged one more. The flames were so rapid, that Mr. Bailey and his family had hardly time to make their escape, undressed. His stock in trade, furniture, wearing apparel, &c. were destroyed ; a young man, a lodger, was obliged to throw himself out of a two-pair of

stairs window, by which he broke his arm and thigh, and now lies without hopes of recovery. This accident is said to have been occasioned by a lamp being left burning for a lodger, which unhappily set fire to some shavings in the room.

A number of colliers from near Stourbridge, in Worcestershire, assembled in a riotous manner at Kidderminster-market, and being joined by other persons, to the number of near 2000, forced the farmers to sell their wheat at 5s. a bushel, which before was sold at 7s. and at the same time obliged them to sell their butter at 6d. a pound, which before was sold for 8d. They paid for what they had, and then went home quietly.

At Mr. Dudley's, iron-16th.  
monger and grocer, in Stour-  
bridge, by some means a spark of fire flew into a barrel of gunpowder, which was in a back warehouse, while Mr. Dudley was there, and blew up the whole building, and buried him in the ruins, from whence he was dug out a most miserable spectacle ; yet there are hopes of his recovery : adjoining to the building was a locksmith's shop, in which several men were at work, who were by the concussion, which forced out the windows of the shop, thrown confusedly against each other. One man received a mortal wound in his belly from an instrument one of his shopmates was at work with, and died soon after. The violence of the shock broke the windows of several adjacent houses.

A gentlewoman in Holbourn, whose husband had presented her with a ticket, put up prayers in the church the day before drawing, in the



the following manner. "The prayers of this congregation are desired for the success of a person engaged in a new undertaking."

Mr. Hughes, a stock-broker, had his pocket picked in Jonathan's coffee-house of 50 lottery-tickets, the value of which (at the price then sold) is 800l. The same evening three other brokers had their pockets picked of their purses, one containing 62 guineas, another seven, and the third five. One of the pickpockets has been since apprehended, on whom 35 of the tickets were recovered; the other 15 he said were carried to Holland by his accomplices.

A coloured print of the French king, engraved on copper, was worked off, in his majesty's presence, by M. Gautier, assisted by one of his sons. The work was compleated in six minutes, and the picture came out finished with all its colours.

A court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, when 100l. was ordered to be paid to the widow of the late worthy alderman Cockayne, as a testimony of the sense they entertained of his ever being ready and willing to serve his fellow-citizens.

A motion was made in the court of common pleas for a new trial to set aside the verdict given against the surgeons in the Borough, for 500l. damages, for breaking a person's leg, by new setting it; but upon hearing the merits of the cause argued, the court over-ruled the motion, and confirmed the verdict.

This morning No. 3379<sup>th</sup> was drawn a prize of twenty thousand pounds. It is the property of Mr. Alder, a cooper and

publican, at Abingdon, in Berks. The broker who went from town to carry him the news, he complimented with 100l. All the bells in the town were set a ringing; he called in his neighbours, promised to assist this with a capital sum, that with another, gave away plenty of liquor, and vowed to lend a poor cobbler (his old penny customer) money to buy leather to stock his stall so full, that he should not be able to get into it to work; and lastly, he promised to buy a new coach for the coachman who brought him down the ticket, and to give a set of as good horses as could be bought for money.

On Wednesday in the afternoon, the body of a gentleman was found drowned just off Billingsgate, supposed to have missed his way in the fog; he had in his pockets a watch, two guineas, a five and threepence, some silver, and a dollar, and silver buckles in his shoes.

On Wednesday evening, as Mr. Cox, needlemaker in Black-friars, was going over to Bridewell, he by the thickness of the fog missed his way, and fell into the ditch close to Black-friars wharf, and was found suffocated in the mud.

This day his majesty, attended by the duke of An-<sup>24th</sup>caster, and the earl of Huntingdon, went in his state-coach to the house of peers, and opened the present meeting of parliament with a most gracious speech from the throne.

A court of common-council was held at Guildhall, when a petition to the hon house of commons, relating to the present high price of provisions, was read and agreed

to, and the sheriffs were ordered to present the same forthwith.

They write from Vienna, that letters from Tyrol bring a detail of the most melancholy events. After a very copious rain, which lasted from the 16th to the 19th, in the southern part of that country, the rivers and brooks overflowed on all sides. The waters which ran from the mountains dragged down along with them stones of an enormous size, and overturned bridges, houses, and churches. In some places the very rocks, detached from the mountains, made terrible havock. The adige, issuing from its bed, produced so great an inundation, that the plain between the two mountains resembled a lake. The misery of the country is general, and the inhabitants not being able to remedy the misfortune, had no other course to take but to escape to the high grounds, from whence they beheld with grief the dreadful spectacle of the destruction of their houses and fields.

The town of Neumark, founded some ages ago, at the place where the town of Enna, by the Romans called Endidæ, stood, and which was destroyed by an inundation, has had pretty nearly the same fate. Thirty-seven inhabitants, who had retired into the little church of St. Antonio, perished, the rivulet of Vilbach having thrown it down. The little river known by the name of Lavis, broke a large dike of stones, and penetrated into the country of Trente, where it has done prodigious damage. The Fersina, another small stream, having broke its banks, has likewise committed great ravages.

Joseph Harvey and Richard Bittere, for burglary; 25th. John Brads, for robbing Mrs. Hubbard, of a sum of money; and William Edwards, for stealing 80l. in the dwelling-house of Daniel Lucas, the fox and crown at Highgate, were executed at Tyburn, pursuant to their sentence. Edwards seemed to be above thirty years old; but the three others greatly excited the compassion of the spectators, the eldest being about eighteen, and the two others younger.—Edwards was by trade a painter, and lived several years in good repute in Litchfield-street, near Newport-market; he was waited on by a gentleman, at the desire of Mrs. Bartholomew of the White-conduit-house, relative to a family gold watch, when he trembled very much, and owned the taking 40l. but denied his knowing any thing of the watch.

A prisoner in the Bastille hanged himself a few days ago; but the gaoler coming into his room soon after, and perceiving that he was not dead, cut the cord by which he hung, and made use of every means to recover him; but the prisoner no sooner came to himself, than he seized the knife with which the gaoler had cut him down, stabbed him with it, and afterwards stabbed himself. The gaoler survived him only a few hours.

The queen of Denmark, in commemoration of her marriage, has ordered the sum of 30 rixdollars to be given to each of 25 young women in the district of Soroe, as a portion at their wedding, besides ten rixdollars at the birth of every first child. The weddings are to be on the 29th of next

next January, which is the king's birth-day.

Ephraim Philpot of North Kelly, near Taunton in Somersetshire, having some difference with his father, went into the field where he was, and shot him dead. He has since been apprehended, and committed to prison.

The case of Mr. Gibson, 26th. on a special verdict, was argued by council, before the right hon. lord Mansfield, and nine more of the judges, in the Exchequer-chamber Westminster hall, for upwards of three hours: their lordships are to give their opinion on the case next term.

Extract of a letter from Charles-Town, South-Carolina, Oct. 2.

“ Wednesday last, Michael Muckenfuss, dispatched by the postmaster-general with the mail for St. Augustine, returned here, and gives the following account, to which he has made oath: September 20th, three days after leaving Savannah, he reached the Store on Santilly-river, kept by James Lemmon, who told him, that the day before, while George Mills, Benjamin Baker, Jeremiah Wyllly, and one Cummins, were driving some cattle across a run of water near the said Wyllly's house, the three last mentioned were fired upon and killed upon the spot, Mills made his escape, and rode towards Wyllly's, where he saw five Indians killing two women, three children, and old Mr. Mills, his own father, on which he rode off; he knew the Indians to be Creeks, belonging to the village of Allatchway, who, to the number of 15, had been for some time hunting in that neigh-

bourhood. The house where the murder was committed is in East-Florida, on St. Mary's river, fifteen miles above the Ferry, which he reached on the 22d; but finding no boat, and no answer from the Ferry-house on the other side, he supposed the people were fled, and not being able to cross the river, he was obliged to return.”

Letter from the East-Indies.

“ On the 10th of September, 1766, came to our garden near Tranquebar, a Moorish or Mahometan priest, a dwarf, aged 45 years: his size was scarce that of an ordinary child of four years old. What was remarkable in this case was, that he was not at all misshapen, but all his limbs seemed as well proportioned from head to foot as those of any other person. He sung in the Persian, but understood very little of the Malabar language. The former governor of Madras had his image cast in brass, since the dwarf himself could not be persuaded to go to Europe. He walked a little in our plantation to look about him; but as walking was troublesome to him on account of a disorder in his breast, one of our people carried him on his arms like a child, which he liked very well.”

This autumn has been fatal to the horses in America, as well as England and Holland. The distemper there has been attended with fatal effects; in the province of New-Jersey, it has carried off almost all their young horses and colts; and in New-England the havoc it has made is very ruinous.

The tide ebbed and flowed about five in the morning, twice in an hour and a half, 28th.

at London-bridge and Greenwich.

30th. The young prince, fourth son of their majesties, was baptized by the bishop of London, (the archbishop of Canterbury being indisposed) by the name of Edward. Their serene highnesses the hereditary prince and princess of Brunswick, the reigning prince of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, and her royal highness the princess of Hesse were sponsors by proxy.

A body of weavers, armed with rusty swords, pistols, and other offensive weapons, assembled at a house on Saffron-hill, with an intent to destroy the work in the looms of an eminent weaver near that place, but were happily dispersed without much mischief. Some of them were apprehended, and being examined before the justices at Hicks's-hall, it appeared that two classes of weavers were mutually combined to distress each other, namely the engine and narrow weavers. The engine weavers were supposed to be ruinous to the narrow weavers, because, by means of their engines, one of them could do as much in one day as six of the other, and the same kind of work equally good; for which reason the narrow weavers were determined to destroy them: The men who were taken up were engine weavers, and they urged in their favour that they only assembled in order to defend themselves from a party of the others who were expected to rise. As they had done no mischief, they were all dismissed with a severe reprimand for not having applied to the civil magistrate for protection.

About twelve the same night the master of the Peacock in Gray's-inn lane, discovered a man in his shirt that had jumped out of a two pair of stairs window in his sleep. By pitching on the pent-house it had broke his fall, and the man had received no hurt. He appeared stupid at first, and would believe nothing of the matter; but recovering himself, and finding himself naked in the street, he was greatly affected at his deliverance.

Some particulars relative to the loss of the brig Dolphin, capt. John Malbone, belonging to Newport, Rhode island, which was set on fire off that place in July last.

“ When the Dolphin had arrived off Point Judith from Jamaica, and was within five miles from the land, at half after ten o'clock at night, a negro boy went down between the decks, amongst the rum, where there stood several puncheons of water, and (as he says) with an intention to draw some water, but mistook, and broached a cask of rum; at the same time the door of the lantern, in which he carried the candle, being open, and the candle falling into the rum, set it on fire: This so affrighted the boy, that he neglected to stop the running of the rum, and in less than half a minute the head of the cask flew out, and the flames were immediately communicated to 15 casks more, all between decks, so that all possible means used to extinguish it proved entirely ineffectual; the vessel was all in flames in a very few minutes, and consequently reduced 26 persons, being

ing the number of people, including passengers, on board, to a distress and horror that must be left to the reader's imagination; among many of them subsisted the tender and endearing connections of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, &c. between whom the merciless flames were now effecting a cruel and inevitable separation; and it was with the utmost difficulty that a soul on board saved his life. There were 11 passengers, viz. Mr. John Henry, Mr. Nathaniel Green, and another gentleman; Mrs. Henry, Mrs. Storer, Miss Ann Storer, Miss Frances Storer, Miss Maria Storer, Miss Sarah Storer, and Mr. Henry's two children, one 16, and the other 4 months old, five of whom perished in the following manner, viz. Mrs. Storer, Miss Sarah Storer, and Mr. Henry's two children, being in the cabin, were suffocated with the smoke before the two small boats could be got out; they being thrown over with the utmost difficulty, not having any thing ready to hoist them: Mrs. Henry was upon deck, with her sisters, and might have been saved with them, but, overcome with maternal love and affection, on hearing her mother cry out, The children! oh, the children! she ran and threw herself headlong down the companion into the flames, and was there instantly consumed. The remainder of the people, to the number of twenty-one, got ashore, with difficulty, in the two small boats. The vessel burnt till eight o'clock the next day, when she sunk.

“The above brig belonged to Mess. Evan and Francis Malbone,

of Newport, Rhode Island, was upwards of 200 tons burthen, was returning from her first voyage, with a rich and valuable cargo, and had got within three or four hours sail of that harbour when the above misfortune happened. The vessel and cargo were valued at 4000l. sterling, and the effects of the passengers at 2000l. sterling.”

Some months ago three large tribes, in the environs of Cattaro, a strong place in Venetian Dalmatia, fell upon Budoa, a trading and opulent town. We now learn, that they have at their head a chief, who calls himself Peter-Stephen Czar III. to which he adds, the title of (Servus Servorum) the servant of servants. He resides at Maim, in a monastery of Callogeri, or Greek Schismatic monks, where he received proselytes and tributes. He has about his person four thousand armed peasants; and, under the pretence of protecting religion, has already subjected a considerable number of the inhabitants of Turkish Albania, some villages belonging to the republic of Venice, and all those of Montenero, a fierce people, and great enemies of the Mahometans. The republic is taking measures for the preservation of its territories, and stopping the progress of this rude people.

An extraordinary accident has lately happened at Pontoise, which has thrown the inhabitants into great consternation. That town is so situated, that a rock hangs over part of it, and upon the brow of the rock are gardens, houses, and even two churches. On the 25th instant, about three o'clock in the morning, part of the prominent rock

rock (50 feet in length, 30 in height, and 18 to 20 feet in width) fell down, and crushed three houses, the inhabitants of which had just time to save themselves by means of the alarm, which they received by some cracks which preceded the fatal accident: one man only was dug out of the ruins, slightly hurt, having been preserved by a cavity occasioned by some large pieces of the rock. The inhabitants are under great consternation, on account of some more of the rock being in danger of falling. A skilful engineer is sent to take proper measures to guard against the mischief which may result from any accident of the like kind for the future.

The expulsion of the jesuits from the kingdom of Naples, which was long expected, is at length put in execution. On the 20th of this month at the setting in of the evening, the garrison of that capital was under arms, and the six houses of jesuits were invested by the civil officers, and a party of grenadiers. Six of the principal magistrates also went to each of the houses, and fixed a seal on all the rooms. About midnight ten companies of grenadiers, and two hundred horse, posted themselves in different parts of the city, where they pressed a number of carriages, and sent the jesuits in them, guarded by a party of horse, to Pozzuoli, where vessels were waiting to transport them out of the kingdom. Every jesuit was allowed to take his portmanteau, which was not examined. A party of soldiers is left in each of the houses, till further orders are received from the king. The ships

have not yet sailed from Pozzuoli, being detained by contrary winds; two armed galleys in this port have orders to join them, but the port they are bound to is not known.

The success which the affair of the Dissidents has met with, is owing principally to the private conferences, which were held at the houses of prince de Repnin, the prince Primate, and the marshals of the confederacy. It was there agreed that the king and queen of Poland shall be of the Roman Catholic religion; but that nevertheless, the Dissidents, Greeks, and Protestants shall enjoy the same privileges as the Catholics throughout Poland. All the proceedings of the Dissidents shall henceforth be judged before a superior tribunal, entitled, *Judicium Mixtum*, the members of which are to be of different religions, and the president to be alternately a Catholic, Greek, or Dissident.

The bishop of Cracow, and the other nobles whom the Russian troops carried off, are still at Wilna, and it becomes every day more apparent, that they will not recover their liberty, till the grand commission and the diet shall have terminated their sittings.

Died, at Hexham, David Chambers, weaver, aged 100. He was in the army upwards of 30 years; and he was under the duke of Marlborough in his campaigns. His behaviour during that period was such as gained him the esteem of his superiors, and justly intitled him to an offer of that asylum, which numbers are glad to enjoy by petition. In the last war, notwithstanding he was upwards of 90 years of age, he again joined the army, and had the honour to fight



fight under prince Ferdinand on the plains of Minden; from thence he returned again to Hexham, mounted the loom, and continued working thereat till within a very little time of his death.

Mr. Penniston Brooks, at Honduras, upwards of 40 years a considerable logwood cutter there.

Mary Griffiths, in a cellar, in the Borough of Southwark, forty years a cryer of old rags, by which she acquired houses in Whitechapel, to the yearly rent of 73 l.

— Ritchie, Esq; aged near 90, who had been purveyor to K. George I. and II.

## DECEMBER.

1st. The 10,000 l. prize drawn this day, is the property of Mr. Cappadocia, an eminent Jew Merchant, who formerly had a prize of the like value for himself, and purchased a third for a correspondent abroad.

The Dutch East-India company have lost the last homeward bound ship that was expected from Batavia this year. She was wrecked in a storm within three leagues of the Texel, and all on board, except 5 or 6 sailors, perished. It is said 500,000 l. private property, has been lost on board that ship.

2d. Hamed Agen, ambassador from Tripoly, had his audience of leave of his majesty. He was honoured with extraordinary marks of royal favour, and, since his departure, has been received at Portsmouth by a salute of all the guns on the ramparts.

The following remarkable affair is said to have happened near Frome

in Somersetshire: A farmer having high words with his wife; and being employed at the same time in somewhat wherein he had occasion for the use of a bill-hook, which he had in his hand, on some provocation he gave her a cut on the top of the head with it, on which she ran from him, and he after her, in order (as supposed) to repeat the blow, when there being a very deep well in the yard with its mouth unstopped, the woman leaped over it, but the poor man stumbled, fell headlong into it, and was drowned.

At a court of Christ's-hospital, the president declared 3d. that a benefaction of 100 l. had been received from John Spicker, Esq; 50 l. from John Drinkwater, Esq; 100 l. from lord Monson; 50 l. from the hon. George Venable Vernon; 200 guineas from Joseph Martin, Esq; and the like sum from John Durand, Esq; the present high sheriff for Surry.

The court of Common Pleas, on Saturday, delivered their opinions in the great insurance cause, wherein John Drinkwater, Esq; was plaintiff, and the Royal Exchange assurance-office, defendants, on a case reserved, whether a loss by fire at Norwich, in the riots there, was within the exceptions of the company's policy? When the court gave judgment for the plaintiff.

*From the Votes of the House of Commons of Ireland.*

*Jovis, 19 die Novembris, 1767.*  
Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that the pensions placed upon this establishment (exclusive of the French and military pensions) for 2 years, from the 25th of

of March 1765, to the 25th. of March 1767, exceed the whole charges of the rest of the civil list 60,688 l. 7 s. 0  $\frac{1}{4}$  d.

Resolved, That it appears by the public accounts, that the charge of the civil establishment, for two years preceding Lady-day 1751, amounted to 146,134 l. 8 s. 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  d. and that the charge of the civil establishment, for the two years preceding Lady-day 1767, amounted to 257,988 l. 6 s. 10  $\frac{3}{4}$  d. and that the difference is an exceeding of 111,853 l. 18 s. 6 d. in the two last years.

7th. His majesty came to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to,

An act to prohibit the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch, and also the extraction of low wines and spirits from wheat and wheat-flour.

An act for allowing the importation of wheat, wheat-flour, barley, barley-meal, pulse, oats, oat-meal, rye, and rye-meal, duty free: and to allow the importation of wheat and wheat-flour from Africa, for a limited time, free of duty.

The corporation of Bristol, and the society of merchants of that city, sent commissions to Dantzick for several thousand quarters of wheat to be imported there, which those bodies intend to sell to the poor at a low price.

A butcher in liquor went to a public house in Bristol, and having a pint of beer was desired by the landlady to go home; on which he began cursing and abusing her, and after several words he drew out his knife, and said that he would as soon run it into her as

he would stick a pig; and making some advances towards her, the husband was so struck with the fright, that he dropped down on the spot, and expired instantly.

A fellow was committed to Warwick gaol for defrauding Mr. Jos. Kendrick of Bermingham, in July last, of 221 l. 1 s. with which he immediately went off to France; and on his return from thence last week was apprehended at Holmes Chapel, in his way to Warrington in Lancashire, where he had hired himself to work in one of the glass-houses there, in order to obtain the art of making glass, and then was to return to France. He was servant to Mr. Kendrick, and was sent with bills to the above amount to the bank in Bermingham for cash, which having obtained, he made off.

Yesterday morning, about four o'clock, an untenanted house under repair, adjoining to the rose tavern and alehouse in Curstons-street, fell down, and carried with it part of the alehouse, in which were several lodgers, five of whom were killed, viz. a man, a woman with child, and three children. Several others were much bruised, and carried to St. Bartholomew's hospital, among whom was a poor woman dug out of the ruins, who had a young child at the breast, now missing.

*Extract of a letter from Boston, New-England, September 27.*

“Mr. James Barclay, of Warwick township, in Bucks county, has sent to a gentleman in this city the following affecting narrative of the sudden death of Mr. Robert Stewart, of that township; and his three

three sons, Joseph, John, and Benjamin, which happened after the following manner, viz: Mr. R. Stewart having a well near his house, about 30 feet deep, that in summer was usually dry, he employed a well-digger, on the 22d ult. to sink it deeper, who, after working in it some time, told his employer it was so damp and unwholesome, that he could not continue to work. Upon this objection, a fire was kindled at the bottom, in order to prepare it for another trial on Monday. Whether this fire continued burning appears uncertain; but on Monday morning, about sun-rise, Mr. Stewart, accompanied by several of his children, sons and daughters, went to the well, when Joseph, a young lad, was sent down (by a ladder) to see if the fire was perfectly extinguished. The unhappy youth had scarcely reached the bottom before he was struck motionless by a noxious vapour, and as it was imagined by those above, that he had fallen by a misstep, John went immediately to his assistance, and taking his then lifeless body in his arms, in order to carry him up, he was himself struck in like manner, and had not the power to save either his brother or himself. The father, thinking that Joseph was hurt by a fall, and that John was unable to get him up, went hastily down to them, and taking hold of the former, then clasped in the arms of the latter, he was likewise instantaneously affected; and, in a short space, they all fell dead together. Benjamin (who, with his five sisters above, was beholding the distressful scene, and judging the true cause) in his anxiety of mind, re-

solved to go to the relief of his father and brothers. His filial and fraternal affection was so great, that no treaties could swerve him from his purpose. He told his mother and sisters, that he would take a bottle of camphire, which was given him to make use of as occasion should require, and that the moment he felt any thing unusual from the place, he would leave it. The unfortunate young man descended, and soon met with the same deplorable fate. The bodies were soon after taken up, and all possible means used to revive them, but in vain."

This melancholy affair has been the means of discovering the following effectual remedy.

"Draw a quantity of water out of the well, and pour it back again, repeating the same about an hour; the next day let down a candle into it, and, if it burns bright, any person may go down to the bottom of the well with safety; if it does not, repeat the former operation till it does."

A cause came on to be tried in Doctors Commons, between an eminent tradesman in Piccadilly and his wife, for repeated acts of cruelty, adultery, and giving her the foul disease, and other ill usage, when after many learned arguments, (the innocence of the wife not being in the least impeached) the judge pronounced the man to have been guilty both of the cruelty and adultery, and divorced the woman from her husband, and condemned him in full costs, to the satisfaction of the whole court.

On Thursday last was tried at Guildhall, a cause wherein a pawnbroker of this city was sued upon the

the statute of usury, for taking more than legal interest for the loan of a large sum of money upon a parcel of jewels, &c. The plaintiff plainly proving, fifty pounds had been so lent by the pawnbroker, a verdict for that sum was given for the plaintiff; and as the above statute subjects the lender of money upon illegal interest to pay treble the sum lent, the pawnbroker must pay the plaintiff 150l. besides costs of suit.

On Saturday last the wife of Thomas Upton, coachman, near Red-lion-square, who on Thursday last was delivered of two sons and a daughter, was safely delivered of a fourth child.

In the course of last week upwards of 20,000 quarters of oats, 7000 quarters of wheat, 4000 quarters of barley, and 2000 quarters of rye, were imported into the river from foreign parts; the greatest quantity that has been known for some years in one week.

Wednesday night about 400 weavers, armed with cutlasses, hatchets, &c. assembled in Brick-lane, in order to destroy the looms of a worsted lace weaver there. Mr. Hurford, high constable of the division, attended with a number of officers in order to oppose them; but being overpowered, he was obliged to take refuge, with his assistants, in the neighbouring houses. A party of the guards, however, being sent for from the Tower, the rioters were soon dispersed; and upwards of 40 of them taken, and conveyed to New-Prison, Clerkenwell, and Clerkenwell-Bridewell; and yesterday they were examined at Hicks's Hall,

and after being reprehended, and admonished to behave peaceably for the future, were discharged.

The sessions ended at the Old Baily, when three received sentence of death; forty-two were sentenced to be transported for seven years, and three for fourteen years, six were branded in the hand, two ordered to be whipped, and thirty-three discharged by proclamation.

Among those capitally convicted, was one Henry Domine for forging a promissory note, payable to himself, with intent to defraud John Reid, victualler, in Clerkenwell. He had the impudence to arrest the man by virtue of the said note.

Province of Massachusetts-Bay.  
Council Chamber, Oct. 15, 1767.  
Present, his excellency the governor in council.

His excellency having communicated to the council a letter from the right hon. the earl of Shelburne, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, inclosing an order of his majesty in privy council, by which his majesty has been pleased to disallow and reject an act passed by the great and general court or assembly of this province, in December 1766, intituled, "An act for granting compensation to the sufferers, and of free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion, to the offenders in the late times:"

Advised and ordered, That notice be given in the Massachusetts's gazette, that the said act is disallowed and rejected, that every person concerned therein may govern themselves accordingly.

By order of his excellency the go-

governor, with the advice of his majesty's council.

John Cotton, Dep. Sec.

15th. By order of the house of commons, the speaker gave notice, that one third part of the capital stock of 4 per cent. annuities for 1763, shall be reduced and paid off on the 5th day of July next.

An order of council was at the same time issued, for putting the laws in force against artificers leaving their country, and exercising their respective callings in foreign countries; for which purposes those laws are recited in the London gazette.

The society of arts came to a resolution to give the gold medal of the society to Charles Dingley, Esq; for his public spirit, in erecting at a very considerable expence a saw-mill at Limehouse.

A most shocking murder was committed at Portsmouth on a marine, by a soldier who came to his quarters, and decoyed him out. The next morning the man was found with his head beat almost to pieces, the scalp almost torn off, stabbed in several parts of the face and eyes, supposed with a bayonet. He came home in the Montreal man of war, and had just received the money due to him. The murderer has since been apprehended, and committed to Winchester gaol.

Came on in the court of King's-bench, Guildhall, a trial between a captain of an East-Indiaman, and a surgeon of the same ship, for the former beating and confining the latter some time during the voyage; when a verdict was found for the surgeon, with 90l. damages, and costs of suit.

At a court of common council 200l. a year additional salary was voted to the recorder of London; and 150l. a year to the common serjeant.

They write from Bridgewater, that a most extraordinary phenomenon has lately appeared in the villages of Limpeham, Burnham, Brent, and several other parishes near this place, the fields of which are over-run with an incredible number of mice, which do infinite damage; the dogs and cats have killed great numbers, but are cloyed with them. The cattle will not touch the grass where these vermin are, and we expect no relief but from a severe frost, which, it is hoped, will destroy them. A similar circumstance is not remembered by the oldest person in these parts.

A poor woman in Kingswood near Bristol hanged herself in a stable, and was not discovered till she was quite dead. It seems the cause of her committing this rash action was owing to her husband, who is a collier, having lost several of his horses by the present epidemical distemper, which occasioned his going behindhand to the amount of four pounds to the coal-pit: She had with great difficulty that morning raised two guineas, in order to help to discharge the debt, but the creditor declared his resolution not to take less than the whole, and arrest her husband immediately, unless it was paid. Struck with the impossibility of raising the sum wanted, and dreading the consequence of her husband's confinement, having three very small children to support, she returned home, and after weeping over,

and

and embracing her infants, too inconsiderately gave way to her despondency.

The following fact may be worth the knowledge of the public. In pumping one of his majesty's ships in the West Indies, the chain broke; upon which, a man was ordered down to repair it; but, on his entrance into the well, he dropped down dead, (as did six more to all appearance) and so would others, had not the commanding officer put a stop to them. An old seaman standing by, and unwilling to let his comrades suffer without attempting something for their safety, put his hand into a bucket of tar, with which he rubbed his nostrils, upper lip, and mouth, flung himself in a rope, and went down without meeting with any annoyance from the stagnant water, and sent them all up; when one was found quite dead, and three of the others were with the greatest difficulty saved.

20th. Prayers were publicly read in all the popish mass-houses throughout Ireland for his majesty king George III. queen Charlotte, the prince of Wales, and all the royal family; being the first time the royal family of England have been prayed for in this public manner by the papists in Ireland since the revolution.

21st. His majesty went to the house of peers, attended by the duke of Ancafter, and the earl of Orford, and gave the royal assent to,

The bill for granting an aid to his majesty by a land-tax, to be raised in Great-Britain, for the service of the year 1768.

The bill to continue the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the service of the ensuing year.

The bill to punish mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army, and their quarters.

The bill to indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices or employments within the times limited by law; and for allowing a further time for that purpose.

The bill to allow the importation of Indian corn, or maize, from the American colonies, for a limited time, free of duty.

And also to several private bills.

The house of peers adjourned to the 20th, and the house of Commons to the 14th of January.

Extract of a letter from Cambridge, Dec. 18.

“On Tuesday night last a most shocking murder was committed on the body of Bridget Burling, an aged woman, who kept a little shop in St. Giles's parish in this town. She was first discovered about two o'clock on Wednesday morning, by one John Bell, who seeing her door open, went in, and found the old woman dead on the floor, with a pair of scales and a piece of cheese lying by her. She had a large wound on the right side of her head, a little above her ear, by which the skull was beat in; three more on her forehead, a stab in her throat, which penetrated into the cavity of her lungs; and another large wound that went under her shoulder-bone. About nine o'clock on Tuesday evening one Sarah Collins, a girl about thir-



thirteen years old, was sent by her mother to Burling's, who seeing a light, called at her door several times, and was answered by a voice, which she took to be a man's, 'Bridget is gone to bed.' The coroner's inquest brought in their verdict wilful murder by some person or persons unknown."

His majesty, in compassion to such manufacturers and people in trade, as, by the length of court-mourning, are, in this time of general scarcity and dearth of provisions, deprived, in a great measure, of the means of getting bread, hath been pleased to give directions for shortening all such mourning for the future: And the lord chamberlain's orders for court-mourning will be issued hereafter conformably thereto.

A chapter of the most noble order of the garter having been summoned to meet this day, his royal highness Henry duke of Cumberland, was, by his majesty's command, declared duly elected; and was invested with the ensigns of the order, with the usual ceremony.

By a list of the absentees from Ireland, lately published there, it appears, that there is paid annually.

To pensioners who never reside there,	70,275	0
Noblemen and gentlemen of great estates, who generally live abroad,	247,400	0
Occasional absentees,	134,500	0
Those who have employments and never reside,	143,000	0
Merchants and traders expenses,	8,000	0

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Education of youth, and at inns of court,	35,000	0
Law-suits, and seeking employments,	19,000	0
By military absentees, and articles relating to the army, recruiting, &c.	142,205	14
Adventurers to America,	40,000	0
Insurance of ships,	30,000	0
By rents raised by absent lords, for coals to England and Scotland, and various other articles,	200,000	0

£. 1,069,382, 14

A severe frost set in from the E. S. E. which was followed by a deep snow, by which the navigation of the river Thames has been obstructed, and the posts retarded all over the kingdom.

At a meeting of the corporation of Windsor, it was unanimously agreed, to present the dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland with the freedom of that ancient borough.

A letter from Vienna, says, Our court hath received from that of Madrid some dispatches relative to the choice which the catholic king was desired to make of one of the archduchesses to be queen of Naples; this choice hath fallen on the archduchess Caroline, who is a year and some months younger than the late archduchess Josepha was. The formality of demanding her royal highness in marriage for his Sicilian majesty has just been made, and the portrait of that monarch hath been presented to the princesses. The departure of the princesses

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cess for Italy will take place towards the spring, as soon as the public roads shall be passable.

25th. A fire broke out next a cabinet-maker's in Houndstitch, which consumed that house, a large stock of timber, new furniture, &c. and also two other dwelling-houses adjoining, with many outhouses, workshops, and warehouses. Among the goods consumed was 1000l. worth of furniture, just finished for Mr. David Barclay, and intended to have been carried home in a few days. It is remarkable that a fire broke out the same day at the said Mr. Barclay's stables at Hackney, and destroyed two fine hunters, with three or four other horses.

30th. His majesty having been graciously pleased to signify his intention of filling up the vacant stall of the principal companion of the most hon. military order of the bath, in the room of his late royal highness the duke of Cumberland :

This day several of the officers of the order attended at St. James's.

The sovereign wearing the ribbon, with the symbol of the order pendant to it, Henry Hill, Esq; gentleman usher, bearing the scarlet rod, and habited in the mantle of the order, and Samuel Horsey, Esq; Bath King of arms, in his mantle, bearing on a cushion the ribbon, with the badge of the order, preceded his royal highness prince Frederick, supported by the earls of Cholmondley and Breadalbane, the two senior knights of the order, a gentleman usher, daily waiter, carrying the sword of state. The sword being delivered

by the earl of Breadalbane to the sovereign, his royal highness kneeling was knighted : Then the earl of Cholmondley having received the ribbon from Bath king of arms, presented it to the sovereign, who put the ribbon over his royal highness's right shoulder : After which his royal highness kissed his majesty's hand ; and, rising up, retired.

The ceremony was performed after the levee, in his majesty's closet, several great officers of the court being present.

His majesty has been graciously pleased, in consideration of the tender years of his royal highness prince Frederick, to grant a dispensation under his royal sign-manual and seal of the order, declaring it to be his royal pleasure, that the conferring the degree of knighthood by the sword of state shall be sufficient to invest his royal highness fully and effectually with this order, in as ample manner as if his royal highness had personally performed all the accustomed solemnities. [*Gazette.*]

As the hon. Miss Finch, daughter of lady Charlotte Finch, was sitting in her apartments at St. James's, a spark from the grate set fire to her apron, which in an instant burst into a flame. Her cries having alarmed the servants, it was happily extinguished just time enough to save her life.

The frost was so severe in the west of England, that a carpenter at work for Mr. Robbins, of Didbarton in Gloucestershire, having put a key into his mouth, lost the skin of his lips by taking it out again. The cold at Hudson's Bay, and in Greenland, is so severe

vere at certain seasons, that cold iron has the effect of red-hot iron on the hand that touches it.

A letter from Rome observes, that all the disastrous events that can affect the church, seem to be united under the present Pope. In France, Spain, Portugal, and Naples, the Jesuits are expelled. In Poland, where the church is possessed of great estates, they talk of re-uniting them to the government. The nobility of the kingdom, though Roman Catholics, yet alarmed at the too great power of the clergy, are come, it is said, into the proposal, to which is added, that the primate himself is not far from being of the same way of thinking.

The faculty of Theology at Paris, have printed their decree of censure on the book of Belisarius. It forms a volume of 123 pages in 4to. in Latin and French. The faculty who thereby immortalize that which they would proscribe, have confined themselves to fifteen propositions extracted from the 15th chapter of Monsi. de Marmontel's work, instead of 37, which their commissioners had at first designed to condemn.

They write from Warsaw, of the 21st past, that the great affair of the dissidents was entirely concluded and signed to their advantage. They and the Greeks are to have a church in this capital, temples and schools in all the districts of the provinces of the kingdom, and of the great dutchy of Lithuania; on condition, that if they have a mind to build any in the towns, they shall be obliged to obtain leave for that purpose from the king: the nobles, how-

ever, shall be at liberty to grant them the same favour in their respective territories: further, the dissidents and disunited may make use of bells and organs, administer baptism, marry and bury, according to their own form, without the least obstacle.

The ambassador from the republic of Venice at Rome has received the following account of the insurrection in Dalmatia: "In the province of Montenero, which is tributary to the grand signior, and which borders upon the Venetian Dalmatia, a foreigner, who has gone by the name of Stefano, and for some time exercised the profession of a physician in that province, has publicly declared himself to be the Czar Peter III. pretending that the report of his death was designedly spread, at the time, but that he had found means to escape from his prison. Under favour of this name, and seconded by the Caloyers, schismatic Greek monks, who have great influence over the inhabitants, he has got himself publicly acknowledged for the Czar, not only by the people, but likewise by the bishop and all the other orders; so that he is already at the head of some thousand soldiers. 'Tis reckoned, that in the province of Montenero there are 30,000 men able to bear arms; and his situation is very advantageous, because he is inclosed by inaccessible mountains. The people there are extremely attached to the name of Moscovite, as well on account of the conformity of their religion, as because the sovereigns of Russia have always employed the necessary means to maintain a great influence amongst them. The pretended Peter III.

is said to be a man of spirit, a fine figure, and seems to abound in money, which he distributes with profusion to his soldiers. 'Tis added, that the republic of Venice, fearing the consequences of this enterprize, has sent orders for the immediate march of all the infantry and other troops from Dalmatia to Cataro, a town of that province, which is not above a mile from Montenero."

Within these few years a set of people have been discovered in Denmark, seized with a disorder of mind that is extremely dangerous to society. This is an imagination, that, by committing premeditated murder, and being afterwards condemned to die for it, they are the better able, by public marks of repentance and conversion, as they go to the scaffold, to prepare themselves for death, and work out their own salvation. A little while ago, one of these wretches murdered a child out of the same principle. In order, however, to take from these wretches all hope of obtaining their end, and to extirpate the evil, the king has issued an ordinance, by which his majesty forbids the punishing them with death; and enacts, that they shall be branded in the forehead with an hot iron, and whipped: that they shall afterwards be confined, for the rest of their days, in an house of correction, in order to be kept there to hard labour; and, lastly, that every year, on the day of their crime, they shall be whipped anew in public. — Another mark of his Danish majesty's paternal goodness to his subjects has appeared in the encouragement and protection extended to the society of artists lately established at

Copenhagen, to which he has ordered a yearly pension of 10,000 crowns to be issued from the royal treasury, to be applied in supporting the necessitous, and in rewarding those who distinguish themselves by their merit.

A pamphlet has lately been published at Paris, in favour of the Jews, in which the author has shewn the eminent advantages which every nation reaps in its commerce from the encouragement and protection of that people. It is written with a view to obtain a religious toleration for that people; but it is doubted whether the enthusiasm of the country will suffer such arguments to have any weight.

The honourable Mr. Montagu, the celebrated traveller, who has lately entertained the learned with his journey to the Written Mountains, is now visiting the Turkish dominions. He was received with uncommon respect at Constantinople, after traversing Salonica, and viewing the islands in the Archipelago. Much may be expected from the indefatigable researches of this extraordinary personage, of whom the ingenious Mr. Samuel Sharp, in his letters from Italy, gives this account. — "One of the most curious sights amongst the curiosities of Venice, was the famous Mr. Montagu. He was just arrived from the East. He had travelled through the Holy Land, Egypt, Armenia, &c. with the Old and New Testament in his hands. He had visited Mount Sinai, and flattered himself he had been on the very part of the rock where Moses spake face to face with God Almighty. His beard reached down to his breast, and the dress of his head

head was Armenian. He was in the most enthusiastic raptures with Arabia, and the Arabs. His bed was the ground; his food rice; his beverage water; his luxury a pipe and coffee. His purpose was to return once more among that virtuous people," &c.

By authentic accounts from Rome, the Jesuits continue to enter into the ecclesiastical state on all parts, both by land and sea. A general disorder of a cold, with violent pains in the head, and a sore throat, prevails in some part of Italy.

The pope seems to be inconsolable on account of the universal disgrace of the jesuits. He has prohibited public spectacles and the usual diversions of the Carnival, and has ordered the prayers which are usually read in times of affliction and distress. A memorial has been delivered to the foreign ministers, wherein the pope complains, "That the king of Naples has violated, in the first place, the divine right, by the manner in which his soldiers entered into holy places, and by the sequestration of the ecclesiastical revenues, without consulting the bishops: 2dly, The right of mankind, by forcibly deposing part of his subjects in the dominions of his holiness, and by marching his troops into a country which was not his own: and, 3dly, The right of good neighbourhood, in not communicating his design to the pope, both as the head of the church, and as a temporal prince, who has the supreme sovereignty over Naples." The foreign ministers have promised to send this memorial to their respective courts.

They write from Warsaw, that

it froze so hard the beginning of this month that the Vistula was frozen over, and people rode over it the 7th instant on horseback; but a storm arose the day before yesterday, which the night following broke up the ice, and great mischief ensued. As soon as the season will permit we shall proceed in our new buildings, which are greatly increased and much wanted, on account of the great increase of inhabitants, owing to the encouragement which the king gives for promoting manufactures and trade. There are already upwards of 200 new houses.

There is talk of a treaty of commerce, by which the English are to have the sole liberty of going to load oil and wine with the Corsicans. It is also said, that Paoli has made solicitation for engaging the court of Turin to evacuate the two small islands, which it lately took possession of in the neighbourhood of Corsica.

Mount Salga, in Hungary, lately burst into a flame, and set fire to a considerable tract of country, from which issues an intolerable stench of sulphur.

The French have forbidden the entrance of any English ships into the ports of Guadaloupe and Martinico, on any pretence whatsoever.

The Spaniards have likewise forbidden English ships from lying more than 24 hours at Monto Christi; and have threatened the logwood cutters if they presume to settle or cut logwood at Spirito Santo.

A commissary of war was dispatched from Bastia by count Marboeuf, commander in chief of the French troops in Corsica; and

with this commissary the nation entered into articles of a neutrality and suspension of arms, till the expiring of the term of four years, as agreed upon between France and Genoa, by the treaty of 1764.

A fire having broke out at a drug-gift's in Florence, in the middle of the night, after consuming that and the adjoining houses, it reached one occupied by a man who kept wild beasts for shew, among which were two lions, a tyger, and three bears; those animals got loose, and run through the city, which resounded with the cries of the unhappy people who became a prey to their fury. A hundred men were ordered in pursuit of them, and they were so fortunate as to kill two of the bears, one lion, and the tyger, but the other lion and bear escaped their vigilance. As soon as day appeared, were seen with horror the dreadful ravage made by the fire, but still more by those animals, upwards of an hundred persons being killed, and a much greater number wounded, before they could be destroyed.

From the Boston (New-England) gazette, at the top of which is printed in italicks, *Save your money, and you save your country.*

Boston, November 2. At a meeting of the freeholders, and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, legally assembled at Faneuil hall, on Wednesday the 28th of October, 1767, (the hon. James Otis, esq; moderator) a written address to the inhabitants, subscribed Philo Patriæ, recommending œconomy and manufactures, was, by their order, read:

The town then took into consideration the petition of a num-

ber of the inhabitants, ' That some effectual measures might be agreed upon to promote industry, œconomy, and manufactures; thereby to prevent the unnecessary importation of European commodities; which threaten the country with poverty and ruin: whereupon, in a very large and full meeting, the following votes and resolutions were passed unanimously.

Whereas the excessive use of foreign superfluities is the chief cause of the present distressed state of this town, as it is thereby drained of its money; which misfortune is likely to be increased by means of the late additional burthens and impositions on the trade of the province, which threaten the country with poverty and ruin:

Therefore, voted, that this town will take all prudent and legal measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this province, and to lessen the use of superfluities, and particularly the following enumerated articles imported from abroad, viz. loaf-sugar, cordage, anchors, coaches, chaises, and carriages of all sorts, horse-furniture, men and womens hats, mens and womens apparel ready made, household furniture, gloves, mens and womens shoes, sole-leather, sheathing and deck nails, gold and silver and thread lace of all sorts, gold and silver buttons, wrought plate of all sorts, diamonds, stone and paste ware, snuff, mustard, clocks, and watches, silversmiths and jewellers ware, broad cloths that cost above 10s. per yard, muffs, furs, and tippetts, and all sorts of millinery ware, starch, womens and chil-



childrens stays, fire engines, china ware, silk and cotton velvets, gauze, pewterers hollow-ware, linseed oil, glue, lawns, cambricks, silks of all kinds for garments, malt liquors, and cheese. And that a subscription for this end be and hereby is recommended to the several inhabitants and householders of the town; and that John Rowe, esq; Mr. William Greenleaf, Melatiah Bourne, esq; Mr. Samuel Austin, Mr. Edward Payne, Mr. Edmund Quincy, Tertius John Ruddock, esq; Jonathan Williams, esq; Joshua Henshaw, esq; Mr. Henderson Inches, Mr. Solomon Davis, Joshua Winflow, esq; and Thomas Cushine, esq; be a committee to prepare a form for subscription, to report the same as soon as possible; and also to procure subscriptions to the same.

And whereas it is the opinion of this town, that divers new manufactures may be set up in America, to its great advantage, and some others carried to a greater extent, particularly those of glass and paper.

Therefore voted, that this town will, by all prudent ways and means, encourage the use and consumption of glass and paper, made in any of the British American colonies; and more especially in this province.

Then the meeting adjourned till three o'clock in the afternoon; when the committee, appointed in the forenoon, to prepare a form for subscription, reported as follows:

Whereas this province labours under a heavy debt, incurred in the course of the late war; and the inhabitants by this means must

be for some time subject to very burthenfome taxes: and as our trade has for some years been on the decline, and is now particularly under great embarrassments, and burthened with heavy impositions, our medium very scarce, and the balance of trade greatly against this country:

We therefore, the subscribers, being sensible that it is absolutely necessary, in order to extricate us out of these embarrassed and distressed circumstances, to promote industry, oeconomy, and manufactures among ourselves, and by this means prevent the unnecessary importation of European commodities, the excessive use of which threatens the country with poverty and ruin, do promise and engage, to and with each other, that we will encourage the use and consumption of all articles manufactured in any of the British American colonies, and more especially in this province; and that we will not, from and after the 31st of December next ensuing, purchase any of the following articles imported from abroad, viz. loaf-sugar, and all the other articles enumerated above.

And we further agree, strictly to adhere to the late regulation respecting funerals, and will not use any gloves but what are manufactured here, nor procure any new garments upon such an occasion, but what shall be absolutely necessary.

The above report having been considered, the question was put, whether the same shall be accepted? voted unanimously in the affirmative.

The representatives of the town  
[L] 4 have

have made humble application to his excellency the governor, that he will convene the general assembly as soon as may be.

**WILLIAM COOPER.** Town-Clerk.

Married lately, Mr. Christian Westieffs, jeweller, in West-street, Seven dials, aged 40, to Mrs. Susannah Newbury, of Monmouth-street, aged 89.

Mr. William Robinson, surveyor to the city hospitals, who died lately, has left to Christ's hospital 2000l. to St. Bartholomew's hospital 2000l. to Bethlem hospital 2000l. to St. Luke's hospital 2000l. to the city of London lying-in-hospital in Aldersgate-street 2000l. and to Raine's hospital, for the apprenticing of girls, 2000l. as also 2000l. to the charity school of Bread-street and Cordwainers ward, for which he also in his life time built a school-house, which cost him upwards of 1000l.

Died at Groningen, in Holland, Abel Gerbrands, a wheelwright, at the age of 118 years, two months and ten days.

Mr. Simon Gilliwray, at St. Kilda, in the 113th year of his age who never was out of the island.

At Poplar, Mrs. Mary Thomas, aged 102 years.

In Ireland, Darby Neale, aged 117 years.

Thomas Probyn of Coninsbury hospital in Hereford, aged 103 years.

Margaret Edwards of Bestieffs in Montgomeryshire, aged 118 years.

Mr. William Massinger, formerly a coachmaker in Gray's-Inn-lane, aged 102 years.

A general bill of all the christenings and burials from December 16, 1766, to December 15, 1767.

Christened		Buried	
Males	8211	Males	11306
Females	7769	Females	11306
<hr/>		<hr/>	
In all 15980		In all 22612	

Increased in the burials this year 1299.

Died under two years of age 7668

Between 2 and 5	1821
5 and 10	765
10 and 20	787
20 and 30	1899
30 and 40	2145
40 and 50	2376
50 and 60	1858
60 and 70	1669
70 and 80	1083
80 and 90	476
90 and 100	60
101	1
102	1
103	2
105	1
<hr/>	
22612	
<hr/>	

*Supplement to the bills of births, &c. for the year 1766, at the end of our Chronicle for last year.*

The number of deaths at Venice from the 28th of Feb. 1766, to the 28th of February this year, was 5171; and that of births 4984; so that the deaths exceeded the births by 187. The foundling children brought to the hospital of piety, during the same term, amounted to 204.

*Bills*

*Bills of births, &c. for the year 1767:*

Paris. Born 19749. Deaths 19875. Increased in births this year 976. Increased in deaths 181.

Amsterdam. Births 4908. Deaths 6999. Increased in the births 361. Decreased in the deaths 272.

Copenhagen. Births in this city amounted to 2957, the deaths to 3361, and the marriages to 909. In the duchy of Schleswig the births were 6971, and the deaths 6384. In the duchy of Holstein the births were 4771, and the deaths 3736.

Turin. Born in this city 1448 boys, and 1458 girls, in all 2956: And the number of deaths was 5980, viz. 935 men, 886 women, 1169 boys, and 2990 girls. The number of inhabitants in the city, suburbs, and territory of Turin, was computed to be 79,818; of whom 41,807 were men and boys, and 38,011 of the other sex.

Brunswick. Births 1241. Deaths 1022.

Births, marriages, and burials in the city of Durham for 1767, were as follow: Christenings, males, 77, females 72, in all 149. Marriages 65. Buried, males 79, females 76, in all 155.

At Whitby, last year, there were christened 298, buried 177, and married 55.

In the city of Chester, last year, there were 351 christenings, 143 marriages, and 367 burials. Decreased in christenings, 18. Increased in burials, 17. Decreased in marriages, 10.

Stockholm. According to a calculation made in 1760, and

lately published, there were then in this kingdom 1,127,938 men and boys, and 1,255,175 women and girls; in all 2,313,123 persons. The number of noblemen was 10,045. The clergy, with the schools and colleges, amounted to 4488, or including their wives and children, 18,197. And the number of those who had a right of freedom in cities and towns, was 162,888. It appeared there had been an increase of 2773 inhabitants since the year 1758.

### B I R T H S for the year 1767.

- Jan. 14. Great Duchess of Tuscany, of a princess.  
 16. Lady Bellafyse of a daughter.  
 Countess of Harborough of a son.  
 23. Countess of Suffolk of a daughter.  
 Lady Catharine Dubois, daughter to the late earl of Anglesea, of a son.  
 Lady of the bishop of St. Davids, of a daughter.  
 Feb. 6. Countess of Shannon of a daughter.  
 Lady of Sir Edw. Swinburn of Capheaton, Bart. of her fifth son.  
 Lady Halkerton, wife to the hon. Anthony Browne of a daughter.  
 24. Countess of Buckinghamshire of a daughter.  
 March. 7. Lady Lambton of a son, lady of Sir G. Robinson, Bart. of a son.  
 22 Lady

22. Lady Grosvenor of a son and heir.

April 1. Lady Elizabeth Wemyss, of a son.

3. Lady Viscountess Hinchbrook, of a son.

11. Lady Garlies of a daughter.

Countess of Donegal, of a daughter.

Lady of Sir James Caldwell, Bart. of a son.

May 5. Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Digby, of a daughter.

13. Countess of Errol, of a son and heir.

Lady of Sir Thomas Bingham, of a son.

24. Countess of Dundonald, of a son.

31. Lady of Lord Willoughby de Brooke, of a daughter.

Princess of Brazil, of a Prince.

June 7. Lady Viscountess Clanwilliam, of a daughter.

15. Lady of Sir Gervas Clifton, Bart. of a son.

Lady Mary Walker, of a daughter.

Duchess of Athole, of a son.

21. Lady of Sir Thomas Broughton, of a son.

Lady of Sir Brooke Bridges, of a son.

July 7. Lady of Sir George Armitage, of a daughter.

13. Lady of the hon. Col. Fitzroy of a daughter.

Lady of the Bishop of Elphin, in Ireland, of a son.

Countess of Darnley, in Ireland, of a son.

24. Lady, of Lord Viscount Weymouth, of a daughter.

Aug. 3d. Lady of Sir John Webb, of a son.

20. The Right Hon. the Marchioness of Tavistock, of a son.

Lady of the Earl of Louth, in Ireland, of a daughter.

Lady of Lord George Sackville, of a son and heir.

Sept. 23. Lady of Lord Forbes, of a son.

Lady of Sir Wm. Oglander, of a son.

Oct. 4. Lady, of Sir Jacob Wolfe, of a daughter.

16. Lady, of Sir Digby Laggard, of a son.

- Lady of Lord Clifford, of a son.

21. Lady of the Earl of Cork and Orrery, of a son.

Lady Ashbroke, of a son.

Lady of Lord Archibald Hamilton, of a son and heir.

Lately, the Lady of Sir Walter Blount, of a son and heir.

28. Princess Louisa, sister to the King of Denmark, and consort of Prince Charles of Hesse Cassel, of a Princess.

Nov. 2. Her Majesty delivered, of a Prince.

3. The Lady of the Hon. Mr. Fox, of a daughter, at Lord Holland's house in Piccadilly.

Lady

Lady Caroline Edwards,  
of three sons.

Lady of the Hon. Edward Bouverie, of a son.

Dec. 4. Countess of Egmont, of a daughter.

Countess of Dartmouth, of a son.

12. Dutchess of Beaufort, of a son.

18. Countess of Portsmouth, of a son.

Lady of the Right Hon. Lord Howe, of a daughter.

Countess of Ancram, of a daughter.

Lately, Marchioness of Lothian, of a daughter.

Countess of Selkirk, of a son.

Dutchess of Leinster, of a son.

30. Lady Viscountess Townshend, of a son, at the Castle of Dublin.

Lady Molyneaux, in Dublin of a son.

besides a great jointure on the death of her mother, and a large estate on the demise of an uncle.

March 3. The Earl of Essex, to Miss Bladon.

Hon. John Byng, son of the late Lord Torrington, to the eldest daughter of Capt. Forrest of the Navy.

20. Duke of Buccleugh, to Lady Betty Montague.

Sir Jeffery Amherst, to Miss Cary, daughter to Gen. Cary.

April 2. Sir John Eden Bart. to Miss Johnson.

16. Earl of Barrymore, to Lady Amelia Stanhope, daughter to the Earl of Harrington.

May 10. The Earl of Anglesea, to the Hon. Miss Lytton, only daughter of Lord Lytton.

28. Lord Burghersh, eldest son to the Earl of Westmoreland, to Lady Susan Gordon.

Sir Charles Cope, Bart. to Miss Bishop, daughter of Sir Cecil Bishop.

30. The Hon. Wm. Craven, nephew to Lord Craven, to Lady Betty Berkeley, sister to the Earl of Berkeley.

June 1. The Right Hon. Lord Waltham, to Miss Coo.

14. The Hon. Mr. Damer, eldest son of Lord Milton,

## MARRIAGES. 1767.

Jan. 1. Col. Ligonier, nephew of Earl Ligonier, to Miss Pitt, daughter to George Pitt, Esq; Ambassador at Turin.

Feb. 25. The Earl of Strathmore, to Miss Bowes of Durham, the richest heiress in Europe; her present fortune is one million, and forty thousand pounds;

- ton, to Miss Conway, daughter of the Right Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, Esq.  
The Earl of Hopetown, to Lady Betty Leslie.
17. Right Hon. Lord William Seymour, brother to the Duke of Somerset, to Miss Maltravers.
- July 6. His Excellency Count Bruhl, Minister extraordinary from the Elector of Saxony, to the Countess Dowager of Egremont.
12. Duke of Chandos, to Miss Major, daughter to Sir John Major.  
Earl of Thanet, to the Hon. Miss Polly Sackville, daughter to Lord John.
24. The Princess Louisa Wilhelmina of Brandenburg, to the reigning Prince of Anhalt Dessau.
27. The Earl of Dalhousie, to Miss Glen.  
Charles Howard, Esq; presumptive heir to the Duke of Norfolk, to Miss Coppinger.
- Sept. 1. Ralph Payne, Esq; to Mademoiselle Kobel, daughter of the late General. She came to England with the Princess Poniatowsky, Sister to the King of Poland.
2. Lord Adam Gordon, to the Dutchess Dowager of Athol.
18. William Clayton, Esq; to Lady Fermor, sister to the Earl of Pomfret.
- Oct. 4. The Prince of Orange, at Berlin, to the Princess of Prussia.
6. Lord Viscount Palmerston, to Miss Poole, daughter of the late Sir Francis Poole.
9. The Earl of Harborough, to Miss Cave, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Cave.
18. The Duke of Gordon, to Miss Jane Maxwell.
- Dec. 12. Hon. Henry Tracy, brother to Lord Tracy, to Miss Weaver.

Principal PROMOTIONS for the year 1766, from the London Gazette, &c.

Jan. 13. Thomas Champneys, of Orchardley, in Somersetshire, Esq; and his heirs male, the dignity of a Baronet.

— 17. Richard Stonehewer, Esq; a Commissioner of Excise, in the room of William Cayley, Esq; deceased.

Feb. 7. Rev. and Hon. Frederick Hervey, to the Bishopric of Cloyne, in Ireland.

March 14. Edward Baker, Esq; Consul General at Tripoli.

— 24. The Marquis of Lorn, Commander in chief of the forces, &c. in Scotland, in the room of Lieutenant General Lord George Beauclerc. — James Burnet of Montboddo, Esq; a Lord of Council and Session in Scotland, in the room of Lord Milton, deceased.

— Hon. Robert Walpole, Secretary to the extraordinary embassy to the



the court of Spain, in the room of Lord Cardross who resigns.

April 16. Sir Laurence Dundas, Vice Admiral of Shetland and Orkney, John Elliot, Esq; Vice Admiral of West Florida.

May 9. The duke of Bolton, Vice Admiral of the isle of Wight.

June 9. John Hort, Esq; Consul General at Lisbon.

— 27. Ralph Foley, Esq; of Thorplee, and his heirs male, the dignity of a Baronet.

July 28. John Powel and George John Cooke, Esqrs; to be joint Agents and Solicitors to all the regiments and independent companies of invalids.

August 12. Right Hon. Lord Viscount Townshend, to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

— 18. Right Hon. Carolina Campbell, Countess of Dalkeith, the dignity of a Baroness, by the title of Baroness of Greenwich, with succession and the dignity of Baron to her heirs male by the Right Hon. Charles Townshend, Esq;—Lord Howth, of the kingdom of Ireland, and his heirs male, the dignity of Viscount St. Lawrence, and Earl of Howth.—Charles Baron of Coloony and his heirs male, the dignity of an Earl of the kingdom of Ireland, by the title of Earl of Belmont. — Constantine Phipps, Esq; and his heirs male, the dignity of a Baron of the said kingdom, by the title of Baron Mulgrave of New Ross, in the county of Wexford.

— 28. Mr. Lowndes, son to Charles Lowndes, Esq; of the treasury, a Commissioner of Excise, in the room of Sir Henry Poole, deceased.—Thomas Bradshaw, Esq; Secretary of the Treasury, in the room of Charles Lowndes, Esq;

who resigns. — Lord Frederick Campbell, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—Mr. Bowden, Master of the horse.—Thomas Smith, Esq; Deputy Usher of the Black Rod to the House of Lords in Ireland.—Right Rev. and Hon. Dr. Harvey, Bishop of Cloyne, and Arthur Upton, Esq; Privy Counsellors in Ireland.—William Davis, one of the four principal Clerks of the Treasury, in the room of Thomas Bradshaw. — Richard Hopkins, Esq; Clerk of the Green Cloth, in the room of Sir John Evelyn, deceased. — Southwell, Esq; Deputy Judge Advocate, Commissary of Musters and Receiver General of the island of Minorca.—John Randolph, Esq; Attorney General of Virginia. — William Blair, Esq; Clerk of the Privy Council, in the room of William Sharpe, deceased.

Sept. 8. John Hort, Esq; of Castle-Strange, Middlesex, and his heirs male, to the dignity of a Baronet. — William Burton, John Wyndham Bowyer, David Papillon, George Lewis Scott, Thomas Bowlby, Richard Bagot, George Quarme, and Richard Stonehewer, together with Anthony Lucas, Esq; Commissioners for the management and receipt of his Majesty's revenue of Excise, and other Duties.—Henry Hutton, John Temple, William Burch, Charles Paxton, and John Robinson, Esqrs; Commissioners for the receipt and management of his Majesty's Customs and other Duties in America.—James Porter, Esq; Comptroller on the cashire of the accounts of the Customs and other Duties in America.—Charles Stuart, Esq; Cashire and Paymaster of his Majesty's revenues of Customs

Customs and other Duties in America. — Philip Sharpe, Esq; Keeper of the Privy Council Records.

— 12. Right Hon. William Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of King's-bench, Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer, in the room of Charles Townshend, Esq; deceased.

— 19. Peter Dennis, of Blackmanstone, in Romney Marsh, Kent, and his heirs male, the dignity of a Baronet.

Oct. 2. Stephen Cottrel, Esq; one of the Clerks in ordinary to the Privy Council.

— 13. Dr. Markham, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in the room of Dr. Gregory, deceased.

— Dr. Newcome, Dean of Rochester, in the room of Dr. Markham. — The Bishop of Sodor and Man, to the Mastership of Sherborn hospital, Durham, worth 800 l. a-year.

Oct. 24. Sir Willam Burnaby, Rear Admiral of the Red, and his heirs male, the dignity of a Baronet. — Edward Young, Christopher Rigby, John Frenchard, Thomas Wyndham, Daniel Bull, George Blount, and Edward Tucker, Esqs; Commissioners of Taxes. — His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Keeper of Cranburn Chace, Lodge, &c. in the room of the Duke of York. — Sir George Maccartney, Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, to the Court of Russia. — James Hewitt, Esq; a Justice of the King's-bench, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in the room of John Baron Bowes, deceased; also Baron Lifford, of Lifford in the county of Donnegal.

Nov. 28. Thomas Shirley, Esq; Governor of the Bahama islands.

Dec. 1. Lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Lord of the Treasury.

— 5. Thomas Townshend, jun. Esq; Joint Paymaster of the forces, in the room of Lord North.

— 23. Granville, Earl Gower, Lord President of the Council, in the room of the Earl of Northington. — Thomas Townshend and George Onflow, Esqs, sworn of the Privy Council. — His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, a Knight of the Garter.

## DEATHS, 1767.

Jan. 4. At Rome, Cardinal Simonetti.

Marquis of Rochefoucault, at Lyons, aged 89 years.

12. Lord Viscount Mayo, of the kingdom of Ireland, in Pall-mall.

17. The Dutchess Dowager of Athol.

Hon. Miss Maitland, granddaughter to the late Earl of Lauderdale.

Hon. Mr. Bathurst, eldest son of Lord Bathurst.

Lately, Right Hon. Lady Philippa Connel, sister of the late Earl of Abercorn.

Feb. 1. Right Hon. the Countess of Harborough.

4. Right Hon. Countess of Suffolk, daughter to Robert Lord Trevor, in child-bed.

7. Hon. Edward Howard, Esq; heir to the Duke of Norfolk.

10. Sir Robert Long, Bart.

Car-

Cardinal Veropais Bishop of Padua, in the 83d year of his age.

William, Baron O'Kelly, general of foot, at Vienna,

The Dutches of Fronsac, daughter-in-law to Marshal Richelieu, and niece to the Countess of Guerchy.

Feb. 14. Lady of the late Sir John Strickland, Bart.

Lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of Fortrose, and daughter to the Earl of Harrington.

Lady Fortescue, mother to Lord Fortescue.

Lately at Liverpool, Mrs. Sarah Boteler, relict of Francis Boteler, of St. Anne's Westminster, Esq.; descended in the male line from the ancient Dukes of Normandy, progenitors of the Kings of England for upwards of 700 years past.

March 13. At Versailles, her Royal Highness the Dauphiness. Her Highness was born at Dresden, the 4th of November, 1731, of Frederick Augustus III. King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, and Mary Josepha Benedict, Arch-dutches of Austria, eldest daughter to the Emperor Joseph. She was married the 9th of November, 1747, to Louis, Dauphin of France, who died at Fontainebleau the 20th of December, 1765. By this prince she has left five children, three sons and two daughters.

22. The most noble Francis Russel, Marquis of Tavistock, only son to his grace the Duke of Bedford. His lordship was born September 26, 1739, and married Lady Ann Keppel, sister to the Earl of Albemarle, by whom he has left two infant sons, and the Marchioness with child. His lordship's amiable qualities make him universally lamented as a public loss; and his death is the more to

be regretted, considering the melancholy accident which caused it, being as follows: On Tuesday the 10th instant, his lordship being a stag-hunting, leapt his horse over a low hedge towards the end of the chace, when the horse being much fatigued and jaded with the length of the chace, fell with him, and his lordship not being able to quit the reins, was trampled on, whereby several fractures were made in his head.

24. Hon. Miss Harriet Monson, youngest daughter of Lord Monson.

Right Hon. Countess of Milltown, in Ireland.

Right Hon. Eliz. Lady Wilmoughby de Broke.

26. Hon. Charles Maitland, youngest son to the earl of Lauderdale.

The only son of the Earl of Shannon.

28. Sir Henry Edwards, Bart. at Shrewsbury.

Lady of Sir James Livingston, Bart. in Scotland.

April 5. Lady of Sir Thomas Gooch, Bart.

Charlotte Wilhelmina, born Princess of Saxe Cobourg Saalfeld, Countess Dowager of Hanau.

13. Lady Mary Bertie, eldest daughter to the Duke of Ancaster.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Doneraile, at Bath.

16. Right Hon. Jane Dutches of Argyll, She was one of the maids of honour to Queen Anne, and Queen Caroline when Princess of Wales. Her grace had issue five daughters, viz. Lady Caroline, married first to Francis Earl of Dalkeith, and secondly to the Right Hon. Charles Townshend, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer;

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quer; Lady Anne, married to William Earl of Stafford; Lady Jane, who died in her 12th year; Lady Betty, married to the Right Hon. James Stewart Mackenzie, brother to the Earl of Bute; Lady Mary, married to Edward Viscount Coke, heir apparent of Thomas Earl of Leicester, and to his mother Margaret, Baroness Clifford, who left her a widow without issue.

Right. Hon. William King, Baron of Oakham in Surry.

23. Right Hon. Anth. Browne, Lord Viscount Montacute, aged 80 years.

Right Hon. Lady George Sutton, wife to Lord George Sutton, of Kelham Notts, third son to the Duke of Rutland.

Right Hon. Lord St. John of Blefœ, at Nice.

29. Sir John Morgan, Bart.

Lady Monckton, at Edinburgh.

Lady Dowager Frederick, in Saville Row.

May 5. Lady of Sir Bellingham Graham, Bart. in Yorkshire.

Lady Croft in Kensington.

22. Lady Mary Lyon, sister to the Earl of Strathmore.

At his house in Red-lion-square, the Right Hon. Philip Jacob, Baron de Soeflick Van Cloon, Lord Rynswick, formerly one of the States of Holland.

Sir William Gage, Bart.

29. The Empress Consort at Vienna, of the small-pox: she was sister to the Elector of Bavaria.

30. The Hon. Major Gen. John Boscawen, second brother to Lord Falmouth.

June 1. John Augustus, Duke of Saxony, second brother to the reigning Duke. He was born April 14, 1745.

His Highness the reigning

prince of Hohenloe Kircheberg, during divine service at the cathedral of Anspach, whilst a sermon was preaching on this text, "Remember, man, thy latter end," was seized with a paralytic fit, and died instantly.

10. Of the small-pox, greatly lamented, Prince Henry Charles, next brother to the Prince Royal of Prussia.

21. Lady Viscountess Dowager Blessington in Ireland, aged 84 years.

Lately, Mr. de Hulsen, Lieut. General of Infantry, knight of the Black Eagle, and Governor of Berlin.

The Right Hon. Lord Hope, eldest son of the Earl of Hope-town, he was aged 27, and lately returned from America.

23. The Hon. Lieutenant Gen. Thomas Brudenel, Governor of Windsor Castle.

Sir John Evelyn, Bart.

Princess Augusta Wilhelmina, aunt to the reigning Prince of Anhalt Bernbourg.

Sir Charles Bond, Bart. at Beaumaris in Anglesea.

July 1. Hon. Col. John Mor-daunt, brother to the Earl of Peterborough.

5. James Earl of Moray, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland.

The Countess Dowager of Glasgow.

8. Sir Henry Poole, Bart. one of the Commissioners of Excise.

12. Sir William Bowyer, Bart. of Denham Court.

Sir William Twysden, Bart.

22. Right Hon. John Lord Bowes, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Right Hon. Countess Dowager of Suffolk, aged 86.

The

The Prince Primate of Poland, at Warsaw.

Right Hon. Lady Dowager King.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Hyndford, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland.

The Lady of Sir Ralph Milbank, Bart. at Bath.

Lately, Col. York in the Portuguese service. He commanded the artillery at the siege of Quebec, and conveyed them up a precipice, where a single man could not mount without the help of bushes.

The most Hon. William Henry Ker, Marquis and Earl of Lothian, Baron Ker of Newbottle and Jedburgh, and Knight of the ancient Order of the Thistle.

Aug. 1. The celebrated Albinus, at Paris, one of the most skilful anatomists in Europe.

Lord Kinaird, in Scotland.

Sir Wm. Sinclair, a celebrated physician.

21. The Hon. and Rev. Allen Bathurst, son to Lord Bathurst.

22. Lady Mary Elizabeth Bouverie, only daughter to the Earl of Radnor.

Prince Frederick of Deux Ponts, at Manheim. This prince was a Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Croix of the Military Order of Maria Theresa, General Field Marshal of the empire of their Imperial Majesties, and of all the troops of the Elector Palatine, Governor of Manheim, General Field Marshal of the troops of the Circle of the Upper Rhine, and Colonel of several regiments.

Count Fleming, after a long and painful illness, at Dresden.

VOL. X.

Sept. 4. The Right Hon. Charles Townshend, Esq; (in the 41st year of his age, of a putrid fever) second Commissioner of the Treasury, Chancellor and Under-treasurer of the Exchequer, one of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy council, Member of parliament for Harwich, and only brother to Lord Viscount Townshend. Besides the offices before-mentioned, he passed through those of Lord of trade and plantations, Lord of the Admiralty, Treasurer of his Majesty's chambers, Secretary at war, First Lord of trade and plantations, and Paymaster-general of his Majesty's forces.—Aug. 15, 1755, he married Lady Caroline, eldest daughter and coheiress of his grace, John late Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, (widow of Francis Earl of Dalkeith, son and heir of Francis duke of Buccleugh,) by whom he has left two sons and a daughter.

Lady of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, of Garloch.

Lady of Sir William Calvert.

11. Lady of Sir Jarrit Smith, Bart.

17. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, at Monaco, in Italy.

Count de Guerchy, late ambassador to England, in Paris.

24. Lady, of Sir Richard Beddingfield, Bart.

Sir Charles Hotham, Baronet, nephew to the Earl of Chesterfield.

Lady of Sir George Pocock, at Nice.

26. Sir Martin Wright, late a justice of the King's-bench.

Oct. 1. Lady of Sir John Carlton.

[M]

Lady

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Lady of Sir Gregory Page.

11. Sir John Awbrey, Bart.  
Sir Ellis Cunliffe.

Hon. Mrs. Anne Granville, eldest daughter to the late Lord Lansdowne.

Sir David Cunningham, Bart. Lieutenant-general of his Majesty's forces, and Colonel of the 57th regiment of foot, at his house at Livingstone, about fourteen miles west from Edinburgh.

Sir Edmund Thomas, Bart. at Wenvoe-castle, in Glamorganshire; Surveyor of his Majesty's woods north and south of Trent, Treasurer to the Princess Dowager of Wales, Knight of the shire for Glamorganshire, and Lieutenant-colonel of the militia of that county.

15. The Arch-duchess Maria Josepha, betrothed to the King of Naples, of the small-pox at Schonbrun.

16. Cardinal Antonelli, Secretary of the Briefs at Rome.

18. Lady Abdy, at her seat in Essex, aunt to Sir Anthony Thomas Abdy, Bart, one of his Majesty's counsel, and Member of parliament for Knareborough, in Yorkshire; by whose death, it is said, an estate of 3000 l. per ann. devolves to Sir Anthony.

26. The Hon. General Henry Pulteney, only brother of the late William Earl of Bath, in the 82d year of his age, at Bath-house, in Piccadilly. He was abroad in Queen Anne's wars; was promoted to be a Colonel, August 3, 1733; a Major-general, July, 3, 1743; a Lieutenant-general, August 8, 1747; and General in 1765. He was appointed to the command of

the 13th regiment of foot, July 5, 1759; and some time after made Governor of Hull. Upon the decease of William late Earl of Bath, without issue, in 1764, he became possessed of his lordship's immense estates, both real and personal, some few legacies excepted; and in the year following resigned his regiment and government; the former of which was given to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester. William Pulteney, Esq; son of Sir William Johnstone, who married Miss Pulteney, niece to the late Earl of Bath, and the General, who some time ago changed his name to Pulteney, by virtue of his Majesty's royal mandate, will by the General's death be possessed of a very large estate.

27. Right Hon. Charles Bennet, Earl of Tankerville, and Baron of Ossulston.

On the 2d instant, her Serene Highness, Louisa Dorothea, of Saxe Meininghen, reigning Dutchess of Saxe Gotha, in the 49th year of her age.

Novemb. 7. Don Joseph de Mellis, in Maddox-street, aged eighty-two. He was the oldest Captain in the English service.

18. The Hon. Miss Charlotte Finch, at the Hot-wells, Bristol, daughter to the Hon. Lady Charlotte Finch, governess to the young princes.

The Hon. Mrs. Hatton, sister to Lord Hatton.

Lady Elizabeth Griffin at Paddington.

Sir Hugh Brigges, Baronet, at Houghton, in Warwickshire.

Count de Munich, Senator, and Field Marshal General of the armies



For the Y E A R 1767.

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armies of the Empress of Russia,  
at Petersburg.

Right Hon. Lord Desart, at  
Desart in Ireland.

26. Right Hon. the Countess of  
Northampton.

Decemb. 1. Right Hon. Henry  
David, Earl of Buchan, Lord  
Anchterhouse, Cardross, and Glen-

dovechi, in the 58th year of his  
age.

10. Right Hon. John Earl of  
Rothes.

Hon. Mrs. Crosbie, relict of  
General Crosbie, sister to the  
late Earl of Halifax, and grand-  
mother to the present Duke of  
Grafton.



## APPENDIX to the CRONICLE.

*PROTEST against the rescinding the East India Dividend.*

*Die Veneris, 26<sup>o</sup> Junii, 1767.*

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*Dissentient<sup>s</sup>,*

1<sup>st</sup>, **B**ECAUSE the bill containing, in appearance, nothing but matter of future regulation, is so contrived as to operate retrospectively, and rescind a dividend actually declared by a general court of the East India company on the 6th of May last, of six 1-4<sup>th</sup> *per cent.* for one half year, ending at Christmas next; this was, in the argument, avowed to be the principal object of the bill, though the bill itself does not even mention that act, or suggest any reason for rescinding it. And we conceive, that if the measure had been substantially right, yet this manner of doing it is unbecoming the dignity of parliament, which should in all cases go openly and directly to its object.

2<sup>dly</sup>, Because this measure appears to us to be as exceptionable in the substance as in the form, being an *ex post facto* law, rescinding a legal act of the company, in the exercise of its dominion over its own property, notwithstanding their application and earnest entreaties to the contrary, without necessity or occasion, from any

consideration of private justice or public utility.

3<sup>dly</sup>, Because, considering the East India company as a national object, and the members of it as bound to attend to the interest of the public, as well as their own, the dividend they had voted, and which is by this bill to be rescinded, appears to be liable to no objection; for the only legal restriction in the company's power to divide, is, that the sum total of all the debts which they shall owe, do not exceed the value of the principal or capital stock or stocks, which shall be and remain undivided; and it appears by the clearest evidence, that the company's effects are amply sufficient, not only to discharge every just demand, but that, after even repaying their capital, there will remain a very great surplus.

4<sup>thly</sup>, Because it appears also to us, that the dividend declared on the 6th of May is expedient; for the dividend being in fact the only medium whereby to fix and compute the price of the stock, as between buyer and seller, justice to both requires such a dividend as will fix that price as near as may be to the real value. And the dividend of 12 1-half is in that respect preferable to a dividend of 10 *per cent.* to which this bill has arbitrarily restrained it.

5<sup>thly</sup>,

5thly, Because it appears to us to have been a dividend regularly declared, the objections which have been made to it upon this head being manifestly void of all foundation. We admit, that the court did proceed without an account actually before them; but the want of this account, so far as relates to the propriety of the dividend, appears to have been sufficiently supplied. The directors, in their negotiations with the government, and their declarations at former courts, had themselves proposed such a dividend, and acknowledged the ability of the company to make it. The proprietors, by these and other means, had full reason to be satisfied of that ability. And the account now produced, examined, and proved, does fully warrant their proceedings, and verify the ideas they then entertained and acted on.

6thly, Because the dividend appears to have been voted by a very numerous court, and so nearly unanimous, that no ballot was taken, because none was demanded; and no ballot was demanded, because there was not a competent number of proprietors who disapproved the measure; and though, for that reason, the sense of the members present only was taken, by holding up of hands, it now appears to be, beyond a doubt, the confirmed deliberate sense of the company; having been reconsidered at no less than three subsequent courts, convened for the purpose of concerting the proper measures to support it; at the two last of which the votes of the company at large were taken by a regular ballot, and the dividend previously voted was approved and ratified

by a large majority. To the validity of the act of the 6th of May no objection could be supported, though attempted. It was clearly a valid act; and, if not valid, the bill to rescind it would be unnecessary, for the act of itself would be void.

7thly, Because every argument used to shew the impropriety of dividing twelve 1-half applies with equal force to a dividend of ten *per cent.* which the bill allows, and indeed to any dividend at all; and would, if admitted to be a proper ground for rescinding this dividend, be equally so for rescinding every dividend the company has ever made, or probably will ever make. For it is hardly possible, that during the existence of the company, their debts can be actually paid off, or their cash in hand suffice to discharge those debts, and pay a dividend; and at the same time the trade be carried on to that extent, as will yield to the company and the public the most ample returns. The whole argument in favour of the bill being reduced to these two propositions, that the company ought to discharge its debts before a dividend can be allowed to take place; and that a dividend ought to be made upon a cash account; principles contradicted by the uniform practice of the company from its commencement.

8thly, Because this bill cannot be meant for the interests of either the company's creditors, or of the proprietors; for it is observable that the latter, as far as they may be supposed to understand, and may be permitted to judge of their own interests. entertain, and have strenuously expressed a very

different sense of that matter. And as to the creditors, it is remarkable, that none of them appear to have called for their money, nor have any of them, by any petition to this house, or otherwise, made any complaint, or signified any desire of such an interposition in their favour. On the contrary, it appeared on evidence, from the cross-examination of the principal witnesses for the bill, that so far from doubting of the sufficiency of the security, the greatest evil the company's bond creditors apprehend, is, the being paid off; and that their bonds, which some time since bore an high premium, though they carry only three *per cent.* bear at present a premium considerably lower, merely from that apprehension.

9thly, Because a legislative interposition controuling the dividend of a trading company, legally voted and declared by those to whom the power of doing it is intrusted, and to whom there is no ground to impute an abuse of that power, and who lent their money to the public upon the express stipulation that they might exercise their discretion with regard to the dividends, provided their effects, undivided, were sufficient to answer their debts; is altogether without example. And as it tends to lessen the idea of that security and independence of the power of the state, which have induced all Europe to deposit their money in the funds of Great Britain, the precedent may be attended with the most fatal consequences to public credit.

10thly, Because, if a bill restraining the future dividend of the company were proper, as has

been argued, upon any ideas of fixing and preventing a fluctuation in the price of its stock, that end requires only, that the dividend should be fixed, without any regard to the quantum of it, and may be as well attained by a dividend of 12 1-half as of 10 *per cent.* and consequently affords no argument for the retrospective part of this bill, or for fixing the future dividend below the value of the stock. But this is in truth so far from being the real object of any part of the present bill, that the short period to which the restriction is confined, cannot but increase, instead of preventing that fluctuation, and encourage, instead of checking, the infamous practices of the alley. The passions of men will be warmly agitated during the summer, in speculating on the probability of this restriction being suffered to expire at the opening of the next sessions of parliament, or being continued further. The ignorant and anwary are sure to be the dupes of those who have the good luck to be in the secret, and are wicked enough to employ it to their own advantage. But the proposal made by the company, of submitting to a restriction of dividend at the rate of 12 1-half *per cent.* and extending that restriction during the temporary agreement, would have obviated all those mischiefs, and secured every good end which may have been proposed, but can't be attained by this bill; and as such restriction, with their consent, would have been liable to no objections of injustice or violence.

11th, Because, if at the opening of the next session of parliament, the restriction is permitted to expire,

pire, the whole effect of the bill, except the mischiefs it may produce, will be the keeping back for four or five months, from the pockets of those to whom it belongs, a sum of 40,000 l. the difference between the dividend the company wishes, and that which it is allowed to make by the bill; this sum is ridiculously disproportioned to any real purpose of paying off and reducing the company's debts; but if, on the other hand, the restriction is then to be continued, and the parliament henceforward to regulate the dividends of the company, and the whole of their affairs for that purpose is to be from time to time laid open to public examination, it is not difficult to foresee the ruinous consequences to the company; and as the precedent will go to the subjecting every other company to the same sort of controul, the speedy dissolution of them all will be perhaps the happiest event the public can wish, that they may not become so many engines of power and influence, the consequences of which it is easy to conceive, and unnecessary to describe.

12th, Because, the argument in favour of this limitation, drawn from a supposition, that the company had exceeded their legal power of borrowing on their bonds, appears to us to be neither well founded nor conclusive; it appears on the plain and express words of the engrafting act, that they had a power thereby to borrow five millions; so they have always understood; and so parliament understood and declared in a subsequent act; and we cannot comprehend the justice, the policy, or the decorum, of cavilling at

this particular time, at the exercise of a power publicly exerted, and which has come frequently within the cognizance, without incurring the censure of parliament; and as this doubt never was started before, the objection seems to arise not from the company's having exceeded their power of borrowing upon bond, but from the necessity of such a supposition, in order to find a pretence, however insufficient, for this limitation.

13th, Because the inability of the company, to make the dividends rescinded by this bill, has been argued, on a supposition that the right to the territorial acquisitions of the company in the East Indies, is not in that company, but in the public; which method of arguing, if admitted as one of the grounds of the bill, we conceive to be inconclusive as to the subject matter, and highly dangerous as to the precedent; for the company being in possession, and no claim against them being so much as made, much less established, we hold it highly dangerous to the property of the subject, and extremely unbefitting the justice and dignity of this house, by extrajudicial opinions, to call into question the legality of such a possession, and to act without hearing, as if the house had decided against it.

14th, Because, the forms of proceeding upon this bill have been contrary to precedent, inasmuch as it appears by our journals, that whenever a bill, judicial in its nature, as affecting legal rights and private property, has come up from the commons, stating no facts, as a ground for that bill, or stating facts, the evidence of which

does not appear in the preamble, the invariable practice of this house has been to desire a conference with the other, in order to be informed either of the facts, or the evidence to support such facts (if alledged) on which the bill was originally framed; and the commons have on like occasions done the same by this house: instances of this mutual application from one house to the other, appear in the following cases, viz. Mr. Duncomb's case, March 1697. Directors of the South Sea company, Aislaby and Craggs, July 1721. Sir Thomas Cooke's case, 1695. Cases of Kelly, Plunket, and bishop of Rochester, March 1722. Bambridge's case, April 1729. Robinson and Thomson's case, March 1731. Sale of Lord Derwentwater's estates, &c. 1732. Case of Sir Robert Sutton, and others, March 1732. Case of Al. Wilson and the city of Edinburgh, May 1737.

15th, Because, in the proceedings on this bill, no council was appointed in support of the bill, to state the grounds, to examine the witnesses, and methodize the evidence; for want of which the lords themselves were obliged to call and examine witnesses, and appear more like parties than judges.

16th, Because, also in the proceedings on this bill, when lords, who declared themselves patrons and friends to the bill, had examined two witnesses, and said, they were satisfied with their examination, other lords were not permitted to call in any other witnesses, before the council for the East India company, against this

bill, were ordered to proceed. It was ever denied to lords, to bring again to the bar the two gentlemen who had been examined, (Mr. Rous, and Mr. Saunders, the chairman, and deputy chairman of the company,) although by the arrival of the ship Cruttenden from Bengal, after their examination, which brought a new and very particular account of the flourishing state of the company's affairs in India, it was very possible those gentlemen might have changed their opinion; their former evidence having been merely matter of opinion resulting from such information as they were at that time possessed of: witnesses were dismissed unexamined, whom several lords wished to have been heard, and the bill was passed, without waiting for the return of an account, declared by Mr. Rous to be such, that without it no judgment of the present state of the affairs of the company could be formed, and which had been ordered by the house; and as the officers informed the house, might have been prepared in a few days. In this manner this bill has passed, which we are apprehensive may be found in its consequences very injurious to private property, and alarming to public credit.

Winchelsea and Gower.

Nottingham,	Fred. Exon,
Scarborough,	Portland,
Temple,	Sondes,
Trevor,	Dorset,
Fortescue,	Rockingham,
Richmond	Albemarle,
Dudley and Ward,	Eglintoun,
King	Abergavenny,
Weymouth,	Ponsonby.

Trans.



Translation of his Catholic majesty's ordinance for the banishment of the Jesuits.

### PRAGMATIC SANCTION

Of his majesty, with force of law,  
For the banishment from these kingdoms of the regulars of the company; for the seizure of their temporalities, and the prohibition for ever of their re-establishment; with the other precautions therein expressed.

In the year



1767.

In M A D R I D :

At the royal printing office of the Gazette.

**D**ON CARLOS, by the grace of God, King of Castile, Aragon and the two Sicilies; of Jerusalem, Granada and Toledo; of Valencia, Galicia and Majorca; of Seville, Sardinia and Corsica; of Murcia, Jaen and the Algarves; of Algezira, Gibraltar, and the Canary islands; of the East and West Indies, islands and continent of the ocean; Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, and Milan; Count of Apfburg, Flanders, Tirol, and Barcelona; Lord of Biscay, and Molina, &c.—To the most serene prince Don Carlos, my dear and well-beloved son; to the infantos, prelates, dukes, marquisses, counts, men of substance, priors of orders, commendatories and sub-commendatories, commanding officers of

garrisons, prisons and other places; and to the president and others of my council, auditors of my several audiences, mayors and other officers of my household, court and chanceries; and to all peace officers, superiors, assistants, governors, intendants major and ordinary, and to all other judges and magistrates whatever of these my kingdoms, whether their jurisdiction be royal, feudal, abbatial and holding of certain orders, and whatever be their state, condition, quality or pre-eminence, as well those who now are, as those who shall be hereafter and to all and every one of you.

Know YE, that, in conformity with the opinion of my royal council extraordinary, assembled in consequence of the former occurrences of the 29th of last January, and of what has been exposed to me by persons of the most eminent character and known experience, all agreeing in the same sentiment: moved by considerations of the most weighty kind, relative to the duty incumbent on me of keeping my people in due subordination, tranquility and justice, and by other urgent, just and necessary causes, which I reserve within my own royal breast: Making use of that supreme, oeconomic authority which the almighty has lodged in my hands for the protection of my subjects, and maintenance of the respect due to my crown, I have come to the resolution of ordering to be banished out of all my dominions of Spain and the Indies, and of the Philippine and other adjacent islands, the regulars of the company, as well priests as coadjutors or lay members, who have

have made their first profession ; as also such of their novices as shall be disposed to follow them ; and that all the temporalities of the company in my dominions be seized : and, for the uniform execution thereof throughout the same, I have, by another royal decree of mine of the 27th of February, given full and exclusive commission and authority to Count Aranda, president of my council, with power to proceed forthwith to take such measures as may be adequate thereto.

I. And, in like manner, I have come to the resolution of ordering my counsel to make my aforesaid royal determination known through all these kingdoms ; acquainting all the other religious orders with the share they deservedly possess in my confidence, satisfaction and esteem, on account of their fidelity and doctrine, of their compliance with their monastic institutes, of their exemplary services done to the church, of their commendable attention to study, of their sufficiency in point of the numbers of their individuals, towards assisting the bishops and parochial pastors in the spiritual nutriment of souls ; as also of their forbearing to meddle with government affairs, as matters quite foreign to, and wide of, a retired and religious life.

II. I have also signified to the reverend diocesan prelates, ecclesiastical communities and chapters, and other establishments, and bodies politic of the kingdom, that the weighty motives, which, to my great regret have compelled me to take this necessary measure, are reserved within my royal mind ;

barely making use of my economic power, without proceeding to other steps ; following in this the bent of my royal clemency, as father and protector of my people.

III. I declare, that, in the seizure of the company's temporalities, are comprised their goods and chattels, as well moveable as immoveable, or ecclesiastic revenues, which they are legitimately possessed of in the kingdom, without prejudice to the encumbrances thereon, to the will of founders, or to the alimentary life-annuities of its individuals, which shall be of 100 pesos during life to the priests, and go to the lay members, to be paid out of the general stock formed of the company's effects.

IV. In these alimentary annuities are not to be comprised any foreign jesuits who have no lawful existence in my dominions, either within their colleges, or without them, or in private houses, dressed in the tunic or garb of abbots, and whatever be the office they are employed in ; all such being required to quit my dominions, without any distinction.

V. Neither are novices to be comprehended in the alimentary provisions, who, of their own accord, shall chuse to follow the rest, as being under no ties of profession to follow them, but at perfect liberty to separate from them.

VI. I declare, that if any jesuit quit the territory of the ecclesiastical state whereunto they are all transported, or give the court any just motive of resentment by his actions or writings, the pension assigned him shall thence-

thenceforth cease. And though I am not to presume, that the body of the company will, in violation of the strictest and highest duties, cause or permit any of its individuals to write any thing contrary to the respect and submission due to my resolution, under title or pretext of apologies, or justifications, tending to disturb the peace of my kingdoms; or contribute to that purpose through their private emissaries; nevertheless, in that unexpected case, the pension to all shall cease.

VII. Every six months, one half the annual pension allotted to the jesuits shall be paid them out of the bank del Giro, through the channel of my minister in Rome, who shall take particular care to inform himself of such as die, or forfeit their pension through their own fault, that the amount may be deducted.

VIII. Concerning the administration and equivalent applications of the company's effects to pious uses, such as the endowment of poor parishes, of incorporated seminaries, houses of charity and other compassionate institutes, after first consulting the opinion of the ecclesiastical ordinaries, in what may be necessary and meet; I reserve separately to myself the taking such measures, as that true piety may not be anywise defrauded, nor any injury done to the public good, or to private property.

IX. I prohibit and enact, as a general law and regulation, that

no individual of the company in particular, or any in a body of community, be ever henceforth capable of being readmitted into all or any of my kingdoms, under any pretext or colour whatsoever; nor shall my council, or any other tribunal, admit of any application for that purpose; on the contrary, the magistrates, by way of prevention, shall exert the most rigorous measures against all refractory abettors and co-operators of the like intent, punishing them as disturbers of the public peace.

X. No one of the actual professed jesuits, though he should quit the order with the pope's formal licence, and become a secular priest, or clerk, or pass into any other order, shall ever be qualified to return again into these kingdoms, without obtaining my special permission.

XI. In case of his obtaining it, which will be granted on proper informations had, he shall be obliged to take an oath of allegiance in the hands of the president of my council; faithfully promising never to communicate, in public or private, with the members or general of the company, nor to use any means, steps, or insinuations, directly or indirectly, in the company's favour, on pain of being dealt with as a state criminal; and the privileged \* proofs shall be in full force against him.

XII. Nor shall he be qualified to teach, preach, or confess in these kingdoms, though, as has been said, he may have quitted

\* Concurrent circumstances; or one living witness.

the order, and thrown off obedience to its general : he may, however, enjoy ecclesiastical livings, to which no such offices are annexed.

XIII. No one of my subjects, though a secular or regular clergyman, shall ask any letter of fidelity of the general of the company, or of any one else in his name, on pain of being dealt with as a state criminal ; and the privileged proofs shall equally be in force against him.

XIV. All such as actually have them shall be obliged to surrender them to the president of my council, or to the justices and magistrates of the kingdom, to be transmitted and placed among the records ; and no farther use be made of them for the future, without their past possession thereof being hurtful to them, provided they punctually make the said surrender ; and the magistrates shall secrete the names of those who deliver them up, that thus they may occasion them no infamy.

XV. Whoever shall hold correspondence with jesuits, it being generally and absolutely forbidden, shall be punished in proportion to his guilt.

XVI. I expressly forbid that any body do write, declaim, or make any stir, on pretext of these measures, either for or against them : on the contrary, I enjoin silence in this matter to all my subjects : and I ordain, that the violators thereof be punished as guilty of high treason.

XVII. To prevent all disputes and misunderstandings between private persons, to whom it belongs not to judge, or to interpret the sovereign's commands, I

expressly ordain, that nobody do write, print, or employ papers, or works, touching the expulsion of the jesuits out of my dominions, without having the government's especial leave : and I forbid the judge of the press, his subdelegates, and all the magistrates of my kingdoms to grant such leave : all which are to be wholly under the controul of the president and ministers of my council, with the knowledge of my attorney-general.

XVIII. I most strictly charge the right reverend diocesan prelates and superiors of regular orders, that they do not suffer their subjects to write, print or declaim upon this subject, inasmuch as they would be made responsible for the unsuspected breach on the part of any of them ; which I declare to be comprised in the law of the king Don John I. and in the royal schedula circularly put forth by my council on the 18th of September of last year, in order to the more punctual execution thereof, to which all are bound to contribute ; for that it concerns the good order of the public, and the credit of its several individuals, to avoid drawing upon themselves the effects of my royal displeasure.

XIX. I order my council, in conformity with what is here before expressed, to dispatch and publish the most strict and proper royal pragmatic, that it may reach to the knowledge of all my subjects ; and that for the punctual, speedy and invariable accomplishment thereof, the justices and territorial tribunals, do inviolably observe, publish and execute the punishments above declared against all those

those who shall commit any breach of these dispositions ; and that they do for this purpose give all necessary orders, with preference to every other business whatever, inasmuch as it concerns my royal service : for the ampler knowledge of which, I have ordered copies of my royal decree to be transmitted to the councils of the Inquisition, of the Indies, of the orders and of the revenue, for their respective intelligence and accomplishment thereof. And for the full and invariable observance of it, the royal decree of the 27th of March, containing the foregoing resolution, which was ordered to be kept and fulfilled according to its express tenor, having been published this day in full council, it was agreed to dispatch the present in force of law and pragmatic sanction, as if it were made and promulgated in assemblies of the states ; therefore it is my will that this be and pass for such, without opposition of any kind whatsoever : to which end, so far as may be necessary, I abrogate and annul all things which are or may be contrary to the same. Wherefore I charge the right reverend the archbishops, bishops, superiors of regular orders, mendicant and monacal visitors, vicars and other prelates and ecclesiastical judges of these my kingdoms, that they observe the above expressed law and pragmatic sanction according to its tenor, without permitting any infraction thereof under any pretence, or in any manner whatsoever. And I command those of my council, the president and auditors, officers of my household and court, of my other audiences and chanceries, assistant governors, serjeants major and or-

dinary, and other judges and justices of all my dominions, that they do keep, fulfil and execute the aforesaid law and pragmatic sanction, and cause it to be kept and observed in all and every particular, taking for that purpose all the measures requisite, without need of any farther declaration than the present, which is to have its punctual execution, from the day of its publication in Madrid, and in the other cities, towns and villages of these my kingdoms, in the usual manner : it so behoving for my royal service, and the tranquillity, good and benefit of the public weal of my subjects : for such is my pleasure ; and that the printed copy of this my letter, signed by Don Ignatius Stephen de Higareda, senior clerk of my chamber, and of the management of my council, shall bear the same credit as the original.

Given at Pardo, the second of April, One thousand seven hundred and sixty and seven years.

I the K I N G.

I Don Joseph Ignacio de Goyeneche, secretary to our lord the king, caused it to be written out, by his command.

The count of Aranda,  
Don Francisco Cepeda.  
Don Jacinto de Todo,  
Don Francisco de Salazar y Ag-  
nero,  
Don Joseph Manuel Dominguez,  
Registrada,  
Don Nicolas Berdugo, lieutenant  
of the High Chancellor,  
D. Nicolas Berdugo.

P U B L I C A T I O N.

IN the town of Madrid on the second day of the month of April,  
of

of one thousand seven hundred and sixty and seven years, before the gates of the royal palace, facing the principal balcony of our lord the king, and at the gate of Guadalajara, where the public business of merchants and tradesmen is carried on; in the presence of Don John Stephen de Salaverri, D. John Antony de Pennaredonda, D. Benedict Antony de Barrera, D. Peter Ximenez de Mesa, mayors of the household and court of his majesty, the foregoing royal pragmatic sanction was published with sound of trumpets and kettle-drums, by the voice of the public crier, attended by several of the officers of the said household and court, and many other persons standing by; which J. D. Francis Lopez Navamuel, one of the senior clerks of the chamber to our lord the king, and of those who assist in his council, do certify.

*Don Francisco Lopez Navamuel:*

I certify that this is a true copy of the original royal pragmatic sanction, and its publication.

*D. Ignatius Stephen de Higareda.*

*An authentic narrative of the many horrid cruelties inflicted by Elizabeth Brownrigg, upon her poor apprentice girls; for which she received sentence of death, on Saturday the 12th of September, and was executed on Monday the 14th at Tyburn.*

**E**lizabeth Brownrigg, about 20 years ago, being then about 27 years of age, lived as a servant in the family of Mr. R——, in Prescot-street, Goodman's-fields: and about this time James Brown-

rigg, who had served his time to a plaisterer and painter in the same neighbourhood, married her.

Soon afterwards they settled at Greenwich in Kent; where he carried on the business of a painter; and after about five years they removed to London.

Their family increased very fast, for they have had 16 children, of whom three sons only are now living. Mrs. Brownrigg therefore learnt midwifery under Dr. K——; and about two years ago, was, by the overseers of the parish of St. Dunstan in the west, appointed to act as midwife to the poor women in the workhouse, in which capacity she is said to have acted with great skill and humanity. She was also a faithful wife, and a tender and affectionate parent.

It appears to be about four years since Brownrigg took the house in Fetter-lane, where the cruelties were committed; at this time he kept a horse, and had a lodging at Mr. Norton's over against Cannonbury-lane, Islington.

In the month of February 1765, Mary Mitchell, a poor girl of the precinct of White Friars, was bound an apprentice to Brownrigg, by the overseers, and was then about 14 years of age.

About three months afterwards, on the 15th of May, Mary Jones was also bound apprentice to Brownrigg, by the governors of the Foundling Hospital, being also about the age of fourteen.

It appears that these poor girls were at this time treated with great cruelty; what in particular were Mitchell's sufferings does not appear, but the sufferings of Jones were very great: Mrs. Brownrigg used to lay down two chairs on the



the kitchen floor, in such a manner that the feet of one might support the back of the other; and then fastening the girl down, sometimes naked, and sometimes with her coats pulled over her head, she used to whip her till her strength was exhausted: at other times, when the girl has been washing the rooms or stairs, her mistress has found fault with her work, and taking her up in her arms, has repeatedly plunged her head in the pail of water that stood by.

By such treatment the girl received many hurts in different parts of her body, particularly in the head and shoulders, from the edges and bale of the pail; and was besides kept in continual terror by threats of drowning, her mistress often calling on Mary Mitchell to fill her a tub of water for that purpose.

Where Mitchell slept at this time we are not told, but Jones slept in a hole under a dresser, in the same room with Brownrigg and his wife, and facing the feet of their bed: this room was even with the shop, the door of which opened into the street; and one Sunday morning, as she lay silently deploring her miserable condition, and ready to die by the consequences of her past sufferings, and apprehensions of future, she cast her eye upon the key of the shop door, which hung against a post, and perceiving that her master and mistress were both fast asleep, she had resolution to make one effort for liberty and life, and rising very softly, she was fortunate enough to steal into the street without discovery.

This happened after she had been bound about two months, in July, when the days were long, and it was probably very early in the morning. When she got into the street, she was at a loss where to go: she had no home but the Foundling Hospital, and thither she did not know her way: however she asked of every one she met, and at last of a man who was so kind as to conduct her to the gate.

She was instantly admitted, and having told her story, and shewed her wounds and bruises, one of which was upon her eye, and had so injured it, that for some days it was feared she would have lost it, the following order was made by the governors.

“That Mr. Plumptree, the hospital solicitor, do write to James Brownrigg, a painter in Fetter-lane, who had a child, Mary Jones, apprenticed to him by this corporation, and acquaint him, that if he does not forthwith make satisfaction for the abuse to the said child, this corporation will prosecute him with the utmost severity.”

What particular steps were taken by the parties in consequence of this order does not appear, but soon after Brownrigg was summoned to attend the chamberlain of London, before whom the matter was settled, and the girl discharged from her apprenticeship.

Mitchell was now left alone, and continued patiently to drudge and to suffer till about the middle of February following, when she had served about one year of her time; and then she also found means to run away: she was however

ever found in the streets by Brownrigg's youngest boy the same day, and brought back to her confinement : from this time she was never suffered to stir out of doors, and she was frequently tied up and whipped naked.

About the same time Mary Clifford, a third apprentice, was bound to James Brownrigg, by the overseers of White Friars precinct ; she was a month upon liking, and during that time was well treated, and eat and drank as the family did, but soon after she was bound they began to use her with great cruelty, frequently beating her over the head and shoulders, sometimes with a walking cane, sometimes with a horsewhip, and several times with a hearth brush.

It was this girl's misfortune, either by natural weakness or bad nursing, to wet the bed ; for this reason she was ordered to lie on a mat, in a place called a cellar, which had been a coal hole, and is described as a cold dark place, about as big as a closet, under the stairs ; the mat after some time was taken away, and a sack, with a little straw in it, substituted in its place : sometimes there was nothing but a few rags, and sometimes only the bare floor ; as to covering, she had sometimes her own cloaths, sometimes a bit of blanket, and sometimes she was quite naked : it does not appear that she had any other food than bread and water, and she had not enough even of that.

Once when she was famishing for hunger, she broke open a cupboard where victuals was usually kept, but found none ; and once, when she was fainting with thirst, she broke down some boards to

come at water. For the first of these crimes she was made to strip naked, and continued to wash naked a whole day, being every now and then beaten with the stump end of a riding whip ; for the other offence a jack-chain was put round her neck, and the end fastened to the yard door ; it was strained as tight as it could be, without choaking her ; and when she had passed the day in this condition, she was sent down into the cellar when it grew dark, with the chain still on her neck, and her hands tied behind her, to pass the night, without bed or covering, in the cellar.

It was common for both the girls, Mitchell and Clifford, to go about the house quite naked ; for Brownrigg being by their indentures obliged to find them cloaths, used frequently to order them to be taken off, upon discovering any little rent, hole, or other sign that they were wearing out. Mitchell, in particular, scarce ever wore stockings, and had generally nothing upon her body but an old rag of a waistcoat, which did not cover her behind.

As the prisoners were tried for the murder of Clifford, and Mitchell was the principal evidence, little appears concerning Mitchell in particular ; sometimes however she was locked with Clifford into the cellar, to pass the night, and both were constantly left locked into that dismal cell, from Saturday to Sunday night, while the family were at their country lodgings in Islington ; during all this time they had no sustenance but a piece of bread, for water itself was not added.

The office of gaoler seems in general to have been performed by the eldest son, though sometimes the prisoners were locked up by others; once in particular, by one Benham, an apprentice boy, who in his examination swears, that when he locked them in, Clifford was quite naked.

They were so often and so cruelly whipped and beaten, that their bodies, especially their heads and shoulders, were almost one entire scab, the skin being broken afresh as fast as it healed, for the mistress never left off whipping till she drew blood.

In order to inflict this diabolical punishment, the first expedient was to strip them quite naked, and then tie their hands up to a water pipe, that was carried along the kitchen ceiling; this pipe however at last giving way, a staple was by the husband, at the wife's desire, made fast to a beam, and the cord that tied them was put through it.

Clifford was also sometimes beaten with great cruelty by John: he one day ordered her to put up a bed, which she attempted to do but was not able, upon which he beat her with the buckle end of a leathern belt, till she was covered with blood, and then put the bed up himself. John also found her at another time naked and bleeding, having been tied up and whipped by his mother, yet in this condition she ordered him to continue the whipping, because she was no longer able, and, strange and horrid as it may seem, he complied.

Some acts of cruelty are also mentioned of another kind: Mrs. Brownrigg would frequently fix one of her hands on each of

Mitchell's cheeks, and draw them down her face with such force as to occasion the blood to start from her eyes.

Mitchell also, having complained to a lodger, the only one who appears to have been in the house during Clifford's time of ill usage, the woman, upon some disagreement with the mistress, reproached her with the subject of the girl's complaint; upon which Mrs. Brownrigg ran to the girl, and thrusting a pair of scissors into her mouth, cut her tongue in two places.

The account of what happened on the day when the fatal wound was given, is in substance as follows.

On Friday the 30th of July, about ten o'clock in the morning, Brownrigg having threatened the girls all the week, went down into the kitchen, and tied Mary Clifford naked up to a staple; her head and shoulders were then sore, and scabbed over in many places, but notwithstanding the state of her body, her tyrant whipped her with a horsewhip, in the presence, of Mitchell, till the blood followed the strokes; she was then let down, and ordered to wash, naked and wounded as she was, and while she was stooping down to the tub, her mistress struck her over the head with the but end of the whip.

She was tied up five successive times in this dreadful day, still naked and bleeding, and still covered with new wounds by the whip.

She was now mortally wounded, yet she crept about till the 4th of August, when she was discovered in the following manner.

[N]

Clifford's

Clifford's father about four years ago married a second wife ; he went away however and left her, upon which she delivered up the child to the parish, and went into Cambridgeshire. She was absent when the girl was bound apprentice, but returned about last Midsummer ; having learnt to whom the girl was apprenticed, she went twice to Brownrigg's and enquired for her, but was both times answered by the apprentice boy that no such person lived there.

After several other ineffectual enquiries, both by herself and persons whom she sent, Brownrigg, the husband, absolutely denying that any such person was in the house, threatened the woman to send her before the lord mayor, for being troublesome.

Upon this she went away ; but as she was going from the house, Mrs. Deacon, the wife of a baker that lived next door, having heard high words, called her in, and enquired what was the matter : upon hearing the story, Mrs. Deacon told her, that her family had frequently heard groans and moanings in Brownrigg's house ; that she suspected there were apprentices who were cruelly treated, and that she would do her utmost to make farther discoveries ; taking a direction to find Clifford's mother if any discovery should be made.

About this time Brownrigg, the husband, having been concerned in a sale at Hampstead, bought a hog, and had it driven home to his house. This hog was kept in a covered yard, where there was a sky-light, and this it was found necessary to open, in order to let out the smell which proceeded

from keeping the hog in so close a place. The removal of the sky-light gave Mr. Deacon's family an opportunity of seeing what passed in Brownrigg's yard ; and, they being upon the watch, it happened that the apprentice, William Clipson, being on the 3d of August at a two pair of stairs window which looked down on the sky-light, saw Mary Clifford, her head, back, and shoulders being uncovered, bloody, and cut in a shocking manner. Clipson then went down to the one pair of stairs window, and crawled out of it upon the leads over the yard, and laying himself across the sky-light, had a fuller view of the poor dying wretch : he spoke several times, but received no answer : he then to attract her notice threw down two or three pieces of mortar, one of which falling upon her head, she looked up, and attempted to speak, but was able only to utter a groan. This was overheard by Mrs. Brownrigg, but without pity ; for Clipson says, she spoke to her in a sharp manner, and asked what was the matter with her.

The poor girl then drew back out of sight, and Clipson acquainted the family with what he had seen.

Intelligence was soon sent to the mother-in-law, who on the next day, Friday the fourth of August, came with the overseers, and went into Brownrigg's house, and Clipson with them. They enquired for Mary Clifford, and Brownrigg, the husband, told them, she was in Hertfordshire, attending one of the children who had the whooping cough. Clipson then said, he

had seen her in a deplorable condition the day before; upon which Brownrigg swore by God she was not in the house; after some altercation he produced Mary Mitchell, and again swore there was no other girl in the house. Clipson insisted Mitchell was not the girl he had seen; and Mr. Grundy, one of the overseers, then sent for a constable, and searched the house, but without success.

Upon examining Mitchell, the girl that was produced, her cap was found to be bloody, her head wounded in many places, and her shoulders covered with the scabs of wounds that were healing. Mr. Grundy perceiving how this girl had been treated, carried her away to the workhouse, wholly regardless of Brownrigg's blustering, who said she was his apprentice, and bid him remove her at his peril.

When they came to take off her leather boddy, for she had no shift, it stuck so fast to the wounds, that the skin and eschar came away with them; when they were off, and she was assured she should return to her tormentors no more, she began to give an account of her sufferings, and declared that Clifford was in the house, for that she had parted with her just before she was herself produced.

Mr. Grundy not doubting the truth of Mitchell's account, went back to Brownrigg's and telling him he would carry him before a magistrate on suspicion of murder, sent for a coach.

Brownrigg's neighbours came about him and offered bail, a lawyer also was sent for, who endeavoured to intimidate the overseer and constable, but Grundy con-

tinued steady in his purpose; he said he would answer what he should do, and that as the crime Brownrigg was taken up for was murder, no bail could be taken. Matters now took another turn; as it was before Brownrigg's interest to conceal the girl, that it might not appear she had been ill-treated, it was now become his interest to produce her, that it might be known she was alive. The son therefore, by the father's order, brought her from a cupboard under the beautet in the dining-room, where she had been hidden.

No words, says honest Wingrave in his narrative, can so powerfully describe the shocking appearance which this miserable object made, as the silent woe with which every person present was struck, and the execrations which followed, against those who had reduced her to that condition. Her head was swelled to almost double the natural size, and her neck so much, as that she could neither speak nor swallow; her mouth stood open, and the surgeon who examined her deposed, that she was all one wound from her head to her toes, that her shift stuck to her body, that she was in a fever, and the wounds were beginning to mortify from neglect.

Brownrigg and the girls were then carried before a magistrate, who sent the offender to prison, and the sufferers to the hospital. The wife and son had made their escape soon after the officer first came to the house.

On Sunday following, August the 9th, Mary Clifford died, and the coroner's jury brought in their verdict wilful murder, against James Brownrigg, the husband, and Elizabeth

Elizabeth his wife. It appeared that the eldest son John had cruelly treated the girl, therefore he was included in an advertisement for apprehending the mother.

About this time intelligence was given that Mrs. Brownrigg and her son had taken places in the Dover stage, by the names of Hartly, and this was found to be true, though they did not think it safe to undertake that journey, and therefore lost their earnest. It was also afterwards known that they had taken a hackney-coach in Jewin-street, which set them down in East-Smithfield, and that they took a lodging in a bye street near Nightingale-lane, where they lived on bread and water, (being afraid to stir out to purchase other food,) till Tuesday the 11th. In Raggfair they purchased some apparel, left the description given in the advertisement of what they wore, might produce a discovery. They lodged one night at a place unknown, and the next day they took a lodging at Mr. Dunbar's, who keeps a chandler's shop in Wandsworth.

On Saturday the 15th of August three days after Mrs. Brownrigg and her son had been at Wandsworth, Mr. Dunbar met with a newspaper wherein he read the advertisement. From a concurrence of many circumstances, it struck him immediately that his lodgers were the persons described, and he went to town the next day, and gave information against them.

Mr. Owen, the churchwarden, immediately sent to Mr. Deacon, their next door neighbour in Flower-de-Luce Court, who knew

them, and asked him if he would go with the constable to Wandsworth, which he readily agreed to do; then Mr. Owen sent for Mr. Wingrave, and Mr. Deacon; Dunbar and Wingrave immediately set out, and when they got to the house, Wingrave went directly to the room, and Mr. Deacon, who followed at some distance, assured him they were the people he wanted. They were brought to town in a coach, without the least suspicion who they were, and consequently without any tumult or crowd.

The parties were many times examined, and on the 9th of Sept. bills of indictment were found against the father, mother, and the eldest son, for the murder of Clifford.

The trial came on upon Saturday the 12th, and lasted six hours; the evidence was in substance the same as this narrative, upon which Elizabeth was found guilty; and James the husband, and John the son, acquitted: they were however detained to take their trial for a misdemeanor.

Though these people lived in credit; and Mrs. Brownrigg had a watch, and some other trinkets which she carried off with her, yet in prison her distress was so great, that she was obliged to borrow a few half-pence of a woman who was prisoner in the same room with her.

The crowd that waited in the sessions house yard during her trial, testified their joy by a shout when she was convicted; and such was the indignation they felt at the horrid, deliberate, and persevering cruelties of which she had been guilty,



guilty, that those who were near the ordinary's coach, when she was carried to execution, cried out, they hoped he would pray for her damnation, for such a fiend ought not to be saved.

It was undoubtedly a principle of virtue that abhorred cruelty, but to preclude the mercy of the Almighty was certainly cruel, and the best of mankind have no ground of hope but the gracious promise that extends to the worst, "All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto man." She was executed on Monday the 14th day of Sept. and her body was carried to Surgeons-hall to be anatomized.

It is scarce possible to quit this horrid subject without observing, that the facts which now have been demonstrated were in the highest degree improbable. Who could have believed, that two wretches of the age of 15 or sixteen years, could, in such a metropolis as London, and such a neighbourhood as Fetter-lane, continue to suffer as Mitchell and Clifford suffered for two years, without discovery or escape, especially as there was no other servant in the family but the apprentice-boy to go on errands. Let us not then too hastily conclude, on other occasions, that what does not appear probable is necessarily false, nor hastily reject every proposition for which we cannot fully account. Let our enquiry be cool, critical, and deliberate; and as evils multiply beyond probability, let our vigilance be not only constant but scrupulous, not resting in slight appearances, but pushing on to facts.

*Abstract of the trial of William Guest for High-treason, in filing, impairing, &c. the current coin of this kingdom.*

JOHN Leach, a teller at the Bank, deposed that Mr. Guest had been there between two and three years; that he had seen him pick new guineas from the old ones; that this being Mr. Guest's frequent practice, it had created a suspicion in his (Mr. Leach's) mind, which suspicions he communicated to some others; that on the 4th of July Mr. Guest paid some money to Richard Still, servant to Mr. Corner, a dyer on the Bank-side; that seeing Mr. Guest take some money out of the drawer, and put it among the rest on the table, when he had paid the man, Mr. Leach followed him out, and begged the favour of the man to walk into the pay-office, and let him tell the money over; which he did, and, out of thirty guineas, three of them seemed to be newly filed; that the man saying this was all the gold he had about him, Mr. Leach carried the three guineas to Mr. Robert Bell, who looked at them: Mr. Leach desired the said Mr. Bell would carry them up to Mr. Race the cashier, but did not go up with him then; that these guineas appeared to him, as if the right milling had been taken off, and then filed. Being asked whether it was not common to take some money out of the drawer in their payments at the bank, Mr. Leach replied, that it was sometimes, but very seldom, done there; that this was not the whole

of the money, but part; that it was mixed with the money upon the table; that they put their guineas in one drawer, the silver in another, moidores in another, and ports in another; that Mr. Race weighed the three guineas in his presence, which together weighed fifteen penny weights, nine grains; whereas the weight should have been sixteen penny weights, four grains and a quarter, which made a difference of nineteen grains and a quarter; that is, three shillings and a penny according to the standard: one of the guineas (a George II.) weighed five penny weights three grains and nine sixteenths; two of his present majesty wanted about ten pence, the other thirteen or fourteen pence.

Richard Sill deposed to the guineas being paid, and taken from him, in the manner above related.

Mr. Bell, a teller at the Bank, confirmed their being brought to him, and carried by him to Mr. Race; who having looked at the edges, closed them in a paper, wrote 4th of July on them, and then bid him carry them to Mr. Leach, and desire him to keep them in his custody, which was done.

Mr. Race, the chief cashier, deposed to the guineas being brought him by the last evidence, with his delivery of them to Mr. Bell again, who testifies to his own re-delivery of them to Mr. Leach, and the latter to their having been in his custody ever since.

Mr. Thompson, one of the cashiers, deposes to the manner of locking up the tellers bags every night; and that having received orders from Mr. Race to inspect into Mr. Guest's bag of the 4th of

July, and one or two of the tellers to be present with him, the bag was accordingly examined in the presence of Mr. Lucas and Mr. Kemp, who told the money over, when the whole sum was 180*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* in several bags; that is to say, thirteen bags in all; that there was one bag, in which were forty guineas which seemed fresher than the others upon the edges; that these guineas were compared and examined with caution and deliberation; sealed up by Mr. Kemp and himself; not opened till that morning, and kept locked up by the two keys of the cashier and teller.

Mr. Lucas and Mr. Kemp, both tellers in the bank, confirmed the testimony of the preceding witness, with the appearance of the forty guineas on the edges, and their deficiency in weight; which Mr. Kemp says, was from eight pence to fourteen pence one with the other, and that there was a deficiency in every one of them.

Mr. Sewallis, belonging to the bank, deposes to having searched the house of Mr. Guest, in July last: that in a two-pair of stairs room was a mahogany nest of drawers, the top of which was forced open in the presence of Mr. Hull, Mr. Humberton, and the lord mayor's officer, and there they found a vice, files, and other things.

Mr. Humberton swears that he is a servant in the bank; that he was present at the search of Mr. Guest's house; asked him at the bank for the keys of his book-case and a cupboard, telling him he was going to search his house, there being warrants out against him; that Mr. Guest replied, he

did not know what authority any body had to search his house, and refused to deliver his keys; and that he found all the things there above deposed, which had continued under seal till before the grand jury, the day before the trial came on, and that they were then under the seals of the grand jury. (Among these things was a bag with a hundred guineas, and two bags of gold filings, weighing four pounds eleven ounces and nineteen penny weights. The chest of drawers in which they were found, is described at large in the sessions paper, and is of very curious contrivance. On the teeth of one of the files was some yellow stuff.)

Joseph Nichols deposed, that he is one of the moniers at the mint, where he has been employed twenty years, apprenticeship and all; that one of the tools produced was capable of milling money round the edges; and having looked at the three guineas paid Mr. Still, the hundred guineas, and the forty guineas, found in Mr. Guest's bags, said they had all artificial edges, and appeared to be fresh filed, which might be done with the instrument before produced, and was not done at the Mint at the Tower.

Mr Chamberlaine produced three guineas, on which Mr. Nichols put edges in his presence, with the instrument found in the prisoner's room, and said they were quite plain before. Being compared, by Mr. Nichols, with the others found in the prisoner's drawer, the latter said they were so near alike, that he believed them all to be done with the same tool.

Humberton deposes to taking

three small parcels of filings out of those found in Mr. Guest's room, and delivering them to Mr. Chamberlaine, who delivered the same to Mr. Lucas; which last again swears to having received, assayed them, and found them agreeable to the standard, and thinks they might come from the filings of our guineas.

Samuel Lee, a teller at the bank, thinks it was the latter end of March the prisoner had a bar of gold, between five and six inches long, under two inches wide, and better than half an inch deep; that he asked the prisoner how he came by it, who said, he had it from Holland. To this Lee said, he thought it was not like a regular bar of gold, it had a deal of copper on the back. Guest replied, it must be filed off, and that all bars of gold were so. Mr. Lee being asked whether he had seen any bars of gold before, said he had scores of times, but never any with such a scum.

Thomas Troughton, a jeweller, deposes to having sold two ingots of gold for Mr. Guest, one about forty-eight ounces, the other about forty-six ounces, which appeared like bars of gold that came from abroad, and that he understood them as such. The first of these was sold the 12th of June last; the other about six months ago. Says they were about a foot long, and had no appearance of copper or filing.

Esther Collins, servant to Mr. Guest, swears to having looked once into his book-case, in his absence, when open, and to have seen there a glass cup with some yellow dust in it, and by the cup was a file like that produced in court.

Prisoner, in his defence, said he was innocent of the matter laid to his charge.

Robert Fratley, optical instrument maker; John Hunter, conversant in the mathematical and clock-way; George Hodgson, clock-maker; all for the prisoner, depose, that the instrument produced as above in court, is fit for milling many other things besides guineas; and the second said it was the greatest improvement he had ever seen.

Several persons, and among them some of rank, appeared to Mr. Guest's character. Those who would peruse this trial more at large, are referred to the sessions paper.

*Copy of a letter of her imperial majesty of all the Russias, to his excellency count Wolodimer Orlov, director of the academy of sciences at Petersburg.*

*Mons. Count Orlov,*

**H**AVING been informed, that in the summer of the year 1769 the planet Venus will pass over the sun, I write you this letter, that you may acquaint the academy of sciences on my part, (1) that it is my pleasure that the academy should procure the observations to be made with the utmost care; and that I desire, in consequence, to know (2) which are the most advantageously situated places of the empire that the academy has destined for this observation? To the end, that in case it shall be necessary to erect any buildings, workmen, &c. may be sent, and proper measures be

taken; (3) that if there be not a sufficient number of astronomers in the academy for completing the observations in the places pitched upon by the academy, I propose, and take upon me to find out among my marine subjects, such as, during the interval between the present time and the transit of Venus, may be perfected in the habit of observing under the eyes of the professors, so as to be employed to advantage in this expedition, and to the satisfaction of the academy. You will, Mr. Count, transmit me the answer of the academy, with its full opinion about every thing above, that I may give orders for the whole, without loss of time.

CATHERINE,

*Moscow, 3 March, 1767.*

*Copy of a letter from M. Ramoufky, of the imperial academy of sciences at Petersbourg, to Mr. Short of the Royal Society of London.*

S I R,

**I** Expected your letter impatiently, and received it the 1<sup>st</sup> of October. We were somewhat in doubt as to our answering the views of our sovereign, till the arrival of your letter, which dissipated our uneasiness in respect of the instruments. Judge yourself, sir, how satisfactory it was to us to understand that you would take upon you to procure us the necessary instruments, and, moreover, to give us your advice how to proceed successfully in this important observation.

I thank you, sir, in the name of the academy, and on my own account especially, hoping a more favourable

favourable occasion of testifying my obligations. At present, I refer to your judgment the measures the academy has taken with relation to the transit of Venus.

Pursuant to her imperial majesty's orders, in her letter to his excellency Count Wolodimer Orloff, director of the academy, the copy whereof I herewith send you; the academy having represented, that the properest places in the Russian empire for the observation of the duration of the transit, are Kola, and parts near it, and for the exit, the borders of the Caspian sea, has beseeched her majesty to be pleased to send two observers to the north, and two to the Caspian. The stations named by the academy, are Kola, Solowetskoy, Monastir, Astracan, and Orenburg. The empress, in accordance to the representations of the academy, apprehensive of the precarious state of the weather at the end of May at Kola and thereabouts, has been pleased to distribute four other observers among those quarters. The academy availing itself of the high protection her imperial majesty has deigned to extend to this enterprise, has determined one to Jakoutske where the duration will not be less than by about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  less than at Kola, Torneaö and Cajaneburg.

Mr. Wargentín has informed me, that Mr. Mallet of Upsal is preparing for Torneaö, and Mr. Planmann for his former Cajaneburg, so that this country will be so secure in such a multiplicity of observers, that it may be well hoped, that some station or other will not fail of affording a com-

plete observation of this phenomenon.

St. Peterburg, 23 October, 1767.

*A curious account of the great eruption of Mount Vesuvius, on the 19th of October, 1767. Extracted from a letter wrote to a friend in England, by the honourable William Hamilton, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty to the king of the two Sicilies.*

AS I have nothing material to trouble you with at present, I will endeavour to give you a short and exact account of the eruption, which is allowed to have been the most violent, though of short duration, in the memory of man. I had foretold this eruption some time, having had opportunities from my villa to watch its motions more minutely than any one here; and those threats which you read in the papers were extracts from my letters to Lord Shelburne. The 19th, at seven in the morning, I saw an unusual smoke issue with great violence from the mouth of the volcano, and form the shape of a pine tree, as Pliny described before the eruption in which his uncle perished; by which I knew the eruption to be at hand, and in fact before eight I saw the mountain open, and the lava run from the crack, near the top of the volcano; but as it took its course on the side opposite our villa, I had the curiosity to go round, and take a nearer view of it: as it requires time and fatigue to go up, I did not come in sight of

of the lava, which was running in two streams down the side of the mountain, till eleven o'clock. I had only a peasant of the mountain with me, and was making my remarks, when on a sudden about mid-day the great eruption happened about a quarter of a mile from me; at first it was only like a fountain of liquid fire which sprung up many feet in the air, then a torrent burst out with a most horrid noise, and came towards us. I took off my coat to lighten myself, and gave it to the peasant, and we thought proper to run three miles without stopping. By this time the noise had greatly increased, and the ashes caused almost a total darkness, and as the earth shook I thought proper to retire still further, and upon returning home I perceived another lava towards the Torre del Annunciata, which in less than two hours flowed four miles. Our villa shook so much, and the smell of sulphur was so strong, that I thought proper to return to Naples; and indeed the fright of the family was so great that it was impossible to remain at the villa.

The king's palace, though not so near the mountain as our villa, is still within reach of lavas, there being no less than seven, one upon another, under the palace. I thought it right to acquaint the court of the impending danger, and advised the Marquis Tanucci to persuade his Sicilian Majesty to remove to Naples directly; but, for what reason I know not, my advice was not followed; and the consequence was, the lava coming within a mile and a half of the palace, and the thunder of the mountain increasing, the whole court was obliged to remove in

the middle of the same night in the utmost confusion. The explosions of the volcano occasioned so violent a concussion of the air, that the door of the king's room at Portici was burst open, and one door in the palace though locked was forced open; and what is more wonderful the like happened in many parts of Naples itself. The mountain for three days made this noise by fits, which lasted five or six hours each time, and then was perfectly quiet: we did not see the sun clear almost the whole week, and the ashes fell in quantities at Naples so as to cover the houses and streets an inch deep or more. 'Tis really wonderful to think of the quantity of matter that came out of the mountain in so short a time, for on Thursday the lavas ceased running, and if I had not examined them myself since, I could not have believed it: from the place where I saw the mountain burst, to the point where the lava stopped near Portici, is to be sure seven miles, and five miles of this it travelled in two hours, the very road I came down; notwithstanding which, in some places the torrent is two miles broad, and the lava 40 feet high: it took its course through an immense water channel that is about 400 feet deep, and actually filled it up in some places. Stones of a most enormous size were thrown up from the mouth of the volcano near a mile high, I believe, and fell at least half a mile from it: in short it is impossible to describe so glorious and horrid a scene; for whilst this was going on, Naples was crowded with processions, women with their hair loose and bare feet, full of every superstition. The prisoners, killed their



their gaoler and attempted to break out. The cardinal arch-bishop's gate was burnt down because he would not bring out St. Januarius; and when he was brought out on Thursday, a mob of an incredible number of people loaded the saint with abuse for suffering the mountain to frighten them so: their expressions were—You are a pretty saint protector indeed! you yellow-faced fellow! (for the silver in which the saint's head is incased is very much tarnished), and when the noise of the mountain ceased, they fell upon their faces and thanked him for the miracle, and returned to the cathedral singing his praises and telling him how handsome he was. One man's faith in the saint was so great, that at the head of the procession when he came in sight of the mountain, he turned up his bare b—— to it, and said now kiss it, for here comes Genariello. I am sorry to say that all this is actually true: nay it would fill many sheets was I to tell you half what I saw last week of this sort. The mountain is now quite calm, and I believe for the present there is an end of this eruption, but I do not believe all the matter is yet come out. I am very glad so much is come out, and that Genariello did not stop it sooner; for if he had, we should surely have had an earthquake and been demolished. This last eruption has fully satisfied my curiosity, and I should be as well satisfied if the mountain was 100 miles from this capital.

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*An account of the last honours paid to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, at Monaco in Italy.*

ON Thursday the 17th of September 1767, as soon

as his Royal Highness had expired, the prince of Monaco told his officers and servants that he must then acknowledge the rank of his unfortunate guest, by such respect and honours as he was able in that situation to pay to his memory; that he had ordered a cannon to be fired every half hour till the body should be deposited on board the ship, and the *chambre ardent* to be prepared for the lying in state, according to the custom of that country, with his body-guard to attend, and a guard from the regiment. Accordingly the preparations were made in the largest apartment of the palace, hung with black; a high canopy in the middle of black and silver, with a representation of a coffin of the same, upon six stages, or steps of black, on each of which were a row of tapers in large gold and silver candlesticks; on the coffin, a silver pillow with a coronet upon it, the sword next on the coffin, and then the garter, george, and star; on the ground, a row of torches round the whole; under the canopy, behind the stage, was placed the coffin, which was made as near as possible in the English manner, covered with the pall; on each side were two mutes, and behind Col. St. John, Col. Morrison, Commodore Spry, and Mr. Schutz, attended: the whole lighting consisted of near 200 tapers. The procession from thence to the water-side was fixed for Sunday at four o'clock in the afternoon, according to the order hereunto subjoined, and the *chambre ardent* was opened at nine o'clock that morning. At the setting out of the procession, a signal was made for the ship to fire minute-guns till the body should be on board;

board; as it came out of the palace, the regiment was drawn up, their drums in black, and officers with crape; at the water-side was the long-boat with a canopy for the body covered with black, and the royal standard hoisted half high; this was towed by the captain's barge, with the mutes in it: behind was the commodore's barge, with his Royal

Highness's servants, and two more barges for the remaining officers. The Prince of Monaco continued at the water-side till the whole was on board; when the royal standard was hoisted half high on board the ship, and the minute-guns ceased: the garrison then fired two rounds of cannon, and the regiment two rounds of running fire.

Order of the procession referred to above:

The Guard		
Sailors with Flambeaux		
All the Duke's Servants		
Two Surgeons a-breast		
Four Mutes		
Gentlemen who carry the Ensigns of the Garter		
Two by two Lieutenants		
Captain Colby		Captain Dickings
Pall-bearer.		Pall-Bearer.
Canopy-Bearer	Sailors to support the coffin.	Canopy-Bearer.
Canopy-Bearer		Canopy-Bearer
Canopy-Bearer		Canopy-Bearer
Mr. Schutz		Commodore Spry
Pall-Bearer		Pall-Bearer
Colonel St. John		
Colonel Morrison		
The Prince of Monaco		
Gentlemen his Attendants		
The rest of the English Gentlemen		
two by two.		

*Ceremonial of the private interment of his late Royal Highness the Duke of York and Albany, in the royal vault in king Henry the VIIIth's chapel.*

AS soon as advice was received of the arrival of the corpse of his Royal Highness the Duke

of York at the Nore, on the 30th of October last, his coffin, covered with fine crimson velvet, with silver nails and handles, and the silver plate containing his titles, was dispatched to the said place, when the corpse, inclosed in a leaden coffin, was taken out of a very neat wooden one, covered likewise with

with crimson velvet, with silver lace round the borders, and put into a new one made by his majesty's upholsterer. A beautiful urn, covered in the same manner as the coffin, and lined with white satin, was sent down, in which the bowels of his Royal Highness were deposited.

On the second of November, the Mary yacht, with the corpse of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, appeared off Woolwich, and was saluted minutely whilst passing; about twenty minutes after ten it arrived at Greenwich, and soon after three was landed and put into the hearse under a royal salute of the artillery. The procession then began to move towards Westminster. The hearse was preceded by two coaches and six, besides his Highness's own body coach, in which were three of the lords of his bed-chamber; one of whom bore the urn with the embalmed parts of his Royal Highness's

body. In which order they proceeded to the Jerusalem chamber near the house of lords.

The same day the royal vault in Westminster Abbey was opened, and at night his Highness's bowels were carried into the vault, where his body was interred the evening following.

Between nine and ten on the following evening, the procession began from the prince's chamber, (whither the body had been removed the night before,) passing through the old Palace yard to the south-east door of Westminster Abbey, upon a floor railed in, covered with black cloth, and lined on each side with a party of the foot guards, in the following order:

Drums and trumpets sounding a solemn march, with banners attached to them, adorned with naval trophies, the drums covered with black.

The Serjeant Trumpeter.

Knight Marshal's men.

Gentlemen, Servants to his Royal Highness.

Page of the Presence.

Page of the Back Stairs.

Pages of Honour.

Mr. Frederick. Mr. Cadogan.

Equerries.

Capt. Wrottesly. Capt. Hamilton.

Col. Morrison.

Secretary,

Dr. Blair.

Pursuivants of Arms.

Heralds of Arms.

Treasurer of his Royal Highness's Household.

The H. Ch. Sloane Cadogan, Esq;

Norrey King of Arms.  
The Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's  
Household.

The Coronet upon a black velvet cushion,  
borne by Clarencieux King of Arms.

Four Vice-Admirals Supporters of the Canopy, in their Uniform Coats, Black Waistcoats, & Crapes in their Hats, and on their Arms, viz.

Sir Ed. Hawke,  
Knight of the Bath.

D. of Bolton.

Sir Char. Saunders, Knt. of the Bath.

Fr. Geary, Esq;

Supporters of the Pall, viz.

Lord Le Despencer.

Lord Bruce.

## THE BODY

Covered with a Holland Sheet, and a Black Velvet Pall, adorned with Eight Escutcheons of His Royal Highness's Arms, under a Canopy of Black Velvet.

Supporters of the Pall, viz.

Lord Bontetourt.

Lord Boston.

Four Vice-Admirals Supporters of the Canopy, in their Uniform Coats, Black Waistcoats, & Crapes in their Hats, and on their Arms, viz.

Tho. Frankland, Esq;

Sir Ch. Hardy, Knt.

Sir Sam. Cornish, Bart.

Sir G. Bridges Rodney, Bart.

Gentleman Usher.

Supporter,  
Duke of Montagu  
in a black cloak.

Garter Principal King of Arms,  
with his Rod of Office.

Chief Mourner,  
the Duke of Grafton,  
in a long black cloak, his  
train borne by  
Sir Peter Dennis, Bart.

A Gentleman Usher.

Supporter,  
Duke of Northumberland  
in a black cloak.

Assistants to the Chief Mourner,  
Earl of Denbigh.—Earl of Huntingdon.  
Earl of Litchfield.—Earl of Peterborough.  
Earl Harcourt.—Earl of Pomfret.  
Earl Delawarr.—Earl of Orford.

A Gentleman Usher.

Grooms of his Royal Highness's Bedchamber.

Sir William Boothby.—Colonel West.

Colonel St. John.

Yeomen of the Guard.

At the entrance of Westminster-Abbey within the church, the dean and prebendaries, attended by the choir, received the body, falling into the procession next before Norroy king of arms, and so proceeded, singing, into king Henry the Seventh's chapel, where

the coffin was placed on tressels, the head towards the altar, the crown and cushion being laid thereon, and the canopy held over it, while the service was read by the dean of Westminster; the chief mourner and his two supporters sitting on chairs at the head of the corpse,

corpse, the lords assistants and supporters of the pall upon stools on either side.

The part of the service before the interment being read, the corpse was deposited in the vault; and the Dean having finished the burial service, garter king of arms proclaimed his Royal Highness's stile as follows :

Thus it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life unto his divine mercy, the late most high, most mighty, and most illustrious prince Edward Augustus, duke of York and Albany, earl of Ulster, knight of the most noble order of the garter, second son of the late most illustrious prince Frederick, prince of Wales, deceased, and next brother to his most excellent majesty George the Third, by the Grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; whom God bless and preserve with long life, health, and honour, and all worldly happiness.

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*Some particulars of the life of his late Royal Highness the Duke of York.*

**H**IS royal highness Edward Augustus, duke of York, second son of Frederick prince of Wales, was born March  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>3</sup>, 1738-9, about four o'clock in the afternoon, and christened April 11 following. The sponsors, on that occasion, were the king of Prussia, the duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, and the dutchess of Saxe-Weissenfels, represented, respectively, by Charles duke of Queensberry and Dover, Henry marquis

of Caernarvon (now duke of Chandos) and lady Charlotte Edwin. At the different stages of youth, he was put under preceptors qualified to instruct him in the various branches of literature, and the exercises proper for a prince of his birth; and as he was designed to preside at the naval-board, the knowledge of maritime affairs formed a capital part of the plan allotted for his studies. On the 18th of March, 1752, he was elected a knight companion of the most noble order of the garter, and installed the 4th of June following.

His royal highness, on the 25th of July, 1758, embarked at Portsmouth, on board the Essex, commanded by Richard, now lord viscount Howe, and proceeding with the fleet, was present at the reduction of Cherburg, in Normandy, by general Bligh. Having likewise sailed in September ensuing with the same nobleman, when his lordship escorted the transports with the troops sent out against St. Malo, he witnessed the unfortunate affair at St. Cas, on the 28th of that month, and shewed great resolution and firmness of mind. His highness, after he had gone through the subordinate offices of midshipman and lieutenant, was, on the 19th of June 1759, promoted to the command of his majesty's ship Phoenix, of forty guns. On the 28th of next month, he sailed from Plymouth, on board the Hero man of war, with the present lord Edgumbe, and upon his joining the fleet off Brest, was complimented by admiral Hawke, and all the other flag officers and captains of that squadron. He returned, with Sir Edward

Edward and admiral Hardy, to Plymouth sound, on the 13th of October, and soon after his landing set out for London.

On the 1st of April, 1760, his late majesty was pleased to grant unto his royal highness, and the heirs male of his body, the dignities of duke of the kingdom of Great Britain, and of earl of the kingdom of Ireland, by the names, styles, and titles, of duke of York and Albany, in the said kingdom of Great Britain, and of earl of Ulster, in the said kingdom of Ireland. He took the oaths, and his seat, in the British senate, on the 9th of May following; and on the 27th of October, that year, two days after his brother's accession to the throne, was sworn of the privy-council. On the 31st of March, 1761, his royal highness was appointed rear-admiral of the blue, and sworn in at the Admiralty on the 8th of next month.

The common-council of London, on the 5th of June, 1761, voted that the freedom of their city be presented to his royal highness in a gold box of 150 guineas value, in testimony of their dutiful affection for their sovereign, and as a pledge of their grateful respect to his royal highness, for his early entrance into the naval service of his king and country, the noblest and most effectual bulwark of the wealth, reputation, and independence of this commerical nation; and that his royal highness be humbly requested to honour the city by his acceptance of the said freedom. His royal highness having signified his consent to accept this token of the citizens esteem, Sir Matthew Blakiston, lord mayor, accompani-

ed by twelve other aldermen, together with the master of the grocers company, attended by a committee of his brethren, waited on his highness, on the 12th of the next month, when the master of the grocers company presented him with the freedom of that society, and the comptroller of the chamber of London delivered to him that of the city; it being a fundamental part of the constitution of London, that no person be admitted a freeman of the city, till he be first so in some of the companies; and likewise customary, when an honorary freedom is granted, for the company, whereof the lord mayor is a member, previously to admit the intended citizen into their fraternity.

At his brother's nuptials, September 8, 1761, his highness, as chief supporter to the royal bride, walked on her right hand: and at the procession of the ensuing coronation, on the 22d of that month, appeared in his robes, as first prince of the blood.

On the 23d of June, 1762, he hoisted his flag, at Spithead, on board the princess Amelia (whereof lord Howe was captain) and falling down to St. Helen's, sailed, with the fleet under Sir Edward Hawke, on a cruize, to the coasts of France, Spain, and Portugal, from which he returned the August following. His royal highness, on the 28th of next month, set sail with a small squadron, from St. Helen's to the Bay of Biscay, and returning thence to Plymouth, on the 30th of October, was elected high steward of that corporation, and about the same time preferred to be vice-admiral of the blue. In that quality, he sailed from



from Plymouth, on the 14th of November following, with the fleet under Sir Charles Hardy, on a cruize, to the westward, and on the return of that squadron, arrived the 13th of December at London, where he chiefly resided till June 30, when he set out on a tour to different parts of England, as he had done the three preceding summers, and was every where received with the respect due to his rank.

At the baptism of his nephew, prince Frederick, September 19, 1763, his royal highness stood godfather, by his proxy the earl of Huntingdon, being then on his way to Plymouth, to embark for foreign parts. He set sail from that port September 22, on board the Centurion, commanded by commodore Harrison; and as he chose to travel incog. he took the title of earl of Ulster, in which character he was received at the court of Lisbon, where he arrived October 3. From thence he departed in the same ship, October 28, for Gibraltar, where he staid but two days, and then sailed to Portmahon, where he remained till November 17, and then steered for Genoa, which he reached on the 28th.

After residing there about ten weeks, he visited Turin, Florence, Leghorn, Rome, Parma, Venice, Padua, Milan, and other noted cities in Italy; and was entertained, with great magnificence, in every place; but did not proceed to Naples, as there was a malignant distemper raging in the Neapolitan dominions. On Friday, August 17, 1764, his royal highness, re-embarking at Genoa on

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board the Centurion, landed on the 20th at Nice, in the king of Sardinia's territories, from whence he went to Antibes, the first town from Italy in the French dominions; and from thence through Aix, Avignon, Valence, Vienne, Lions, Villefranche, Maçon, Tournées, Chalon, Dijon, Langres, Chamount, St. Dizier, Chalons au Champagne, Reims, Laon, St. Quentin, Peronne, Arras, and St. Omer, to Calais; without touching at Paris, where magnificent preparations were made for his reception.

The reason of his not coming through Paris, was said to be a coldness which then subsisted between the courts of London and Versailles, on account of some late infractions in the treaty of peace, by the French. He crossed the straits, and landed at Dover on the 31st of August; from whence he proceeded to London.

On the 5th of December, 1764, he was elected president of the London hospital: he had before been made a fellow of the royal society.

In the summer 1765, his royal highness made the tour of several parts of Holland and Germany. On the 12th of June he arrived at the Hague; and was complimented by a deputation from the States General. In July he visited the court of Berlin, where he was received and entertained by the king of Prussia with particular marks of distinction and favour. About the beginning of August he returned to England, and immediately visited Tunbridge and other parts which he had not seen before.

When the parliament met, which  
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it did in December, he attended his duty there, as one of the peers of the realm; and on the question about repealing the American stamp act, voted against the ministers; and was again numbered with the opposition in another division, during the same session. And in the succeeding session (1767) upon a question relating to the bill of indemnity, framed and passed by the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, he spoke against the ministers, then in office.

On Tuesday, July the 7th, (five days after the prorogation of parliament,) his royal highness set out for Dover, in order to visit the continent once more. He was attended by the hon. colonel St. John, John Wrottesly, Esq; and the hon. colonel Morrison. On the 11th he arrived at Brussels, under the title of earl of Ulster, and was politely received by prince Charles, who had just before entertained the prince and princess of Brunswick with great magnificence. From Brussels he went to Mons, and to Paris. On the 19th he was presented to the king and queen of France at Compeigne, under the title of earl of Ulster; and on the 23d his royal highness had the honour to sup with their majesties. A few days afterwards, he was present at a grand review of the French troops by the king himself, who asked his royal highness how he liked his troops; to which the prince answered, "That they certainly made a fine appearance, and for the sake of your majesty, added he, and my brother, I hope never to see them any where else." His royal highness was next invited by the king and queen, to a grand entertainment at Chantilly, to

which the prince of Conde, by the king's order, invited upwards of three hundred of the principal nobility of France. The duke of Orleans invited his royal highness to take the diversion of the chase with him, which he did several times. During his stay at the French court, he was daily entertained and complimented by the princes, princesses, and nobility of France, all of whom seemed to vie with each other, in shewing him the highest honours and respect.

We have given an authentic account in our chronicle, of the circumstances relative to his royal highness's last illness; we have no alteration to make in it; but to observe, that another account says his illness was occasioned, by the great fatigues he underwent for two days, of excessive hot weather, in viewing the fortifications of Toulon. We have mentioned this, though a matter of little consequence, as we would leave no particular unnoticed, upon this affecting and melancholy occasion.

It is needless to delineate his character, for it is engraved in the heart of every Englishman. His affability, good-nature, humanity, and generosity, endeared him to all ranks of people. He was fond of company and pleasures; which induced him to visit most places of public resort; and contributed to make him very generally known, and much beloved. He was particularly kind and tender to his domestics, who regarded him with the most real affection, and lament his loss with the most unfeigned sorrow. He was a lover of the polite and fine arts; and if his royal highness had lived, it is probable that his disposition to,

and knowledge of, maritime affairs, might have put the nation under as great obligations to him, as they had been to his royal uncle; for his military services. He died universally lamented; and the great tenderness, respect, and regard, which was shewn upon that melancholy occasion, and during the whole course of his illness by the prince of Monaco, deserve every tribute of praise and gratitude. His establishment was 20,000 *l.* sterl. *per annum*, viz. from the king his brother 9000 *l.* from the public 8000 *l.* a pension on Ireland 3000 *l.*

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*A narrative of the extraordinary distresses which were suffered at sea, by the surviving part of the crew, of the brig Sally, captain Tabry, bound from Philadelphia to Hispaniola.*

**O**N the 8th of August last, in latitude 25, having a strong gale of wind, the brig was laid to under her main stay sail till ten o'clock the next morning, when she was hove on her beam ends, and in less than five minutes turned keel upwards, so that they had only time to cut away the lanyards of her main mast. There were on board Anthony Tabry, master, Humphry Mars, mate, Joseph Sherver, Samuel Bess, John Burna, mariners, who were drowned; six other mariners, viz. Peter Toy, Daniel Cultain, John Davis, Alexander Landerry, Peter Mayes, and William Hammon, having got hold of the top masts which floated alongside, tied it to the stern, and supported themselves by it, till

above five o'clock in the evening, when the cabin-boy swam to the hull, and threw them a rope, by which they got on the bottom of the vessel, where they were still in a dismal plight; the first want that invaded them was drink, this drove away all thought of meat. The main mast with all the rigging, the lanyards having been cut away, came up alongside, from which they got the wreath, (a square hoop which binds the head of the mast,) with which, and a bolt of a foot long, they went to work on her bottom, in the mean time keeping their mouths moist, as well as they could, by chewing the stuff off her bottom, she not having any barnacles, being lately cleaned, and some lead which was on her bow, and drinking their own water: In four days time Peter Toy died raving for drink, whose body they threw off the vessel the next day. In this manner did they work for six days, without meat, drink, or sleep, not daring to lie down for fear of falling off the vessel; the sixth day they got a hole in the brig, where they found a barrel of bottle beer; this they drank very greedily: They soon got another parcel, when one of them put the others on an allowance. The eleventh day of their being on the wreck, they got a barrel of pork, which they were obliged to eat raw. As to sleep, as soon as they got a hole through the vessel's bottom, they pulled out a great number of staves and shingles, and made a platform in the same place, but so small it was, that when they wanted to turn, they were obliged to wait till the sea hoisted the vessel, and when she fell again with

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the sea, they were almost froze to death. Thus did these poor miserable fellows live for thirteen or fourteen days: After they got the pork, they made a kind of net with a hoop, some shingles, and ropes, which they got from the mast: this they let in the sea, with some pork, and caught a few small fish, which, with two or three mice they caught on board the brig, afforded them several most delicious repasts, raw as they were: this lasted but a few days as they could not catch any more; when they were obliged to return to their pork, which was become quite putrid by the salt water getting to it. To their great joy on the 1st of September, in lat. 26, 15, long. 70, 10, at four o'clock in the afternoon, they could just perceive a vessel to windward of them, which seemed to stand some time for them, but soon put about and stood from them; it was then they despaired, as that morning they had drank the last bottle of their beer, and that one was all they had; for that day they worked hard to get at the casks of water in the hold, but they were so far from them, that they could not have got at them in a long time: About sun half an hour high, the vessel stood for them, and came so near that they perceived a piece of canvas that they on the wreck supported on a board, bore down for it, and about seven or eight o'clock took them on board; she was the brig Norwich, captain Robert Noyes. Thus were they relieved when death stared them in the face, by a captain who used them very kindly, gave them food and cloaths, as their own were rotted off their backs, washed their

fores, and gave them plasters, as they were almost raw from head to foot with the heat of the sun and salt water, which, in many places, had eaten holes in their flesh.

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*The following piece is said to have been found lately among some papers that formerly belonged to Oliver Cromwell; and is supposed to be a copy of the very words which he spoke to the members of the long parliament, when he turned them out of the house. It is communicated by a person, who signs his name T. Ireton, and says the paper is marked with the following words;*

“Spoken by O. C. when he put an end to the long parliament.”

**I**t is high time for me to put an end to your sitting in this place; which ye have dishonoured by your contempt of all virtue, and defiled by your practice of every vice. Ye are a factious crew, and enemies to all good government.—Ye are a pack of mercenary wretches, and would, like Esau, sell your country for a mess of pottage, and, like Judas, betray your God for a few pieces of money. Is there a single virtue now remaining amongst you? Is there one vice ye do not possess?—Ye have no more religion than my horse.—Gold is your God.—Which of you have not bartered away your consciences for bribes? Is there a man amongst you that hath the least care for the good of the commonwealth? Ye sordid prostitutes! have ye not defiled this sacred place, and turned

turned the Lord's Temple into a den of thieves?—By your immoral principles and wicked practices, ye are grown intolerably odious to the whole nation. You, who were deputed here by the people to get their grievances redressed, are yourselves become their greatest grievance.

Your country therefore calls upon me to cleanse this Augean stable, by putting a final period

to your iniquitous proceedings in this house; and which, by God's help, and the strength he hath given me, I am now come to do. I command you therefore, upon the peril of your lives, to depart immediately out of this place. Go! Get you out! Make haste! Ye venal slaves, be gone! —Soh!—Take away that shining bauble there, and lock up the doors.



An account of all the Public Debts, at the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, standing out Jan. 5, 1767, (being Old Christmas-Day), with the annual interest 214  
 or other charges payable for the same.

E X C H E Q U E R.

Annuities for long terms, being the remainder of the original sum contributed and unsubscribed to the South-Sea company ————  
 Ditto for lives, with the benefit of survivorship, being the original sum contributed ————  
 Ditto for two and three lives, being the sum remaining after what is fallen in by deaths ————  
 Exchequer bills made out for interest of old bills ————  
 Annuities for lives with the benefit of survivorship, granted by an act 5. George III. being the original sum contributed ————  
*Note*, The land taxes and duties on malt being annual grants, are not charged in this account, nor the 1,000,000 l. charged on the deduction of 6d. per pound on pensions, nor the 1,300,000 l. borrowed anno 1766, charged on the supplies anno 1767.

E A S T I N D I A Company.

By two acts of parliament 9 Will. III. and 2 other acts 6 and 9 Anne, at 3 per cent. per annum. 3,200,000 ————  
 Annuities at 3d. per cent. per annum. 1744, charged on the surplus of the additional duties on low wines, spirits, and strong waters ————  
 1,000,000 ————

B A N K of E N G L A N D.

On their original fund at 3 per cent. from the 1st August 1743 ————  
 For cancelling Exchequer bills 9 George I. ————  
 Purchased of the South-sea company ————  
 Annuities at 3 per cent. charged on the surplus of the funds for lottery, 1714 ————  
 Ditto at 3 per cent. charged on the duties on coals since Lady-day, 1719. ————  
 Ditto at 3 per cent. 1746 charged on the duties on licences for retailing spirituous liquors since Lady-day, 1746 ————  
 Ditto at 3 per cent. charged on the sinking fund by acts 25, 28, 29, 32, and 33 George II. and 4 and 6 Geo. III. 34,627,824 5 1 1/2  
 Ditto at 3 per cent. charged on the duties on offices and pensions, &c. by the act 31 George II. and duty on houses and windows by the act 6 George III. 500,000 ————  
 Ditto at 3 per cent. charged on the sinking fund by the act 25 George II. 17,701,323 16 4  
 Ditto at 3 per cent. charged on the said fund by the act 5 Geo. III. 1,482,000 ————

A N N U A L R E G I S T E R

Principal debt.	l.	s.	d.	Annual Interest or other charges payable for the same.	l.	s.	d.
1,836,275 17 10 3/4	1,836,275	17	10 3/4	136,453	136,453	12	8
108,100 — —	108,100	—	—	7,567	7,567	—	—
72,805 14 10 3/4	72,805	14	10 3/4	8,861	8,861	12	—
2,200 — —	2,200	—	—	—	—	—	—
18,000 — —	18,000	—	—	540	540	—	—
3,200,000 — —	3,200,000	—	—	97,285	97,285	14	4
500,000 — —	500,000	—	—	30,401	30,401	15	8
4,000,000 — —	4,000,000	—	—	100,000	100,000	—	—
1,250,000 — —	1,250,000	—	—	15,000	15,000	—	—
1,750,000 — —	1,750,000	—	—	121,898	121,898	3	5 1/2
986,800 — —	986,800	—	—	37,500	37,500	—	—
35,127,824 5 1 1/2	35,127,824	5	1 1/2	52,500	52,500	—	—
500,000 — —	500,000	—	—	29,604	29,604	—	—
17,701,323 16 4	17,701,323	16	4	1,078,588	1,078,588	5	8
1,482,000 — —	1,482,000	—	—	585,456	585,456	14	0



Ditto at 3 1/2 per cent. charged on the said fund by the act 29 Geo. II.

Ditto at 3 1/2 per cent. charged on the duties on offices and pensions, by act 31 George II. and }  
duty on windows by the act 6 George III.

Ditto at 4 per cent. charged on the sinking fund by the acts of the 2d of Geo. III.

Ditto at 4 per cent. charged on the additional duties on wines, by the act 3 Geo. III.

Ditto at 4 per cent. residue of 3,483,553 l. 1 s. 10 d. charged on the sinking fund in lieu of }  
navy bills, &c. resubscribed after paying off 50 l. per cent. of that capital pursuant to the acts }  
5 & 6 Geo. III.

*Memorandum.* The subscribers of 100 l. to the lottery 1745 were allowed an annuity for one life of 9 s. a ticket, which amounted to 22,500 l. but is now reduced, by lives fallen in, to 17,314 l. 15 s. and the subscribers of 100 l. to the lottery 1746, were allowed an annuity for one life of 18 s. a ticket, which amounted to 45,000 l. but is now reduced by lives fallen in, to 34,465 l. and the subscribers of 100 l. for 3 l. per cent. annuities, anno 1757, were allowed an annuity for one life of 1 l. 2 s. 6 d. which amounted to 33,750 l. but is now reduced by lives fallen in, to 21,558 l. 25 s. and the subscribers of 100 l. for 3 per cent. annuities, anno 1761, were allowed an annuity for 99 years of 1 l. 2 s. 6 d. amounting, with the charges of management, to the bank of England, to 130,053 l. 10 s. 3 d. and the contributors to 12,000,000 l. for the service of the year 1762, were intitled to an annuity for 98 years of 1 per cent. per annum, which, with the charges of management to the Banks of England, amount to the sum of 121,687 l. 10 s. which annuities for 99 years and 98 years were consolidated by the act 4 Geo. III. all which annuities are an increase of the annual interest but cannot be added to the public debt, as no money was advanced for the same.

S O U T H - S E A Company.

On their capital stock and annuities by George I.

Annuities at 7 per cent. anno 1751, charged on the sinking fund.

	l.	s.	d.
1,500,000	—	—	—
4,500,000	—	—	—
20,240,000	—	—	—
3,500,000	—	—	—
1,741,776	10	11	—
335,079	10	3	—
763,326	3	1 1/2	—
64,181	5	—	—
4,707,323	7	4	—

For the Y E A R 1767.

# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1767.

NOVEMBER 27, 1766.

1. **T**HAT 16000 men be employed for the sea service, for 1767, including 4287 marines.

2. That a sum, not exceeding 4l. per man per month, be allowed for maintaining them, including ordnance for sea service

852000 0 0

JANUARY 26, 1767.

1. That a number of land forces, including 2461 invalids, amounting to 16754 effective men, commission and non commission officers included, be employed for 1767.

2. For defraying the charge for the said number of land forces for 1767

593986 15 7

3. For the pay of the general and general staff officers in Great Britain for 1767

12293 18 6½

4. For maintaining his majesty's forces and garrisons in the plantations and Africa, including those in garrison at Minorca and Gibraltar, and for provisions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, the ceded islands, and Africa, for 1767

405607 2 11½

5. For defraying the charge of the difference of pay between the British and Irish establishment, of six regiments of foot serving in the Isle of Man, at Gibraltar, Minorca, and the ceded islands, for 1767

7201 14 7

6. For paying the pensions to the widows of such reduced officers of the land forces and marines, as died upon the establishment of half pay in Great Britain, and who were married to them before the 25th of December 1716, for 1767

1536 10 0

7. Upon account of the reduced officers of the land forces and marines, for 1767

135299 3 4

8. For defraying the charge for allowances to the several officers and private gentlemen, of the two troops of horse guards, and regiment of horse reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse guards for 1767

2103 11 8

9. For defraying the charge of full pay for 165 days, for 1767, to officers reduced, with the

10th company of several battalions, reduced from ten to nine companies and who remained on half pay at the 24th of December 1765

10. For the charge of the office of ordnance for land service, for 1767

11. For defraying the expence of services performed, by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by parliament in 1766

5633 3 4  
169600 0 2  
51190 6 6  
4384362 1 8

JANUARY 29.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to sea and marine officers, for 1767

FEBRUARY 10.

1. Towards the buildings, rebuilding, and repairs of ships of war, in his majesty's yards, and other extraworks, over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear and ordinary, for 1767

2. For purchasing a quantity of hemp, to replenish his majesty's magazines

298144 0 0

30000 0 0

428144 0 0

FEBRUARY 12.

1. For paying off and discharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of the act of last session, chap. 15. and charged upon the first aids, to be granted in this session

2. To make good to his majesty, the like sum issued by his orders, in pursuance of the addresses of this house

1800000 0 0

12951 2 2

1812951 2 2

FEBRUARY 19.

1. Towards defraying the extraordinary expenses of his majesty's land forces and other services, incurred to the 3d of February 1767, and not provided for by parliament

2. Upon account, towards defraying the charge of out pensioners of Chelsea hospital, for 1767

315917 16 5

106083 2 6

421000 18 11

MARCH 5.

That provision be made for the pay and cloathing of the militia, and for their subsistence during the time they shall be absent from home, on account of the annual exercise, for 1767.

MARCH

## MARCH 19.

1. Upon account, for maintaining and supporting the civil establishment of Nova Scotia, for 1767	4866	3	5
2. Upon account of sundry expences for the service of Nova Scotia for 1760, not provided for by parliament	691	8	0
3. Upon account, for defraying the charges of the civil establishment of Georgia, and other incidental expences attending the same, from June 24, 1766, to June 24, 1767	3986	0	0
4. Upon account, for defraying the charge of the civil establishment of East Florida; and other incidental expences attending the same from June 24, 1765, to June 24, 1767	4750	0	0
5. Upon account, for defraying the charges of the civil establishment of West Florida, and other incidental expences attending the same, from June 24, 1766, to June 24, 1767	4800	0	0
6. Upon account, for defraying the expence attending general surveys of his majesty's dominions in North America, for 1767	1601	14	0
7. Upon account for defraying the charges of the civil establishment of Senegambia, for 1767	5550	0	0
	<hr/>		
	26245	5	5
	<hr/>		

## MARCH 24.

For the marriage portion of the Queen of Denmark.

40000 0 0

## MARCH 31.

1. Towards carrying on an additional building for a more commodious passage to the house of commons, from St. Margaret's-lane, and Old Palace Yard	2000	0	0
2. To be employed in maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, under the direction of the committee of merchants trading to Africa	13000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	15000	0	0
	<hr/>		

## APRIL 9.

1. To replace to the sinking fund, the like sum issued thereout, to discharge for the year ended the 29th of September, 1766, the annuities after the rate of 4l. *per cent.* attending such part of the joint stock, established by an act of the third of his present majesty, in respect of certain navy, victualling, and transport bills, and ordnance debentures, as

For the YEAR 1767

remained unredeemed on the said 29th of September

2. To replace to ditto, the like sum issued there out, for paying the charges of management of the annuities attending the said joint stock, for one year, ended the 29th of September, 1766.

3. To replace to ditto, the like sum issued there out, to discharge from the 29th of September, 1766, to the 25th of December following, the annuities attending each part of the said joint stock, as was determined in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament

4. To replace to ditto, the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th of July, 1766, of the several rates and duties upon offices and pensions, and upon houses, and upon windows or lights, which were made a fund, by an act of the 31st of his late majesty, for paying annuities in respect of five millions borrowed towards the supply granted for the service of 1758

5. To replace to ditto, the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 10th of October, 1766, of several additional duties on wines imported, and certain duties on cyder and perry, which were made a fund for paying annuities in respect of 3,500,000l. borrowed towards the supply granted for the service of 1763

6. To make compensation to Dr. Peter Swanton, for the damage done to his estate in the city of Chester at the time of the late rebellion, by order of the officer commanding the garrison of the said city

April 13

1. That the remainder of the capital stock of annuities, after the rate of 4l. per cent. granted in respect of certain navy, victualling, and transport bills, and ordnance debentures, delivered in, and cancelled, pursuant to an act made in the third year of his majesty's reign, be redeemed, and paid off, on the 25th of December next, after discharging the interest then payable in respect of the same.

2. To enable his majesty to redeem and pay off the said remainder

3. That one fourth part of the capital stock of annuities, after the rate of 4l. per cent. established

by the act 3. Geo. III. chap. 12. be redeemed, and paid off, on the 5th of January next, after discharging the interest then payable in respect of the same.

4. To enable his majesty to redeem and pay off the said one fourth part — — —

875000 0 0

5. Towards paying off and discharging the debt of the navy. — — —

300000 0 0

6. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of 1766 — — —

129144 2 8

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3045920 13 7

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#### MAY 5.

1. Upon account, for enabling the Foundling Hospital to maintain and educate such children as were received into the same, on or before the 25th of March 1760, from the 31st of December 1766 exclusive, to the 31st of December 1767 inclusive, and that the said sum be issued and paid as on former occasions — — —

28000 0 0

2. Upon account, for enabling the said hospital to put out apprentice the said children, so as the said hospital do not give with any one child more than 7l. — — —

1500 0 0

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29500 0 0

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#### MAY 19.

That the half pay of the lieutenants of his majesty's navy, is unequal to the rank their commissions bear, and the time they have been in his majesty's service.

#### JUNE 15.

1. Upon account, towards satisfying the expences incurred by the committee of the company of merchants trading to Africa, on account of the establishment of Senegal, and its dependencies, after the 29th of October 1765 — — —

3500 0 0

2. For further enabling his majesty to defray the contingent expences of the forces serving in North America — — —

2000 0 0

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5500 0 0

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Sum total of the supplies granted in this session

8527728 0 6  $\frac{1}{2}$

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*Ways and means for raising the above supply granted to his Majesty, agreed to on the following days, viz.*

Nov. 27, 1766.

**T**HAT the usual temporary malt tax be continued from the 23d of June, 1767, to the 24th June, of 1768, 700,000 l.

MARCH 2, 1767.

That the sum of 3 s. in the pound, and no more, be raised within the space of one year, from the 25th of March, 1767, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, pensions, offices, and personal estates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that a proportionable cess, according to the 9th article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland 1,528,568 l. 11 s. 11 d.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

MARCH 9.

1. That the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia, in that part of Great Britain called England, for one year, beginning the 25th of March, 1767, be defrayed out of the monies arising by the land-tax, granted for the service of 1767.

2. That the sum of 1,800,000 l. be raised by loans or exchequer bills, if not discharged with interest thereupon, on or before the 5th of April, 1768, to be exchanged and received in payment, in such manner as exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment.

APRIL 2.

1. That an additional duty of 6 s. be laid upon every dozen of bast, or straw, chip, cane, and

horse-hair hats, and bonnets, which from and after the second of April, 1767, shall be entered inward at any port, or place, in this kingdom.

2. That an additional duty of 6 s. be laid upon every pound weight avoirdupoize of platting, or other manufacture of bast, or straw, chip, cane, or horse-hair, to be used in, or proper for, making of hats or bonnets, which, from and after the said 2d of April, shall be entered inwards at any port, or place, in this kingdom.

APRIL 16.

1. That towards the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of 1,500,000 l. be raised in manner following, that is to say, the sum of 900,000 l. by annuities, after the rate of 3 l. per cent. to commence from the 5th of January last, and the sum of 600,000 l. by a lottery to consist of 60,000 l. tickets, the whole of such sum to be divided into prizes, which are to be attended with the like 3 l. per cent. annuities, to commence from the 5th of January, 1768; and that all the said annuities be transferrable at the bank of England, paid half yearly on the 5th of July, and the 5th of January, in every year, out of the sinking fund, and added to, and made part of, the joint stock of 3 l. per cent. annuities, which were consolidated at the bank of England, by certain acts made in the 25th and 28th years of the reign of his late majesty, and several subsequent acts, and subject to redemption by parliament; that every contributor towards the said sum of 900,000 l. shall, in respect of every 60 l. agreed by him to be contributed for raising such sum, be intitled

intituled to receive four tickets in the said lottery, upon payment of 10 l. for each ticket; and that every contributor shall, on or before the 29th of April next, make a deposit with the cashiers of the bank of England, of 20 l. per cent. in part of the monies so to be contributed towards the said sum of 900,000 l. and also a deposit of 5 l. per cent. in part of the monies so to be contributed in respect of the said lottery, as a security for making the respective future payments to the said cashiers, on or before the times hereinafter limited; that is to say, on the 900,000 l. 10 l. per cent. on or before the 27th of March next; 10 l. per cent. on or before the 26th of June next; 15 l. per cent. on or before the 27th of August next; 15 l. per cent. on or before the 25th of September next; 15 l. per cent. on or before the 30th of October next; 15 l. per cent. on or before the 17th of November next. On the lottery for 600,000 l. 25 l. per cent. on or before the 16th of June next; 30 l. per cent. on or before the 28th of July next; 40 l. per cent. on or before the 11th of September next. And that all the monies so received by the said cashiers be paid into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to such services as shall then have been voted by this house in this session of parliament; and that every contributor who shall pay in the whole of his contribution towards the said sum of 900,000 l. at any time on or before the 27th of October next, or towards the said lottery on or before the 24th of July next, shall be allowed an interest, by way of discount, after the rate of

3 l. per cent. per annum, on the sums so compleating his contribution respectively, to be computed from the day of compleating the same, to the 17th of November next, in respect of the sum paid on account of the said 900,000 l. and to the 11th of September next, in respect of the sum paid on account of the said lottery.

2. That an additional duty of 3d. per ell be laid upon all linen cloth, or sheeting, above one yard English in width, which shall be imported into this kingdom, except from Holland and Flanders.

3. That an additional duty of 3d. per ell be laid upon all canvas drilling, which shall be imported into this kingdom.

4. That the said duties be carried to the sinking fund, towards making good to the same the payments to be made thereout of the annuities attending the said sum of 1,500,000 l.

5. That the additional duties upon bast, or straw, chip, cane, and horse-hair hats and bonnets, and upon platting, or other manufacture of bast, or straw, chip, cane, or horse-hair, to be used in, or proper for, making of hats or bonnets, imported into any port, or place, in this kingdom, granted to his majesty in this session, be also carried to the said fund, towards making good the said payments.

6. That towards making good the said supply, there be applied the sum of 469,147 l. 14 s. 3 d.  $\frac{1}{4}$  remaining in the receipt of the exchequer, on the 5th of April, 1767, for the disposition of parliament, of the monies which had then arisen of the surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the fund

And commonly called the Sinking Fund.

7. That towards raising the said supply, there be applied the sum of 2,010,121 l. 10 s. 3 d.  $\frac{1}{2}$  out of such monies as shall or may arise of the surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the said fund, commonly called the Sinking Fund.

8. That, towards making good the said supply, there be applied the sum of 35,202 l. 9 s. 2 d. also remaining in the receipt of the exchequer, for the disposition of parliament.

9. That a sum not exceeding 261,571 l. 13 s. 3 d.  $\frac{1}{4}$  out of the savings arising upon grants for the pay of several regiments upon respited pay, by off-reckonings, and by stoppages made for provisions delivered to the forces in North America, the West Indies, and at Minorca, to the 24th of December, 1764, and received of William earl of Chatham, formerly paymaster general of his majesty's forces, for the balance remaining over and above the monies found necessary to be applied for defraying the expences of the forces in former years; and also out of the sum of one million, granted in the second year of his majesty's reign, on account, to enable him to defray extraordinary expences of the war, for the service of 1762, and to assist the kingdom of Portugal, and for other purposes, be applied towards making good the supply granted, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services, incurred to the 3d of February, 1767, and not provided for by parliament.

10. That out of such monies remaining in the hands of Edward Sainthill, Esq; as were issued to him for the relief and maintenance of the widows of officers of the land forces and marines, who died in the service, the sum of 7,844 l. 17 s. 9 d. be paid into the hands of the paymaster general of his majesty's forces, and be also applied towards making good the said supply granted, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services, incurred to the 3d of February, 1767, and not provided for by parliament.

11. That a sum, not exceeding 110,000 l. out of such monies as shall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, after the 5th of April, 1767, and on or before the 5th of April, 1768, of the produce of all or any of the duties and revenues, which, by any act or acts of parliament, have been directed to be reserved for the disposition of parliament, towards defraying the necessary expences of defending, protecting, and securing, the British colonies and plantations in America, be applied towards making good such part of the supply as hath been granted to his majesty, for maintaining his majesty's forces and garrisons in the plantations, and for provisions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the ceded islands, for the year 1767.

12. That such of the monies as shall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, after the 5th of April, 1767, and on or before the 5th of April, 1768, of the produce of the duties charged by an act of parliament made in the fifth

fifth year of his present majesty's reign upon the importation and exportation of Gum Senega and Gum Arabic, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty.

13. That the sum of 150,000 l. remaining in the receipt of the exchequer, which was granted to his majesty, in the last session of parliament, upon account, for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia for one year, beginning the 25th of Mar. 1766, be applied towards raising the said supply.

14. That a sum not exceeding 181,000 l. of the monies agreed to be paid by a convention between his majesty and the French king, concluded and signed at London, the 27th of February, 1765, for the maintenance of the late French prisoners of war, be applied towards making good the said supply.

15. That the sum of 84,604 l. 3 s. 3 d. remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th of April, 1767, of the two sevenths excise, granted by an act of 5 and 6 William and Mary, after satisfying the several charges and incumbrances thereupon, for the half year then ended, be carried to, and made part of, the aggregate fund, and that the said fund be made a security for the discharge of such annuities, and other demands, payable out of the said sum, as the growing produce of the said two sevenths excise shall not be sufficient to answer.

#### MAY 5.

1. That an additional duty of 3d. per ell, be laid upon all linen cloth or sheeting above one yard English in width, which shall be imported into this kingdom, from

Holland and Flanders, except cloth of the manufacture of those countries.

2. That an additional duty of 3d. per ell, be laid upon all drilling, other than canvas drilling, which shall be imported into this kingdom.

3. That the said duties be carried to the sinking fund, towards making good to the same, the payments to be made thereout, of the annuities to be established in respect of the sum of 1,500,000 l. to be raised in pursuance of a resolution of this house, on the 16th of April last.

4. That an act made in the 7th of Geo. II. chap. 18. which was to continue in force from the 24th of June, 1734, for seven years, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, and which, by several subsequent acts passed in the 14th, 20th, 27th, and 33d of his said late majesty, was further continued, from the expiration thereof, until the 29th of September, 1767, and from thence to the end of the then next session, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

#### MAY 7.

1. That there be laid an additional duty of one halfpenny per ell, upon all foreign canvas, packing, spruse, Elbing, or Quinsborough, imported into this kingdom.

2. That there be laid an additional duty of 1d. per ell, on all foreign canvas, Dutch barras, or Hessens, imported into this kingdom.

3. That all foreign lawns imported into this kingdom, be rated as Silesia lawns, and pay accordingly.

4. That

4. That over and above the said duty an additional duty of 3d. per yard be laid upon all foreign lawns.

5. That a sum, not exceeding 15,000l. per annum arising from the said duties, do remain in the receipt of the exchequer, as a fund for the encouragement of raising and dressing hemp and flax in this kingdom, in such way and manner as parliament shall hereafter direct, and that the remainder of the said duties be reserved in the exchequer for the future disposition of parliament.

MAY 19.

1. That there be granted to his majesty, upon the postage and conveyance of letters and packets between Great-Britain and the Isle of Man, for every single letter 2d. for every double letter 4d. for every treble letter 6d. and for every ounce 8d. and so in proportion for every packet of deeds, writs, and other things.

2. For the postage and conveyance of letters and packets, within the said island, such rates, in proportion to the number of miles, or stages, as are now established for the island, port, or conveyance of letters and packets in England.

3. That the monies arising by the said rates be appropriated to such uses as the present rates of postage are now made applicable.

JUNE 2.

1. That the duties upon log-wood, exported from this kingdom, be discontinued.

2. That the properties of any number of persons whatsoever, in any ship or cargo, or both, be allowed to be assured, to the amount of any sum, not exceeding 1000l.

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by a policy stamped with one 5s. stamp; and to the amount of any larger sum, by a policy stamped with two such stamps.

3. That the allowance authorized to be made by an act passed in the 29th of his late majesty, upon prompt payment of the stamp duties on licences for retailing beer, ale, and other excisable liquors, be reduced to the same rate as the allowances for prompt payment of other stamp duties.

4. That upon the exportation from this kingdom of coffee and cocoa nuts, of the growth or produce of the British colonies, or plantations in America, as merchandize, a drawback be allowed, of the duties of customs, payable upon the importation thereof.

5. That grey or scrow salt, salt scale, sand scale, crustings, or other foul salt, be allowed to be taken from the salt-works in England, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed, to be used as manure, upon payment of a duty of 1d. per bushel only.

6. That provision be made, for declaring that ribbands and silks, printed, stained or painted, in this kingdom, though less than half a yard in breadth, are within the meaning of certain acts made in the 10th and 12th of queen Anne, and liable to the duties therein mentioned.

7. That the duties payable upon Succus Liquoritiæ, imported into this kingdom, be repealed.

8. That, in lieu thereof, a duty of 30s. per hundred weight, be laid upon Succus Liquoritiæ imported into this kingdom.

9. That the said duty be appropriated to such uses, as the duty

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duty so to be repealed was made applicable.

10. That a subsidy of 6d. in the pound, according to the value specified in the book of rates, referred to by an act made in the 12th of king Charles II. be laid upon the exportation from this kingdom, of such rice as shall have been imported duty free, by virtue of an act made in this session of parliament.

11. That the said duty on rice be reserved in the exchequer for the disposition of parliament.

12. That the drawbacks payable on China earthen ware, exported to America, be discontinued.

13. That a duty of 4s. 8d. per hundred weight, avoirdupois, be laid upon all crown, plate, flint, and white glass, imported into the British colonies and plantations in America.

14. That a duty of 1s. 2d. per hundred weight, avoirdupois, be laid upon all green glass, imported into the said colonies and plantations.

15. That such duties as shall be equal to a moiety of the duties granted by two acts of parliament, made in the 10th and 12th of her majesty queen Anne, and now payable in pursuance thereof, or of any subsequent act of parliament, upon paper, paste boards, millboards, and scaleboards, respectively, be laid upon paper, pasteboards, millboards, and scaleboards imported into the said colonies and plantations.

16. That a duty of 2s. per hundred weight avoirdupois, be laid upon all red and white lead, and painters colours, imported in-

to the said colonies and plantations.

17. That a duty of 3d. per pound weight, avoirdupois, be laid upon all tea, imported into the said colonies and plantations.

18. That the said duties, to be raised in the said colonies and plantations, be applied in making a more certain and adequate provision for the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, in such of the said colonies and plantations, where it shall be found necessary, and that the residue of such duties be paid into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, and there reserved to be, from time to time, disposed of by parliament, towards defraying the necessary expences of defending, protecting, and securing, the said colonies and plantations.

19. That, upon the exportation of teas to Ireland, and the British dominions in America, a drawback be allowed, for a time to be limited, of all the duties of customs, which shall have been paid thereupon; and that such indemnification be made, by the East India company, to the public, in respect of such drawback, as is mentioned in the petition of the said company.

20. That the inland duty of 1s. per pound weight, upon all black and singlo teas consumed in Great Britain, be taken off, for a time to be limited, and that such indemnification be made, by the said company, to the public, in respect of such duty, as is mentioned in the petition of the said company.



JUNE 10.

There were twenty resolutions of the said committee reported and agreed to by the house, by the first of which, all duties then payable to his majesty, upon goods imported into, or exported from the Isle of Man, were abolished; but by the eighteen next following resolutions, a great variety of new duties upon such goods were imposed, which I do not think it necessary to transcribe, as so very few people in this kingdom can now have any trade or correspondence with that island, and those that have must provide themselves with a copy of the act itself. And

as to the 20th resolution of this day, it was as follows:

That such bounties as may hereafter become due and payable, under the several acts which have been made for the encouragement of the British white-herring fishery, be paid by the receiver general of the customs, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, out of any monies remaining in his hands.

These were all the resolutions of the committee of ways and means agreed to by the house, and with regard to the sums thereby provided for, and which can now be ascertained, they stand as follows:

		l.	s.	d.
By the resolution of November 27	_____	700000	0	0
By that of March 2	_____	1528368	11	11½
By the second of March 9	_____	1800000	0	0
By the first of April 16	_____	1500000	0	0
By the sixth of ditto	_____	469147	14	0½
By the seventh of ditto	_____	2010121	10	3½
By the eighth of ditto	_____	35202	9	2
By the ninth of ditto	_____	261571	13	3½
By the tenth of ditto	_____	7844	17	9
By the eleventh of ditto	_____	110000	0	0
By the thirteenth of ditto	_____	150000	0	0
By the fourteenth of ditto	_____	181000	0	0
Sum total of such provisions as can now be ascertained		8793856	16	6
Excess of the provisions		225528	15	11½

Thus we see that the sum total even of those provisions made by this session, whose produce can be ascertained, or nearly ascertained, exceed the grants; but then we are to consider, that no money was by this session granted for the pay and cloathing of the militia during the year 1767, the whole of that expence being now to be

taken from the land-tax, without granting any sum of money for replacing it, as was done in the preceding session; for in this session the committee of supply only resolved by the resolution of the 5th of March, that provision should be made for the militia, but did not grant any particular sum for that purpose; therefore this resolution

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was

was, as soon as agreed to, referred to the committee of ways and means, and the whole of the 150000 l. granted by the preceding session for the militia, was in this session made applicable to the supply of 1767, by the said thirteenth resolution of that committee agreed to on the 16th of April; so that if we deduct the said 150000 l. together with the usual deficiencies of the land and malt taxes, from this excess it will bring the excess to the wrong side of this account; consequently, if there should happen any other deficiency, it must be supplied by the produce of the new taxes imposed by this session, or by a new grant in the next; for by the said resolutions of April the 16th, we seem to have swept the exchequer so clean as to have left nothing that can be applied by next session to that purpose, except the casual produce of these new taxes.

However, notwithstanding the reduction of the land-tax, we have in this session made a good beginning towards paying off the national debt, for we have paid off near three millions, as appears from the second, fourth, and fifth supply resolutions of April the 13th, and have for that purpose borrowed but 1500000 l. so that of our 4 l. per cent. debts we have paid clear off very near 1500000 l. and have reduced another 1500000 l. from 4 l. to 3 l. per cent. interest. And if the land-tax had in this session been continued as formerly at 4 s. in the pound, we should have been able to have paid clear off at least two millions of our 4 l. per cent. debts, and should not have been obliged to have borrowed above a million, which would have operated much

more powerfully in raising the price of all our 3 l. per cent. debts; and to aim as much as possible at this we are bound by every thing that can be dear to mankind; for until our 3 l. per cent. come to be sold at par, we cannot vindicate either the honour or interest of our country with so much spirit as we might otherwise do; therefore it is to be hoped, that in the very next session we shall again resume that very salutary measure of continuing the land-tax at 4 s. in the pound; for from the supplies of this very session it is evident, that the necessary expence of the current service for this year amounts to 3293171 l. and we cannot suppose that the expence of the current service in any future year, even in time of peace, will ever amount to less; consequently, as we have now no free revenue but the land and malt taxes, if the former be continued at 3 s. in the pound, we can never spare above a million a year from the sinking fund, for the payment of our debts, and a million a year is too weak a power for raising such a heavy weight as that of our present load of debts, before our being involved in some new and dangerous war.

It may be said, that several new taxes have been granted in this session, which will add to the annual produce of the public revenue, and thereby enable us to pay off a larger sum of the debt yearly, without incroaching further upon our sinking fund; but when we come to consider those taxes, I believe it may be shewn, that few, or at least not many of them, can properly and justly be said to be applicable to the current service; that some of them

will

will rather diminish than increase the public revenue, and as to others, though they may add a little to the sinking fund in one way, yet they will probably in another way diminish it as much, if not more; especially some of those taxes imposed upon our people in North America; for from experience we know that before any of the late taxes were imposed upon them, the ballance of trade between North America and Great Britain was always so much against them, that they could never keep any ready money amongst them, but were obliged to send it to Great Britain as fast as they could procure it by their trade with foreign countries, or with our sugar islands. This was occasioned by

their having almost all their manufactures and all their utensils, as well the coarse as fine sort of every kind, from Great Britain: If we by taxes increase their expence of living in their own country, how shall they save money to purchase from us those manufactures, and those utensils? They must make a shift with those of the coarsest sort: In the mean time they certainly will encourage the setting up of such manufactures and mechanical trades amongst themselves, and for that purpose will give encouragement and employment to every poor manufacturer and mechanic who transplants himself from this to that country.



## STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament, on Thursday the 2d day of July, 1767.*

My Lords, and Gentlemen,  
**T**HE advanced season of the year, joined to the consideration of the inconvenience you must all have felt from so long an absence from your several countries, calls upon me to put an end to the present session of parliament; which I cannot do, without returning you my thanks for your diligent application to the public business, and the proofs you have given of your affection for me and my family, and for my government: and although, from the nature and extensiveness of the several objects under your consideration, it could not be expected that all the great commercial interests should be compleatly adjusted and regulated in the course of this session, yet I am persuaded, that, by the progress you have made, a solid foundation is laid for securing the most considerable and essential benefits to this nation.

As no material alteration has happened in the state of foreign affairs since your first meeting, I have nothing to communicate to you on that subject. The fixed objects of all my measures are, to preserve the peace, and, at the same time, to assert and maintain the honour of my crown, and the just rights of my subjects.

Gentlemen of the house of Commons,

I thank you for the necessary

supplies which you have so cheerfully granted for the public service; and my particular acknowledgments are due to you, for the provision you have enabled me to make for the more honourable support and maintenance of my family.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The great attention which you have shewn to the particular purpose, for which I called you so early together, and the very whole, some laws passed for relieving my subjects from the immediate distress which the great scarcity of corn threatened to bring upon them, give me the most sensible pleasure. I rely upon you for the exertion of your utmost endeavours to convince my people, that no care has been wanting to procure for them every relief which has been possible; and that their grateful sense of provisions so wisely made for their present happiness and lasting prosperity cannot be so fully expressed, as by a strict observance of that order and regularity, which are equally necessary to the security of all good government, as well as to their real welfare.

*His Majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament, on Tuesday the 24th of November, 1767; with the humble addresses of both houses upon the occasion, and his Majesty's most gracious answers.*

My Lords, and Gentlemen,  
**I** Have chosen to call you together at this season of the year, that

that my parliament might have full time for their deliberations upon all such branches of the public service as may require their immediate attention, without the necessity of continuing the session beyond the time most suitable to my people for the election of a new parliament: and I doubt not but you will be careful, from the same considerations, to avoid, in your proceedings, all unnecessary delay.

Nothing in the present situation of affairs abroad gives me reason to apprehend, that you will be prevented, by any interruption of the public tranquillity, from fixing your whole attention upon such points as concern the internal welfare and prosperity of my people.

Among these objects of a domestic nature, none can demand a more speedy or more serious attention, than what regards the high price of corn, which neither the salutary laws passed in the last session of parliament, nor the produce of the late harvest, have yet been able so far to reduce, as to give sufficient relief to the distresses of the poorer sort of my people. Your late residence in your several counties must have enabled you to judge, whether any farther provisions can be made, conducive to the attainment of so desirable an end.

Gentlemen of the house of Commons.

I will order the proper officers to lay before you the estimates for the service of the ensuing year.

The experience I have had of your constant readiness to grant me all such supplies as should be found necessary, for the security, interest, and honour of the nation,

(and I have no other to ask of you,) renders it unnecessary for me to add any exhortations upon this head; and I doubt not, but the same public considerations will induce you to persevere, with equal alacrity, in your endeavours to diminish the national debt; while, on my part, no care shall be wanting to contribute, as far as possible, to the attainment of that most essential object, by every frugal application of such supplies, as you shall grant.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The necessity of improving the present general tranquillity to the great purpose of maintaining the strength, the reputation, and the prosperity of this country, ought to be ever before your eyes. To render your deliberations for that purpose successful, endeavour to cultivate a spirit of harmony among yourselves. My concurrence in whatever will promote the happiness of my people, you may always depend upon: and in that light, I shall ever be desirous of encouraging union among all those, who wish well to their country.

*The address of the house of Lords.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We acknowledge with gratitude, your Majesty's tender regard and concern for your people, in assembling the parliament at such a season, as, whilst it provides for the convenience of your people,

people, will allow sufficient time for our deliberations on the several branches of the public service that may require our immediate attention: And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that it shall be our hearty desire to forward your Majesty's most gracious purpose, by avoiding in our proceedings all unnecessary delay.

We sincerely rejoice in the prospect of the continuance of the general tranquillity; and it is our firm resolution to give, at a time so favourable for such considerations, our strictest attention to all those objects that may more immediately affect the internal welfare and happiness of your people.

We assure your Majesty, that our earnest endeavours shall not be wanting for the relief of the distressed, which the poor labour under from the high price of corn, if any farther provisions can be made conducive to so desirable an end.

Permit us, Sir, to congratulate your Majesty on the safe delivery of the Queen, and the birth of a Prince; and to assure your Majesty of our unfeigned joy on any increase of your domestic felicity; at the same time that we consider every addition to your illustrious house as a further security of our religious and civil liberties.

We beg leave to condole with your Majesty on the death of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and to testify our sincere concern for the loss of a Prince, whose virtues and amiable qualities, as they distinguished his life, will ever be held in the most grateful remembrance.

Your Majesty may be assured, that being fully sensible of the ne-

cessity of improving the present tranquillity to the purpose of maintaining the strength, the reputation, and prosperity of this country, we will cheerfully contribute, on our part, to the success of such measures as shall be thought most expedient for the attainment of that great end: And that, with this view, we shall endeavour to cultivate that spirit of harmony and union, which your Majesty, in your paternal care for the happiness of your people, has most graciously recommended from the throne; and on which the success of our councils, and the public welfare, so essentially depend.

*His Majesty's most gracious answer.*

My Lords,

Your readiness to provide for the public services with the unanimity and dispatch so necessary at this juncture, as well as to avail yourselves of the present general tranquillity, in order to promote the internal prosperity of my people, is highly agreeable to me; and I rely upon your assurances, that you will use your endeavours to relieve the distressed which the poor labour under from the high price of corn.

I thank you for the joy you express on the increase of my royal family; and I feel for the part you take in my concern for the unexpected loss of my late brother the Duke of York.

*The address of the house of Commons.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, return your Majesty our humble thanks for your



your most gracious speech from the throne.

We beg leave most gratefully to acknowledge your Majesty's goodness, and attention to the convenience of your people in calling your parliament together at this time; and to assure your Majesty, that we will endeavour to improve the opportunity which the present happy state of peace and tranquillity affords, by exerting our utmost abilities in the prosecution of such measures as may most effectually promote the public welfare and prosperity.

We are equally sensible of your Majesty's paternal care, in the measures already taken by your Majesty to alleviate the distresses of the poor; and of your royal wisdom, in recommending the same interesting and important object to the consideration of your parliament; and we will not fail to take into our most attentive deliberation all such measures as shall appear conducive to the accomplishment of that great and most desirable end.

It is with unfeigned joy that we presume to offer our congratulations to your Majesty on the late increase of your royal family, by the birth of a Prince; and to assure your Majesty that we regard as an addition to the welfare and happiness of this nation, every increase of that illustrious house, under whose mild and auspicious government our religious and civil liberties have been so happily maintained and protected.

And it is with equal grief and anxiety that we reflect on the late untimely loss of your Majesty's royal brother, the Duke of York; whose early and ready zeal in his country's cause shewed him worthy

of the heroic race he sprang from; and whose amiable virtues, in the more private scenes of life, must ever make his memory dear to all who had the happiness of approaching him.

We beg leave most humbly to assure your Majesty, that this house will, with a zeal and alacrity becoming the representatives of an affectionate and grateful people, readily grant such supplies as shall be requisite for the support of your Majesty's government, for advancing the honour and interest of this country, and effectually providing for the public safety.

And that our regard to your Majesty's recommendation, as well as the indispensable duty we owe to those whom we represent, will make us earnestly attentive to the great object of diminishing the national debt; being convinced that nothing can so effectually tend to add real lustre and dignity to your majesty's government, or to give solid and permanent strength to these kingdoms.

With these views, and in these sentiments, we will endeavour, with the utmost unanimity and dispatch, to promote the public service, and to deserve, by our sincere and unwearied labours for the general good, that confidence which it has pleased your Majesty to repose in us; not doubting of your Majesty's gracious disposition to confirm and perfect what our true zeal may suggest, for the lasting advantage and happiness of your people.

*His Majesty's most gracious answer.*

Gentlemen,

I return you my very sincere thanks for your dutiful and loyal ad-

address; the part you take in the late happy event in my family, completes the satisfaction which I receive from it: and your affection to me appears equally manifest from the share you take in the melancholy incident which we all regret, and serves as a consolation to me. I see with pleasure the continuance of that zeal, and true public spirit, which I have long experienced in my faithful commons, by your attention to the several objects recommended to your consideration, and particularly to the means of providing against a scarcity of corn, and for paying the public debt. You may depend upon my invariable attention to the happiness and prosperity of my kingdom.

*The humble address to his Majesty, of the right hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, presented the 11th of November, 1767, on the happy occasion of the birth of a Prince; together with their condolence on the death of his Royal Highness the Duke of York; and his Majesty's most gracious answer.*

May it please your Majesty,

**W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, happy in every occasion of approaching your royal presence with our most dutiful congratulations, beg leave to express our unfeigned joy on the safe delivery of that most excellent princess the Queen, and the further increase of your royal family by the birth of another Prince.

We cannot but feel ourselves

deeply interested in every event which affects the illustrious house of Hanover, under whose mild government the British subjects have, for more than half a century, been blessed with a full enjoyment of their civil and religious rights, and a series of happiness unknown to the same extent in any former period.

Permit us, therefore, royal sir, at the same time, humbly to offer our sincere condolence on the much lamented death of your Majesty's royal brother the Duke of York, whose many eminent and princely virtues have most justly endeared his memory to all your Majesty's loyal subjects, and make the private loss of the royal family, a public misfortune.

May the Divine Providence long preserve your Majesty; and may there never be wanting one of your Majesty's royal descendants to be the guardian of our most happy constitution.

*His Majesty's most gracious answer.*

I thank you for this loyal address, and for the satisfaction you express in the increase of my family: those expressions of your zealous attachment cannot but be agreeable to me. The religion and liberties of my people always have been, and ever shall be, the constant objects of my care and attention; and I shall esteem it one of my first duties to instil the same principles into those who may succeed me.

I regard your condolence on the melancholy event of the Duke of York's death, as an additional proof of your attachment to me and my family; and I take this first opportunity of expressing my thanks for it.

*His Excellency George Lord Viscount Townshend, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, his speech to both houses of parliament at Dublin, on Tuesday the 20th day of October, 1767; with their addresses on the occasion, &c.*

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

**I**T is with great satisfaction, that, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, I now meet you here in parliament, being confident that the end of all your consultations will be to support the honour of the crown and the just rights and liberties of the people.

As nothing can be more conducive to these great ends, than the independency and uprightness of the judges of the land, in the impartial administration of justice; I have it in charge from his Majesty, to recommend this interesting object to parliament, that such provision may be made for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices and appointments, during their good behaviour, as shall be thought most expedient.

I shall be happy to co-operate with you in this great work so graciously recommended by the King, and in whatever may tend to the effectual and expeditious distribution of justice throughout every part of this flourishing country, whose constitution and best security is a government by law.

Deeply interested as we are in the domestic happiness of our most amiable Sovereign, you cannot but reflect with pleasure on the increase of his Majesty's family by the birth of a Princess Royal; and affectionately attached as we must be to every branch of that illustrious house, I am persuaded you

feel most sensibly the affecting event of the death of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, whose many and eminent virtues had justly endeared him to his majesty and all his subjects.

Gentlemen of the house of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to prepare and lay before you the necessary estimates, and have no other supplies to ask but such as have been usually given; trusting, at the same time, to your wisdom and zeal, to make further provisions if the necessary support of government, and the safety of this country shall require it.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The protestant charter-schools have, from their first institution, met with the constant assistance and protection of parliament; the same disposition, I am persuaded, will still continue, as they are the great sources of industry, virtue, and true religion.

The linen manufacture calls likewise for your utmost attention, and it would be a pleasing circumstance to me, if, during my administration, I could see foreigners entirely prevented from interfering in any article of this important consumption.

You may depend upon his Majesty's gracious disposition to consent to all such laws as shall be for the welfare and true interest of this kingdom.

On my own part, you may be assured, that I will, with the utmost satisfaction, concur with you in every thing that may promote the public good; and upon all occasions contribute my best endeavours for advancing the happiness and prosperity of Ireland.

*The humble address of the house of Lords to his Majesty.*

Most gracious Sovereign,  
**W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in parliament assembled, do embrace this earliest opportunity of testifying our warm and unalterable zeal for your Majesty's sacred person, family, and government.

Attached by the double tie of duty and affection, actuated by the most just confidence, founded on an uninterrupted experience of your favourable intentions towards this your loyal kingdom, we shall make it the constant object of our endeavours to support the honour of the crown, and the just rights and liberties of the people.

Permit us, royal Sir, to assure you, that our minds are so filled with gratitude at this late instance of your gracious protection, in recommending to parliament that such a provision may be made for securing the judges of the land in the enjoyment of their offices and appointments, during their good behaviour, as may be found expedient, that we want words to express our sentiments on this subject, being fully convinced that independence is the basis of impartiality, and that whatever may tend to the effectual and expeditious distribution of justice, and a government by law, are the best securities of our most valuable constitution.

Interested as we are in the extension of your royal house, we cannot fail of considering every increase of your family a valuable acquisition to the state, whilst we feel a filial satisfaction at every event which adds to the domestic

comfort of our amiable Sovereign and his royal consort.

Judge then, royal Sir, how sincere and dear is our concern at the death of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, whose many and eminent virtues, the early pledges of every great and glorious act, justly endeared him to your Majesty and all your subjects.

We beg leave to acknowledge your Majesty's goodness, in sending us a chief governor in every respect so well qualified to represent your Majesty.

Permit us also to assure your Majesty, that the Protestant charter schools, the great source of industry, virtue, and true religion, shall have our utmost assistance and protection.

And that the linen manufacture, essential in its every branch and modification to the well-being of this kingdom, shall employ our unwearied vigilance that foreigners be precluded from participating in the emoluments arising from the consumption of that important commodity.

And we shall make it our study to model all such laws as shall appear to us to be conducive to the welfare of this kingdom, in such a manner as to render them deserving of the sanction of your Majesty's approbation.

*The humble address of the house of Commons to his Majesty.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to assure your Majesty of our firm and inviolable attachment to your Majesty's

jeſty's ſacred perſon, royal family, and government; and to return your Maſteſty our moſt unfeigned thanks for the confidence which your Maſteſty has been graciously pleaſed to reſoſe in us; the continuance of which we ſhall endeavour to deſerve, by taking every meaſure, to the utmoſt of our abilities, that may tend to ſupport the honour of the crown, and the juſt rights and liberties of the people.

We are perfectly ſenſible the abilities, uprightness, and independency of the judges of the land are conducive to thoſe great ends; and filled with the warmeſt ſenſe of your Maſteſty's paternal attention to the happineſs of your faithful ſubjects of this kingdom, we ſhall moſt chearfully and gratefully concur in the important meaſure, ſo graciously recommended to us by your Maſteſty, for ſecuring the judges in the enjoyment of their offices and appointments during their good behaviour.

We are perfectly ſatiſfied the part that nobleman will take, to whom your Maſteſty has been pleaſed to commit the government of this kingdom, cannot fail to promote the important work recommended by your Maſteſty, as well as whatever elſe may tend to the effectual and expeditious execution of the laws, ſo eſſential to the happineſs of this kingdom, whoſe conſtitution and ſecurity, we are fully ſenſible, is a government by law.

Permit us to congratulate your Maſteſty upon the further addition to your illuſtrious houſe, by the birth of a Princeſs Royal; an event which muſt give the higheſt ſatiſfaction to a people ſo deeply intereſſed in the happineſs of ſo

excellent a ſovereign, adorned with every virtue that conſtitutes the great king, and the amiable father of a family.

Our condolence for the melancholy event, ſo recent and affecting, we know not how to offer to your Maſteſty; unwilling to renew your Maſteſty's fraternal grief, we ſhall forbear to expreſs our feelings for the loſs of ſo amiable a Prince, whoſe eminent virtues had juſtly endeared him to your Maſteſty and all your ſubjects.

We have ever eſteemed the proteſtant charter ſchools as great ſources of induſtry, virtue, and true religion, and ſhall be ever ready to grant them ſuch aſſiſtance and protection, as may be found neceſſary for their proper ſupport and advancement. And we ſhall, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, endeavour to put an effectual ſtop to every inconvenience that has hitherto impeded the improvement of that moſt important branch of our trade, the linen manufacture; and ſhall be happy to ſee foreigners entirely prevented from interfering in any article of it.

The great affection which your loyal and faithful Commons of Ireland have ever teſtified for your ſacred perſon, and the ſucceſſion in your illuſtrious houſe, will always induce them, to the utmoſt of their abilities, to grant ſuch ſupplies as may be neceſſary for the ſupport of your Maſteſty's government, and the ſafety of this kingdom.

Your maſteſty's gracious diſpoſition to conſent to all ſuch laws as may be ſalutary for the welfare and true intereſt of this kingdom, calls for our warmeſt acknowledgments.

We beg leave humbly to aſſure your

your Majesty, that we consider it as a particular instance of your Majesty's great attention to the welfare of this kingdom, that you have been graciously pleased to appoint a chief governor, whose experienced abilities, as well in the cabinet as in the field, give us the highest expectations, that his Excellency will, in every circumstance, support the honour of the crown, and the just rights and liberties of your Majesty's most faithful subjects of Ireland."

*His Majesty's most gracious answer.*

His Majesty thanks the house of Commons for their loyal and affectionate address, expressive of that attachment to his person and family, of which his faithful people of Ireland have, at all times, given the most undoubted proofs.

His Majesty, ever desirous of supporting the rights and liberties of his people, equally with the honour of his crown, will receive with pleasure whatever shall be offered to him, which shall tend to promote the impartial administration of justice, to enforce the execution of the laws, and to strengthen the present happy constitution; and does not doubt that his faithful Commons, on their part, will be ready to grant, with cheerfulness and unanimity, such supplies as shall be asked of them, according to their abilities, which he will always attend to, for the support of his government, and the preservation of the public safety.

Every possible improvement of the linen manufacture of Ireland, will be sure to meet with his Majesty's countenance and support.

His Majesty receives, with great satisfaction, their congratulations on the increase of his family, and is sensible of the tender concern

they express for the loss of his late royal brother the Duke of York.

*The humble address of the house of Lords to his Excellency.*

**W**E his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Excellency our hearty thanks for your most excellent speech from the throne.

We shall endeavour, in all our proceedings, to confirm the favourable opinion your Excellency is pleased to entertain of us, and to convince your Excellency, that the support of the honour of the crown, and the just rights and liberties of the subjects, are the great objects of our deliberations.

His Majesty's paternal care of us in providing for the impartial administration of justice, by securing to the judges the enjoyment of their offices and appointments during their good behaviour, is fully proved, by his being graciously pleased to recommend to us the framing such laws as may tend to that salutary purpose. And we have an entire reliance on your Excellency's assurance, that you will co-operate with us in such laws as may best promote the effectual and expeditious distribution of justice; those great objects of all well-constituted governments, and on which the happiness and prosperity of society so greatly depend.

We shall always most sensibly feel whatever may contribute to the domestic happiness of our most amiable Sovereign, and his illustrious consort; and we therefore reflect, with the utmost pleasure, on the increase of his Majesty's family, by the birth of a Princess Royal.



Sensible of those impressions of humanity and tenderness, which must affect his Majesty on the recent and melancholy event of the death of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, we beg leave to assure your Excellency it adds greatly to that concern which we shall always feel on any diminution of his illustrious family; but which must most sensibly affect us, when we recollect that his Royal Highness's many eminent virtues had so justly endeared him to his Majesty and all his subjects.

Your Excellency's warm recommendation of the support of our Protestant charter schools, and your attention to whatever may contribute to the encouragement and extension of our linen manufacture, fully convince us, that with the government of Ireland your Excellency has adopted the true and real interest of it; and we esteem it a particular instance of his Majesty's goodness to us, that he has intrusted the government of this kingdom to your Excellency, who is descended from a nobleman who so eminently supported the interest of his illustrious house, on which our happiness entirely depends, and who has himself so greatly contributed to the extension of his Majesty's dominions in America.

Convinced by the experience of his Majesty's goodness to us, we entirely depend on his gracious disposition to consent to all such laws as shall be for the welfare and true interest of his kingdom; and fully assured, that your Excellency will concur with us in every thing that may promote the public good, and our happiness and prosperity, we, on our parts, think it our duty

to assure your Excellency, that we shall use our best endeavours to render your Excellency's administration easy and honourable.

*His Excellency's answer.*

I return my thanks to your Lordships for this affectionate address, and for the very obliging manner in which you express your good opinion of me: I will always endeavour to preserve it, by making his Majesty's service, and the interest of this kingdom, the objects of my utmost care and attention.

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*The humble address of the house of Commons to his Excellency.*

May it please your Excellency,  
**W**E his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to attend your Excellency with our sincere thanks for your most excellent speech from the throne, and to express our satisfaction in his Majesty's affectionate regard for the prosperity of this kingdom, so warmly shewn by the appointment of a chief governor, who descended from ancestors distinguished by their inviolable attachment to the cause of liberty, and the great support of it, the succession in the illustrious house of Hanover, inherits the same principles, and steadily adheres to the same sentiments.

When we reflect on the important services and great military experience of your Excellency for many years in different parts of the globe, and on your happy success in raising the same and extending the dominions of Great Britain; when we now see the sword of justice entrusted to the

same

same person, who has constantly used the sword of war for the honour of his sovereign and the glory of his country, we must look up to your Excellency with the highest expectation and confidence. And when we recollect the considerable share, which you have taken in planning and carrying into execution in England, an effectual national militia, we cannot but acknowledge that the civil power could not be more safely or usefully delegated, than to your Excellency.

Happy in uniting a passion for glory with a love for the laws, and zeal for the security of the constitution, your Excellency has given us a most favourable presage of your future administration, by your early attention to the impartial distribution of justice: and we see with joy and veneration the warm regard and concern which animate his Majesty's royal breast, for the security of the rights and liberties of his faithful subjects of Ireland, in his Majesty's gracious recommendation to us to make a proper provision for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices and appointment during their good behaviour; a work which we shall proceed upon with the most grateful sense of his Majesty's paternal affection for our welfare, as a security long and ardently wished for in this kingdom, to the religion, the laws, the liberties and properties of the subject; the accomplishment of which will be a strong mark of his Majesty's just confidence in us, and will remain an honourable memorial of your Excellency's administration.

We shall cheerfully concur in granting such supplies, as the necessary support of government,

and safety of this kingdom, shall require.

The protestant charter schools well deserve our constant assistance, as great sources of industry, virtue, and true religion; and we shall esteem ourselves peculiarly happy in distinguishing your Excellency's administration by so singular a benefit to the linen manufacture of this kingdom, as the prevention of foreigners from interfering in any article of that important branch of our trade.

But most particularly we beg leave to make our most sincere acknowledgments for your Excellency's declarations of his Majesty's gracious disposition to consent to all such laws as shall be for the welfare and true interest of Ireland, and of your own warm wishes to concur in every thing that may promote the public good.

Fully confident from these assurances, that this nation will, under your Excellency's government, be made happy in the acquisition of every law, which can promote the honour of the crown, and advance the happiness and prosperity of the people of Ireland; we, on our parts, shall make it our study to contribute every thing in our power to the ease, the honour, and the dignity of your Excellency's administration.

*His Excellency's answer.*

I am extremely obliged to the house of Commons for the very favourable opinion which they entertain of me. I will endeavour to merit the continuance of it by exerting my utmost endeavours to promote the service of the crown, and the true interest of this kingdom.

## C H A R A C T E R S.

*General Character of the Welsh, as it was in the time of Henry the Second; taken from Lord Lyttelton's History of that Prince, and by him principally extracted from the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, a celebrated contemporary Historian.*

**H**E tells us, that not only the nobility and gentry, but the whole people of Wales, were universally addicted to arms: that they gave no attention to commerce, navigation, or mechanical arts, and but little to agriculture; depending for sustenance chiefly on their cattle; and disliking, or rather disdaining, any labour, except the toils of war and hunting, in which from their infancy, they trained themselves up with unwearied alacrity; military exercises, or the severest fatigues in the woods and mountains, being their constant diversions in time of peace. Their bodies were naturally not robust; but, by this manner of life, they became exceedingly active, hardy, and dextrous in the use of their arms, and ever ready to take them up when occasion required it. To fight for their country, and lose their lives in defence of its honour and liberty, was their chief pride: but to die in their beds they thought disgraceful.

VOL. X.

A very honourable testimony was given to their valour by King Henry the second, in a letter to the Greek Emperor, Emanuel Comnenus. This prince having desired that an account might be sent him of all that was most remarkable in the island of Britain, Henry, in answer to that request, was pleased to take notice, among other particulars, of the extraordinary courage and fierceness of the Welsh, “who were not afraid to fight unarmed with enemies armed at all points, willingly shedding their blood in the cause of their country, and purchasing glory at the expence of their lives.” But these words must not be taken in too strict a sense, as if they had absolutely worn no armour; for they used small and light targets, which were commonly made of hides, and sometimes of iron: but, except their breasts, which these guarded, all the rest of their bodies was left defenceless; nor did they cover their heads with casques, or helmets; so that in comparison of the English, or other nations of Europe, they might be called “unarmed.” Their offensive weapons were arrows, and long pikes, or spears, which were of great use against cavalry; and these they, occasionally, either pushed with, or darted; in which exercise the whole nation was wonderfully expert;

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pert; but, more especially the men of North-Wales, who had pikes so strong and well-pointed, that they would pierce through an iron coat of mail; but those of South-Wales, and particularly the province of Guent, or Monmouth, which was then a part of that kingdom, were accounted the best archers, not being inferior, in the use of the long bow, to the Normans themselves.

The common people fought on foot; but some of the nobility began now to ride upon horses bred in their own country, which were high-mettled, and swift, but not very strong: and even these gentlemen would frequently dismount, both in combating, and when they fled; the nature of their country, as well as their discipline, being better adapted to foot than horse. Their first onset was terrible; but, if stoutly resisted, they soon gave ground and could never be rallied; in which they resemble other barbarous nations, and particularly the Britons and Celts, their forefathers. Yet, though defeated and dispersed, they were not subdued; but presently returned to make war again upon those from whom they had fled, by ambuscades and night marches, or by sudden assaults, when they were least expected; in which their agility, spirit, and impetuosity, made up what they wanted in weight and firmness: so that, although they were easily overcome in a battle by regular troops, they were with great difficulty vanquished in a war. The same vivacity which animated their hearts inspired their tongues. They were of quick and sharp wit; naturally eloquent, and ready in speaking, without any

awe or concern, before their superiors, or in public assemblies. But from this fire in their tempers they were all very passionate, vindictive, and sanguinary in their resentments: nor was their revenge only sudden and violent, when they received any personal injury or affront, or while the sting of it was recent in their minds; but it was frequently carried back, by a false sense of honour, even to very remote and traditional quarrels, in which any of their family had been ever engaged. For not only the nobles and gentry, but even the lowest among them, had each by heart his own genealogy, together with which he retained a constant remembrance of every injury, disgrace, or loss his forefathers had suffered, and thought it would be degeneracy not to resent it as personal to himself: So that the vanity of this people, with regard to their families, served to perpetuate implacable feuds, and a kind of civil war among private men; besides the dissensions it excited among their kings and chief lords, which proved the destruction of their national union, and consequently broke their national strength.

They were in their nature very light and inconstant, easily impelled to any undertaking, even the most wicked and dangerous, and as easily induced to quit it again; desirous of change, and not to be held by any bonds of faith or oaths, which they violated without scruple or sense of shame, both in public and private transactions. To plunder and rob was scarce accounted dishonourable among them, even when committed  
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For the YEAR 1767.

## CHARACTERS.

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against



against their own countrymen, much less against foreigners. They hardly ever married without a prior cohabitation; it being customary for parents to let out their daughters to young men upon trial, for a sum of money paid down, and under a penalty agreed upon between them, if the girls were returned. The people in general, and more especially their princes and nobles, gave themselves up to excessive lewdness; but were remarkably temperate in eating and drinking, constantly fasting till evening, and then making a sober meal; unless when they were entertained at the tables of foreigners, where they indulged themselves immoderately both in liquor and food, passing at once from their habit of abstinence to the most riotous and brutal excess: but, nevertheless, when they came home, they returned with great ease to their former course of life; and none of their nobles were led by the example of the English to run out their fortunes by a profuseness in keeping a table. No kind of luxury was yet introduced into their manner of living; not even a decent convenience, or neatness. They seemed to be proud of not wanting those delicacies which other nations are proud of enjoying. Their kings indeed, and a few of their principal nobles, had built some castles in imitation of the English; but most of their gentry still continued to dwell in huts made of wattles, and situated in solitudes, by the sides of the woods, as most convenient for hunting and pasture, or for a retreat in time of war. They had no gardens, nor orchards, nor any improvements about their dwell-

lings, which they commonly changed every year, and removed to other places (as the Britons and Celts, their ancestors, had been accustomed to do) for the sake of fresh pasture and a new supply of game.

Their furniture was as simple and mean as their houses, such as might answer the mere necessities of gross and uncivilized nature. The only elegance among them was music, which they were so fond of, that in every family there generally were some who played on the harp; and skill in that instrument was valued by them more than all other knowledge. This greatly contributed to keep up that cheerfulness, which was more universal and constant in the Welsh than in the Saxons or Normans.

Notwithstanding their poverty, they were so hospitable that every man's house was open to all; and thus no wants were felt by the most indigent, nor was there a beggar in the nation. When any stranger, or traveller, came to a house, he used no other ceremony, than at his first entrance to deliver his arms into the hands of the master, who thereupon offered to wash his feet; which if he accepted, it was understood to signify his intention of staying there all night; and none who did so was refused. Whatever the number or quality of their guests might happen to be, the master and mistress of the house waited on them, and would not sit down at table with them, or taste any food, till they had supped. The fire was placed in the middle of the room, on each side of which was spread a coarse bed of hemp over a thin mat of rushes, where the whole family

family and their guests slept together, without even a curtain betwixt them. Their feet lay always next to the fire, which, being kept burning all night, supplied the want of bedcloaths; for they had no covering but the cloaths they wore in the day.

It was customary among them to receive in a morning large companies of young men, who following no occupation but arms, whenever they were not in action strolled over the country, and entered into any house that they found in their way; where they were entertained, till the evening, with the music of the harp and free conversation with the young women of the family: upon which Giraldus Cambrensis makes this remark, that of all the nations in the universe none were more jealous of their women than the Irish, or less than the Welsh. In other respects their manners so nearly agreed, when that author wrote, as to discover the marks of a Celtic origin common to both.

One is surprised in observing how absolutely the Britons, after their retreat into Wales, lost all the culture they had received from the Romans, and, instead of refining the ancient inhabitants of that part of the island, relapsed themselves into their rude and barbarous manners. This is the more wonderful, because the Latin tongue and no contemptible share of its learning were long preserved in their public schools, and continued, though indeed in a declining state, even down to the times of which I write. They had also retained the profession of the Chris-

tian religion, but debased with gross superstitions: Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, that they paid, in his days, a more devout reverence to churches and churchmen, to the relics of saints, to crosses, and to bells, than any other nation. Whenever any of them happened to meet a monk, or other ecclesiastic, they instantly threw down their arms, and bowing their heads implored his blessing. When they undertook a journey into any foreign country, or when they married, or were enjoined by their confessors any public penance, they paid a full tenth of all their goods, which they called "the great tythe," in the proportion of two parts to the church wherein they had been baptized, and one to their bishop. How far they carried their respect to asylums and sanctuaries has already been mentioned. The excess of their superstition with relation to this point is censured by Giraldus Cambrensis himself, as great a bigot as he was; and it certainly must have been one principal cause, why so many murders and other crimes were committed among them. Their hermits were celebrated for severer austerities than any others in Europe, the vehemence of their temper carrying their virtues, as well as vices, into extremes. Pilgrimages to Rome were their favourite mode of devotion, though they had many saints of their own nation, whose shrines they adored with the blindest superstition. In short their religion for the most part, was so different from genuine christianity, that either it was prejudicial to civil society, or did it no good.

*Character of the English and Normans. From the same.*

**T**HERE is a remarkable passage in William of Malm-sbury upon the different characters of the English and Normans. He says, that, before the latter had obtained possession of England, learning and religion were brought to so low a state in that kingdom, that most of the clergy could hardly read divine service; and if, happily, any one of them understood grammar, he was admired and wondered at by the rest as a prodigy. The English nobility were very deficient in the external duties of piety; it being customary among them, even for those who were married, to hear matins and mass said to them in their bed-chambers, before they were up, and as fast as the priest could possibly hurry them over; instead of attending divine service, with proper solemnity, in churches or chapels. Many of them were guilty of the unnatural inhumanity of selling their female slaves, whom they kept as their concubines, when they were big with child by them, either to public prostitution, or to perpetual slavery in foreign lands. They were also universally addicted to drunkenness, and continued over their cups whole days and nights, keeping open house and spending all the income of their estates in riotous feasts, where they eat and drank to excess, without any elegant or magnificent luxury. Their houses were generally small and mean, their garments plain, and succinct: they cut their hair short, and shaved their faces, except the upper lip; wearing no ornament,

but heavy bracelets of gold on their arms, and painted figures, that were burnt into the skin, on some parts of their bodies. The Normans on the contrary (as the same author informs us) affected great finery and pomp in their cloaths; and were delicate in their food, but without any excess. They spent little in house-keeping, but were very expensive and magnificent in their buildings, making that their chief pride, and introducing a new and better mode of architecture into this island. Nor did they only display this magnificence in their own private houses; but embellished all the kingdom with churches and convents more splendid and elegant than those of the English. They are also commended, by the above-mentioned historian, for establishing here a more decent and more regular form of religion: but yet it is certain, that, by admitting new doctrines of popery, to which the Anglo-Saxon church had never assented, they further corrupted the purity of the Christian faith in this island. He adds, that they were faithful to their liege lords, if they were not ill used; but that, on occasion of the lightest offence given to them, they broke their allegiance: that being accustomed to a military life, and hardly knowing how to live without war, they made it with ardour; but if they could not succeed by open force, they understood equally well how to employ both fraud and bribery: whereas the English had only a rash and impetuous valour. He likewise tells us, that the Normans were apt to sell justice; that they were full of emulation, ambition, and envy; that they frequently

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themselves oppressed their vassals, but bravely defended them against all others; willingly intermixed with the people they had conquered, and of all nations in the world were the kindest to foreigners, putting them upon an equal foot with themselves, if they came to settle among them.

Such is the picture drawn by William of Malmesbury of the English and Normans compared and contrasted together: and no writer of those times was better qualified than he to form a true judgment of their good and ill qualities, or more impartial between them; for he had very good sense, with much knowledge of the world, and was equally related in blood to both nations. Nevertheless the diversity, which he has observed in their manners, did not remain till the times in which he wrote. He tells us himself, that the English soon accommodated themselves to those of the Normans, after they had been forced to submit to their government, except in one article, namely, their temperance in eating and drinking; but, instead of learning that, they communicated to them their own habits of drunkenness and immoderate feasting, which continued for many ages the national vices of their common posterity.

In weighing the merits of each people, as here described, it will be found that the Normans were greatly superior to the English in politeness and knowledge; and it may therefore be thought, that, by a mixture with them, the latter received such improvements, as were a sufficient compensation for the many evils brought upon them

in other respects. It must also be confessed, that, so long as the Anglo-Saxons were masters of England, that kingdom was of no account in the system of Europe; but grew to have weight and authority on the continent under the government of the Normans, both from the dominions which the princes of that race possessed in France, and from their active ambition, which, seconded by the enterprising and warlike disposition of all their nobility, rendered the English name respected and illustrious abroad. But whether this honour was not purchased too dear, by the loss of that peace, which the situation of England, especially if united with Scotland and Wales, might have secured to it under the government and island-policy of the Saxons, may well be disputed. Besides the constant expence of blood and treasure, one great mischief, occasioned by it, was the taking off the attention of many of our kings from the important objects of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. Yet, on the other hand, it is certain that foreign wars, by exercising the valour, encrease the strength of a nation, which, remaining long unemployed, is very apt to decay, and sink into an infirm and effeminate softness; particularly where the people are much addicted to commerce; the mercantile spirit prevailing over the military more than is consistent with the safety or virtue of a state. To keep up the energy of both these spirits in a proper degree, and without prejudice to each other, is a very important and very difficult part of political wisdom, which has been performed

ed in few governments, either ancient or modern.

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*Character of Harold. From the same.*

**H**E so conducted the affairs of the kingdom, that he made the reign of a very weak prince most happy to the English; victory attended his arms on the borders; liberty and peace were maintained by him at home. There was much dignity, gracefulness, and strength in his person; he had a courage and resolution which nothing could daunt, an easy flow of natural eloquence, animated by a lively agreeable wit, and elevation of sentiments with popular manners. Besides all the lustre he drew from his political and military talents, in which he had no equal among his own countrymen, his character was embellished, and rendered more amiable, by a generous spirit, and a heart in which humanity tempered ambition. It does not appear that his virtues were disgraced by the mixture of any vice or weakness, which could dishonour him in the eyes of the public. Upon the whole, he was worthy of the crown he aspired to; which is confessed even by writers no way disposed to judge of him too favourably, and still better proved by all his behaviour after he was on the throne.

His own brother Tosti, a man given up to the worst passions, and capable of gratifying them by the worst means, was the first enemy who disturbed the peace of his realm. This lord, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, had been earl of Northumberland,

and by many grievous oppressions had so irritated the people, that, rising in arms, they drove him out. Harold, having been sent with a commission from the king to suppress this revolt, was told by the Northumbrians, "that they were born and bred freemen, and could not endure a tyrannical governor, but had learnt from their ancestors to secure to themselves either liberty or death." Such a language, by a man of a despotic temper, would certainly have been deemed an unpardonable aggravation of their offence; but Harold respected it, admitted their plea, and even rendered himself their advocate with the king, (to whom his entreaties were commands) that they might have for their governor the person they desired, Morcar, the younger brother of Edwin earl of Mercia, whose father and grandfather had been dangerous enemies to his father and himself: a most laudable act, and which shews that he was worthy to rule a free kingdom! It may indeed be thought, that policy joined with generosity and with justice, in dictating to him this extraordinary conduct: for, besides the hearts of the people, he gained by it a connexion with two powerful nobles, who never forgot the obligation, and whose warm adherence to him must have greatly contributed to raise him to the throne.

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*Character of William the First. From the same.*

**T**HE character of this prince has seldom been set in its true light; some eminent writers having

been dazzled so much by the more shining parts of it, that they have hardly seen his faults; while others, out of a strong detestation of tyranny, have been unwilling to allow him the praise he deserves.

He may with justice be ranked among the greatest generals any age has produced. There was united in him activity, vigilance, intrepidity, caution, great force of judgment, and never-failing presence of mind. He was very strict in his discipline, and kept his soldiers in perfect obedience; yet preserved their affection. Having been, from his very childhood, continually in war, and at the head of armies, he joined to all the capacity that genius could give, all the knowledge and skill that experience could teach, and was a perfect master of the military art, as it was practised in the times when he lived. His constitution enabled him to endure any hardships; and very few were equal to him in personal strength: which was an excellence of more importance than it is now, from the manner of fighting then in use. It is said of him, that none but himself could bend his bow. His courage was heroic, and he possessed it, not only in the field, but (which is more uncommon) in the cabinet; attempting great things with means that to other men appeared unequal to such undertakings, and steadily prosecuting what he had boldly resolved; being never disturbed or disheartened with difficulties, in the pursuit of his enterprizes; but having that noble vigour of mind, which, instead of bending to opposition, rises against it, and seems

to have a power of controlling and governing fortune itself.

Nor was he less superior to pleasure than to fear. No luxury softened him, no riot disordered, no sloth relaxed. It helped not a little to maintain the high respect his subjects had for him, that the majesty of his character was never let down by any incontinence or indecent excess. His temperance and his chastity were constant guards, that secured his mind from all weakness, supported its dignity, and kept it always, as it were, on the throne. Through his whole life he had no partner of his bed but his queen: a most extraordinary virtue in one who had lived, even from his earliest youth, amidst all the licence of camps, the allurements of a court, and the seductions of sovereign power! Had he kept his oaths to his people as well as he did his marriage vow, he would have been the best of kings; but he indulged other passions, of a worse nature, and infinitely more detrimental to the public, than those he restrained. A lust of power which no regard to justice could limit, the most unrelenting cruelty, and the most insatiable avarice, possessed his soul. It is true indeed, that among many acts of extreme inhumanity some shining instances of great clemency may be produced, that were either effects of his policy, which taught him this method of acquiring friends, or of his magnanimity, which made him slight a weak and subdued enemy; such as was Edgar Atheling, in whom he found neither spirit nor talents able to contend with him for the crown. But where he had no advantage



vantage nor pride in forgiving, his nature discovered itself to be utterly void of all sense of compassion ; and some barbarities, which he committed, exceeded the bounds, that even tyrants and conquerors prescribe to themselves.

Most of our ancient historians give him the character of a very religious prince ; but his religion was, after the fashion of those times, belief without examination, and devotion without piety. It was a religion that prompted him to endow monasteries, and at the same time allowed him to pillage kingdoms ; that threw him on his knees before a relic or cross, but suffered him unrestrained to trample upon the liberties and rights of mankind.

As to his wisdom in government, of which some modern writers have spoken very highly, he was indeed so far wise, that, through a long, unquiet reign, he knew how to support oppression by terror, and employ the properest means for the carrying on a very iniquitous and violent administration. But that which alone deserves the name of wisdom in the character of a king, the maintaining of authority by the exercise of those virtues which make the happiness of his people, was what, with all his abilities, he does not appear to have possessed. Nor did he excell in those soothing and popular arts, which sometimes change the complexion of a tyranny, and give it a fallacious appearance of freedom. His government was harsh and despotic, violating even the principles of that constitution which he himself had established. Yet so far he

performed the duty of a sovereign, that he took care to maintain a good police in his realm ; curbing licentiousness with a strong hand, which, in the tumultuous state of his government, was a great and difficult work. How well he performed it we may learn even from the testimony of a contemporary Saxon historian, who says, that during his reign a man might have travelled in perfect security all over the kingdom with his bosom full of gold ; nor durst any kill another in revenge of the greatest offences, nor offer violence to the chastity of a woman. But it was a poor compensation, that the highways were safe, when the courts of justice were dens of thieves, and when almost every man in authority, or in office, used his power to oppress and pillage the people. The king himself did not only tolerate, but encourage, support, and even share these extortions. Though the greatness of the ancient landed estate of the crown, and the feudal profits to which he legally was entitled, rendered him one of the richest monarchs in Europe, he was not content with all that opulence : but by authorising the sheriffs, who collected his revenues in the several counties, to practise the most grievous vexations and abuses, for the raising of them higher, by a perpetual auction of the crown lands ; so that none of his tenants could be secure of possession, if any other would come and offer more ; by various iniquities in the court of exchequer, which was entirely Norman ; by forfeitures wrongfully taken ; and lastly, by arbitrary and illegal taxations, he drew

drew into his treasury much too great a proportion of the wealth of his kingdom.

It must however be owned, that if his avarice was insatiably and unjustly rapacious, it was not meanly parsimonious, nor of that sordid kind, which brings on a prince dishonour and contempt. He supported the dignity of his crown with a decent magnificence; and though he never was lavish, he sometimes was liberal, more especially to his soldiers and to the church. But looking on money as a necessary means of maintaining and encreasing power, he desired to accumulate as much as he could, rather, perhaps, from an ambitious than a covetous nature: at least his avarice was subservient to his ambition, and he laid up wealth in his coffers, as he did arms in his magazines, to be drawn out, when any proper occasion required it, for the defence and enlargement of his dominions.

Upon the whole, he had many great qualities, but few virtues: and, if those actions that most particularly distinguish the man or the king are impartially considered, we shall find, that in his character there is much to admire, but still more to abhor.

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*Character of William Rufus. From the same.*

**T**H E character of this king has been too much depreciated by many historians. It was, no doubt, very faulty; yet, notwithstanding all his faults, he was a great man. In magnanimity, the first of royal virtues, no prince ever excelled him, and few have

equalled. For proof of this I shall here relate some particular facts, which I could not so properly mention in giving a general view of this reign. While he was besieging Mont St. Michel, a fortress in Normandy, which was held against him by Henry, his younger brother, a small party of horse belonging to the garrison approached near his camp; at the sight of which, being transported by the ardour of his courage, he furiously advanced before his own troops, and charged into the midst of them. His horse was killed under him, and the soldier, who had dismounted him, not knowing who he was, dragged him by the foot on the ground, and was going to slay him, if he had not stopped the blow, by saying to him, with a tone of command, not supplication, "Rascal lift me up: I am the king of England." At these words, all the soldiers of prince Henry, his brother, were struck with awe, and reverently raising him up from the earth brought him another horse. By this time his own forces were come to his succour in such numbers, that the little band of the enemy could make no resistance, much less carry off the king as their prisoner. That prince, seeing this, vaulted into the saddle, and casting his eyes, which sparkled with fire, all round about him, asked, who it was that unhorsed him? For some time all were silent: but, at last, he who did it answered, "It was I, who did not suppose you to be a king, but an ordinary knight." "By the face of our Lord," replied William with a smile, thou shalt henceforth be my soldier, and receive from me the recompense

penſe thy valour deſerves.” But the answer he made to a bravado of the earl of la Fleſche is a ſtill nobler inſtance of his magnanimity. That lord, his competitor for the earldom of Maine, being taken priſoner by him, and received with an inſult, ſaid, with a ſpirit ſuperior to fortune, “ An accident has made me your captive; but could I recover my liberty I know what I ſhould do.— You know what you ſhould do! replied the king! Begone; I give you leave to do your utmoſt; and I ſwear to you, that if you overcome me hereafter, I will aſk no return from you for having thus ſet you free.” With theſe words he diſmiſſed him: an action of heroiſm that would have done honour to Cæſar, whoſe ſoul (ſays one of the beſt of our ancient hiſtorians) ſeems to have transmigrated into this monarch! He likewiſe acted and ſpoke in the ſpirit of that Roman, when, from his ardour to relieve the city of Mans, beſieged by the earl of la Fleſche, he paſſed the ſea in a violent tempeſt, ſaying to the ſailors who warned him of the danger, “ that he never had heard of any king having been drowned.” Nor did he leſs reſemble Cæſar in liberality, than in courage, and greatneſs of mind. He gave without meaſure, but never without choice; diſtinguiſhing merit, and fixing it in his ſervice by means of his bounty; that merit eſpecially which was the moſt neceſſary to ſupport his ambition, eminent valour, and military talents. In the magnificence of his court and buildings he greatly exceeded any king of that age. But, though his profuſeneſs aroſe from

a noble and generous nature, it muſt be accounted rather a vice than a virtue; as, in order to ſupply the unbounded extent of it, he was very rapacious. If he had lived long, his expences would have undone him: for he had not, as Cæſar had, the treaſures of the world to ſupport his extravagance; and it had brought him ſome years before his death into ſuch difficulties, that, even if his temper had not been deſpotic, his neceſſities would have made him a tyrant.

His ſoul was all fire, perpetually in action, undaunted with danger, unwearied with application, purſuing pleaſure with as much ardour as buſineſs, but never ſacrificing buſineſs to pleaſure; addiſted to women, yet without any tenderneſs or fixed attachment, rather from a ſpirit of debauchery than from the paſſion of love. He had many concubines, but no miſtreſs; and never would marry, for fear of ſubjecting himſelf to any reſtraint.

Nevertheless, the vivacity of his temper and the quickneſs of his parts were ballanced by the ſolidity and the ſtrength of his judgment: ſo that, although he was very eager in all his purſuits, he directed them with great prudence, excelling ſtill more in policy than in arms. He had not indeed any tincture of learning; but he had ſtudied mankind, and knew them well, under all diſguiſes; covering himſelf with a deep diſſimulation, where it was neceſſary, and the more dangerous in it from an appearance of openneſs, heat, and paſſion; imperious and abſolute, ſo as to endure no contradiction or ſtop to his will, when he had power

power enough to enforce obedience, but pliant and soothing, when he wanted that power: in public maintaining his majesty, not only with state, but with pride; yet in private, among his friends, and those whom he admitted to a familiarity with him, easy, good-humoured, and often more witty than is proper for a king.

His person was disagreeable, and his elocution ungraceful: notwithstanding which imperfections he carried all points he had at heart, more by the arts of insinuation and address than by force.

Considering how much he owed to the clergy in obtaining his crown, it is no little proof of uncommon abilities, that he wore it without any dependence upon them, and entirely subjected their power to his own. But not content to govern the church, he tyrannized over it, as he did over the state. Nor would he constrain himself to that outward shew of reverence for ecclesiastics, which his father had always paid to them, even while he oppressed them: and this was certainly one principal cause, why the monks, who have transmitted his character to us, accuse him so heavily of being irreligious. That all the strange stories, related by those historians, of his open impiety, are strictly true, it is hard to believe; because one would imagine that his good sense alone must have taught him some respect for the forms of religion, in an age, which demanded that, and demanded no more. Yet though the charge may have been aggravated, it was not wholly groundless. His mind

was too penetrating not to see the depravity of what was then called religion, and his heart was too corrupt to seek for a better. We are told indeed that, in a dangerous fit of sickness, he expressed remorse for the offences of his past life, and promised amendment; which shews at least that he had in him no settled principle of absolute infidelity: but he had not any such steady sentiments of faith or piety, as could be a restraint on his passions. So that the impressions made in his illness were soon effaced by the return of his health. There was also a levity and petulance in his wit, which often gave his conversation an air of profaneness beyond what he seriously thought or meant. He paid so little respect to the oaths he had taken, that he seemed to consider them as mere forms of state, or arts which policy might employ and dispense with at pleasure. All his vices were public, and he did infinitely more harm by the bad example he gave, and the indulgence he shewed to the enormities of others, than by his own. He not only tolerated, but encouraged in his court, and (what was yet worse) in his army, the most unbridled profligacy of manners; relaxing all discipline, civil or military; and hardly punishing any crimes, but rebellions and treasons against himself, or the breach of the forest laws, which had been made by his father, and of which he had solemnly promised a remission to his subjects. These he enforced with a cruel rigour; but other offences were either winked at, or the offender bought off the punishment. So that the misery of England was com-

complete in this reign; for the nation was now a prey to licentiousness, as much as to tyranny, suffering at once the disorders of anarchy and the oppressions of arbitrary power. The army of William the First had been under the curb of a strict discipline; but that of William Rufus, like a wild beast unchained, was let loose to infest his peaceful subjects. The young nobility were bred up in debauchery; luxurious, effeminate, and guilty even of lusts which nature abhors; despisers of order, law, morality, and no less proud of their vices than of their birth. But happily the life of this prince was too short to extend the corruption to the body of the people; and therefore the commonwealth recovered again, when the succeeding monarch applied to it such remedies of wholesome severity, as the distempers contracted by it required.

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*Character of Louis le Gros. From the same.*

ON the first of August in the year eleven hundred and thirty-seven, died at Paris Louis the sixth, surnamed le Gros, from the largeness and corpulence of his person. A much nobler surname might have been properly given to him from the qualities of his mind: He deserved to have been called the Good, or the Just. His whole reign was passed in constant struggles with the insolence, the licentiousness, and the tyranny of his nobles, against whose oppressions he royally defended his people, maintaining his laws by his arms, and permitting no crimes to escape his justice. Thus far he

much resembled our Henry the first: but in policy he was not always a match for that king. Yet he deserves no less esteem: for in goodness of heart he was greatly his superior, and had scarce any equal among the princes who reigned in his days. He lost his health, and at last his life, by the fatigues he sustained, in besieging castle after castle, where any flagitious or turbulent person had broken or endangered the peace of his realm. Abbot Suger, his principal minister, tells us, that he would often lament the unhappy condition of human life, in which to *know* much and *act* much is seldom or never in our power together; adding, that if he had *known* in his youth, what he *knew* in his age, or could *act* in his age with the same vigour as he did in his youth, he should have been able to conquer many kingdoms. Yet that historian affirms, that, even in the latter years of his reign, broken as he was with incessant toils, and heavy from a too corpulent habit of body, if any thing happened in any part of his kingdom, by which the royal majesty was hurt or offended, he never suffered it to go unchastised. His dying words to his son were admirable. "Remember, *said he*, and have it always before your eyes, that the royal authority is a public charge, of which you must render, after your death, a strict account." In the year eleven hundred and thirty-one he had the misfortune to lose his eldest son Philip, a very hopeful youth; who, while he was riding in the suburbs of Paris, was thrown down and killed, by a hog running suddenly under the feet of his horse.

The strangeness of the accident embittered the loss, and put the fortitude of the father to a terrible proof: but he bore it with the heroism of a good christian and a great king. His grief did not hinder him from immediately thinking of the most proper measures to guard his people and family against the ill consequences of this unhappy event. For, presently afterwards, Innocent the second holding a general council at Rheims, the afflicted monarch brought thither Louis, his second son, who was under thirteen years old, and caused him in the presence of all the assembly, to be anointed and crowned king together with himself, by the hands of the pope, “in order (says Suger) to prevent the disturbances which other competitors for the crown might excite:” remarkable words, which shew the reason of the practice established in France of crowning the son during the life of the father, and prove that a regular course of hereditary succession was not yet absolutely settled in that kingdom, any more than in England.

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*Character and death of Prince Eustace, son to King Stephen. From the same.*

**E**USTACE, who had collected a force sufficient to take the field, marched out from Cambridge, a little before the feast of St. Laurence, intending to join the king, his father, at Ipiwich; or to attempt something himself against the earl of Norfolk, whose power in those countries was still very great. When he came to St. Edmond's-bury, he demanded of the monks belonging to that convent,

a sum of money, to pay his men: but not obtaining any from them, he fell into a furious rage, and instantly leaving their house, commanded his soldiers who were in want of subsistence, to cut down the ripe corn all round the town, particularly what belonged to the abbey, and bring it into his camp. He had scarce seen this order executed, when he was seized with a burning fever and frenzy, of which he died in a short time. It may well be presumed, that his distemper proceeded from the violent agitation his mind had been in, and from the heat of the weather, at that season of the year: but the monks did not fail to suppose that it was a judgment of heaven upon him, for having sacrilegiously plundered their fields. He was of a character to make his loss regretted by none, who had any real concern for the good of the public. Yet his nature was not utterly void of all virtues; but it was miserably depraved by a bad education. He had been bred, even from his cradle, amidst the licentiousness, cruelty, and impiety of a long civil war; without proper care, in those to whose tuition his youth was committed, to preserve him from the contagion of such pestilent times, by opposing good instructions to evil examples. As he grew up, he became dissolute, fierce, and intractable. A low taste of pleasure carried him into mean company: so that he wasted a great part of his time with buffoons, and all the scum of a loose court or disorderly camp; which vile society debased his mind, and corrupted his heart. Otherwise he might have been capable of doing great things: for he



he possessed, with the activity and courage of his father, a more determined resolution; and discovered, in the earliest bloom of his youth, such talents for war, as gained the admiration even of the oldest commanders. To his friends he was affable, courteous, and liberal; but his bounty was too often extended to persons, whose only merit was serving his vices. Upon the whole, he seemed made to perpetuate the mischiefs, that England endured under the reign of his father, and perhaps to increase them.

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*Character of King Stephen. From the same.*

**T**HE valour of this king was much the most shining part of his character. In the field of battle he was a hero, though every where else an ordinary man. But even his military abilities were chiefly confined to the use of his sword and battle-axe. The extent of his genius was not proportioned to a great plan of action; his foresight was short and imperfect, his discipline loose, and his whole conduct in war that of an alert partisan, rather than of a discreet and judicious commander.

He had in his nature some amiable virtues, as generosity, clemency, and affability, which, under the direction of wisdom and justice, would have given him a place among the best of our kings; but for want of those lights to guide and rule them, they were unworthily, weakly, and hurtfully employed. His mind was very active, and always pushing him on to bold undertakings, in which he seldom proved successful: for

setting out wrong, and having left the strait path of honour and virtue, he got into a labyrinth of perplexed and crooked measures, out of which he never afterwards could extricate himself, either with reputation, or safety.

The times, and circumstances, in which he was placed, required a steady, calm, and resolute prudence: but he acted only by starts, and from the violent impulse of some present passion; always too eager for the object in view, and yet too lightly changing his course; too warm in his attachments, and too impetuous in his resentments.

The guilt of his usurpation was aggravated by perjury, and by the blackest ingratitude to his uncle, King Henry, from whom he had received such obligations, as, to a mind endued with a right sense of honour, would have been no less binding than the oaths he had taken. This was a stain on his character, which even the merit of a good government could not have effaced: but his was so bad, that it might have expelled a lawful king from an hereditary throne. Indeed the weakness of his title, and the too great obligations he had to the clergy in his election, were incumbrances that hung very heavy upon him, and the original causes of all his troubles. Yet against both these difficulties, uneasy as they were, he might have found a resource in the affection of his people. Henry the first, in the beginning of his reign, was no less indebted to the clergy than he, nor was his title more clear: notwithstanding which he maintained himself in the throne, and kept the church in due obedience, by

by a government popular without meanness, and strong without violence. But bribes and a standing army of the most odious foreign mercenaries were the wretched supports, on which his successor leaned, to secure a precarious and unnatural power. Instead of gradually trying to shake off the fetters, which the church had imposed upon him at his accession to the crown, by the proper and legal assistance of parliament, he was continually weakening the royal authority, by further concessions to the bishops, in hopes of attaching them more firmly to his interests; and, when he ventured to quarrel with them, he did it in a manner, which hurt the privileges of his temporal barons no less than theirs, and made civil liberty appear to be interested in their defence. Thus he destroyed the only ground upon which he could stand, and changed the nature of the question between him and Matilda, making her cause, and her son's, the cause of the nation, instead of a personal claim of inheritance.

His private life was better by far than his public conduct. He was a good husband and kind father: but to his children, as well as to his friends, he was too kind, and took no care to restrain the vices of their youth; a fault, which is indeed very blameable in a king, because of the mischiefs it may afterwards bring upon his people.

He was remarkably free from superstition; a merit uncommon in that ignorant age, and seeming to indicate a strength of understanding, which did not belong to him in any other respects. There

is a strange inconsistency in human nature! The greatest minds often fall into weaknesses, which the lowest would be ashamed of; and persons of mean parts are exempt from certain follies, which very wise ones are enslaved to! Nor did this superiority in Stephen produce such effects on his government, as might have been naturally expected from it. The weakest bigot that ever reigned could not have sacrificed more of the rights of the state to a false sense of religion, than he did to false notions of interest and ambition.

Considering him in the most favourable lights we shall find him unfit for a throne. If he had been only an earl of Mortagne and Boulogne, he might, perhaps, by his courage, liberality, and good-nature, have supported that rank with a very fair reputation. But no great idea can be formed of a monarch, whose whole conduct broke every rule of good and true policy: who having gained his crown by the love of the nation governed by foreign ministers, and foreign arms; yet, at the same time, gave way to innovations which rendered his subjects formidable to him; then, by all the means of absolute despotism, without regard to law or justice, endeavoured to subdue the power he had raised; and after having made his whole reign a long civil war, purchased at last a dishonourable and joyless peace, by excluding his son from the succession to the crown, adopting his enemy, and leaving himself little more than the vain pageantry and name of a king.

*Character of Siward, Earl of Northumberland. From the same.*

**T**HE Englishman, whom William the First trusted and favoured most, was Waltheof, eldest son to Siward earl of Northumberland, famous for his victory over the tyrant of Scotland, Macbeth.

This Siward was one of the most extraordinary men who lived in those times. H. of Huntingdon says, he was almost a giant in stature, and had a strength of mind not inferior to that of his body. In the battle against Macbeth he lost his son, and we are told, that, when he was informed of his death, he asked the messenger, "Whether he had received the mortal wound before or behind?" Being answered, that "it was before," he said; "I greatly rejoice; for I esteem no other death worthy of me, or my son." Another writer relates, that, feeling himself ready to expire from the violence of a bloody flux, he said, "It was a shame for a warrior, who had ineffectually sought death in so many battles, to die now like a beast," and therefore he commanded his servants to cloath him in a complete suit of armour, took his battle-axe in his right-hand, his shield in his left, and in that martial habit and posture gave up the ghost.

This was exactly in the spirit of the ancient Goths or Celts: and one should have thought that a great kingdom, the nobility of which had these sentiments, was in no danger of being conquered, a few years afterwards, by foreign arms. The son of Siward, Earl Waltheof, did not degenerate from his father: nor was Hereward in-

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ferior to either of them in valour. But no force of magnanimity or natural courage in a nation can enable it to resist a superior discipline, and a greater skill in the art of war.

*Character of Henry the Second. From the same.*

**S**OME monarchs, great in war, or while they are struggling with the storms of adversity, sink in tranquillity, into an effeminate and negligent indolence, which seems to unnerve all the vigour of their minds. But Henry Plantagenet was not one of those. Peace did not lay his virtues asleep; it only gave them a different exercise. His courage and magnanimity were then exerted in correcting the abuses of government, and bringing the state of the whole kingdom as near to perfection as the times would permit. How far he had gone, before, in this arduous work, the reader has seen. But a wise prince will never think of endeavouring to reform all evils at once; much less such as are covered under respectable names. Where he has not only faction but prejudice to contend with, he will proceed with great caution, wait for proper seasons, and be sure, by other trials, that his authority is too strong to be easily baffled. Nay, he will be patient till he has brought the voice of the public to declare itself loudly in favour of the reformation he meditates. Henry did thus, with regard to the independency on the civil power, which, in Stephen's reign, the English clergy had arrogated to themselves, and still continued to claim.

claim. But before I enter upon this subject, I think it will be proper to give some account of him in those parts of his character, which make us acquainted with *the man* as well as *the king*. I shall also delineate a short sketch of the customs and manners of the nation, and endeavour to supply whatsoever is wanting for the information of the reader, in the civil and political state of the kingdom.

The person of Henry was masculine and robust, excelling rather in strength of limbs and dignity of aspect, than in delicate or exact proportions of beauty. Yet his features were good; and, when his mind was serene, there was in his eyes a great sweetness; but, when he was angry, they seemed to sparkle with fire, and dart out flashes of lightning, says Peter of Blois, in a description he gives of him to the archbishop of Palermo. This passionate temper, which shewed itself in his countenance by such visible marks, was his greatest imperfection: for, upon any sudden provocation, he could not command the first motions of his rage, though at other times he possessed an extraordinary degree of prudence and judgment. Nevertheless this infirmity never betrayed him into furious or cruel actions; but only broke out in words or gestures: nor did his anger long continue; and, when he was cool, his disposition and behaviour were gentle and humane. He was tenderly compassionate to all persons in distress; and his good economy seemed to be chiefly employed in providing an ample fund for his charity and bounty. Besides what he laid out in acts of munificence occasionally done, some of which

were the greatest we read of in our history, he assigned the tenth part of the provisions of his household, to be constantly given in daily alms to the poor. His treasures were ever open to all men of merit; but he was particularly liberal in his presents to strangers, who came to visit his court; as many did from all the nations in Europe, drawn by his fame, which was every where high and illustrious. Giraldus Cambrensis, a writer of considerable note in those days, speaks of him with some degree of censure on this account; as if his having been so lavish to foreigners was a detriment to his servants and domestic attendants, who were better entitled to his gifts. But very little regard is due to that author in what he says against Henry, towards whom he was sowerd; not only by his prejudices as an ecclesiastic, but by having been disappointed in his hopes of promotion to the see of St. David's, which I shall have occasion to say more of hereafter. His malignity appears very strong in this instance: for surely that prince deserved no blame, but rather much commendation, for this part of his conduct. A generous hospitality is not the least of royal virtues. It does honour to a nation, and is attended with many political benefits: for guests, who have been obliged by favours conferred upon them in a foreign court, return home the partizans and friends of that court, and often serve it more usefully than its own ministers. Nor can there be a more shameful weakness in a king, than the allowing his courtiers to consider his wealth as a part of their property. Henry was too wise to encourage such a notion.

notion. He did not suffer those about him to confine either his purse or his ear to themselves. As his own judgment directed the course of his bounty, so his affability extended itself even to the meanest of his subjects : insomuch that his ministers must have found it a very difficult matter to conceal from him any truth, which it was useful for him to know. But, though his ears were always open to information or complaint, his heart was shut against calumny : nor did any good servant, through the whole course of his long reign, suffer any loss of favour or credit, by the secret whispers of malice, or the vain and groundless clamour of popular rumours. He was so constant in his friendships, and chose his ministers with such discretion, that not one of those whom he principally trusted was ever disgraced ; except only Becket, who rather quitted, than lost, the place he had gained in his heart. The persons who are most steady in their attachments are generally most apt to retain their aversions : and I find it observed in the character of this prince, that whom he once hated he could hardly be persuaded to admit any more to a share of his favour ; but it does not appear that he ever hated without a sufficient cause. With what a generous clemency he pardoned rebellions, and other offences committed against himself, some remarkable instances have already been given, and more will occur in the latter parts of this history : but there is one which it is proper to take notice of here, as it will not fall in with the series of events related in the following books.

Some gentlemen of his court be-

ing accused, in his presence, of having, at the suggestion of the bishop of Worcester, talked of him indecently and to his dishonour, they did not deny the words which were laid to their charge, but alleged that they were spoken when their minds were heated and disordered with wine. On this apology, he dismissed them all without any punishment, and retained no unkindness towards them or the bishop : an admirable proof of true magnanimity, and such as is found in few princes ! for even the best are sometimes more angry at any liberty taken with their persons, than at an act of high treason against their crown. But Henry's goodnature got the better of his pride ; and he was so wise as to know, that his character would gain more by this moderation, than it could suffer by any injurious aspersions. Nor would he encourage the baseness and malignity of informers, who endeavour to recommend themselves to the favour of a prince, by bringing to his ear the unweighed expressions of men in their hours of freedom : a practice as pernicious to the quiet of the sovereign as to the security of the subject. Henry's behaviour on this occasion effectually delivered his court from that pest, and rendered the air of it pure and healthful to liberty.

Of the piety of this prince we have a remarkable testimony from William Fitz-Stephen, a contemporary writer of Becket's life. He tells us, that the king would sometimes watch with the monks of Merton-abbey three nights before Easter : and that, after the evening service on Good Friday, he was accustomed to spend the re-

[illegible]

Nicholas was distinguished by his  
early attainments in literature, and a  
wide range of knowledge in various  
branches of science. He was very  
liberal in his religious opinions, and  
in his views on the rights of man.  
He was ever ready to defend the  
dignity of his character. He had  
the advantage of a wonderful  
memory, and a great love of liter-  
ary exercise; which happy cir-  
cumstances he improved by a con-  
tinual application to learning. For  
he was not content (as princes  
usually are) with the rudiments  
acquired in his childhood; but  
constantly employed a great part  
of his leisure in secret study, or in  
assemblies of clergymen, with  
whom he delighted to reason and  
hear their opinions, on points of  
literature and science. His daily  
school (says Peter of Blois) was the  
conversation of the most learned  
men, and a kind of academical dis-  
cussion of questions.

With his intimate friends he lived in the most gracious and easy familiarity, particularly with Becket, to whose house and table he would frequently come uninvited

[illegible]

His favourite diversion was hunting; in which he followed the customs of his ancestors, and more especially of the Normans, who took a pride in this exercise. as indicating a manly temper of mind, and forming the body to the toils and hardships of war. We are told by his preceptor, Peter of Blois, that when he was not reading, or at council, he had always in his hands a sword, or a hunting spear, or a bow and arrows. The hunting spear was used against wild boars, which were then in our forests,



refs, and adding greatly to the danger added also to the honour of this recreation. Henry rose by break of day, pursued the chace till evening with unabated ardour, and when he came home, though all his servants were tired with following him, he would not sit down; but was always on his feet, except at his meals, which he usually made very short. Even while he was consulting on business with his ministers, he stood, or walked. Thus he kept down a disposition to corpulency which would have otherwise incommoded him, and preserved the alacrity of youth to old age. From the continual habit of exercise he was so indefatigable, that he would perform in one day (if occasion required it) a journey of three or four to an ordinary traveller; by which expedition he often came unexpectedly upon his enemies, disconcerted the measures that were taken against him, and crushed the first motions to rebellion or sedition, even in the most distant parts of all the several states that were under his government. The frequent progresses he made about England have already been mentioned. They were very beneficial to his people; the execution of the laws, the good order of cities, the improvement of agriculture, manufactures, and trade, being thus under his own immediate inspection. He was the soul of his kingdom, pervading every part of it, and animating the whole with his active vivacity. Nor were his cares for the public interrupted by luxury, or the powers of his mind disordered and enfeebled by excess. He was constantly sober and often abstemious both in eating and drinking. His table was frugal,

his diet plain, and in his dress he affected the utmost simplicity, disliking all ornaments, which might encumber him and hinder his exercise, or shew an effeminate regard to his person. Yet this did not proceed from inattention to women. He was but too sensible of the power of their attractions, and too desirous to please them, even to the end of his life.

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*Character of the Empress Matilda.  
From the same.*

WHILE Henry was employed in suppressing this revolt, he received an account of the death of his mother Matilda, the greatest lady that Europe had ever seen, empress of Germany by her first marriage, countess of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine by her second, and, by the will of her father confirming her claim from hereditary right, dutchess of Normandy and queen of England. Yet she was more truly great in the latter part of her life, when she acted only as a subject under the reign of her son, than at the time when she beheld king Stephen her prisoner, and England at her feet. The violence of her temper and pride, inflamed by success, had then dishonoured her character, and made her appear to her friends, as well as to her enemies, unworthy of the dominion to which she was exalted: but from the instructions of adversity, age, and reflexion, she learned the virtues she most wanted, moderation and mildness. These, joined to the elevation and vigour of her mind, wherein she had always surpassed her sex, enabled her to become a most useful counsellor and minister to her son, in the affairs of

his government, which, for some time past, had been her sole ambition. There is not in all history another example of a woman who had possessed such high dignities, and encountered such perils for the sake of maintaining her power, being afterwards content to give it up, and, without forsaking the world, to live quietly in it; neither mixing in cabals against the state, nor aspiring to rule it beyond that limited province, which was particularly assigned to her administration! Such a conduct was meritorious in the highest degree, and more than atoned for all the errors of her former behaviour.

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*Character of Sir Philip Sidney, with a comparison between him and the celebrated chevalier Bayard. From the same.*

**I** Will add, that the two last, who appear to have fashioned themselves upon the model of chivalry, and to have possessed in perfection all the virtues of their order, were, in France, the chevalier Bayard, and, in England, Sir Philip Sidney.

In valour, courtesy, generosity, and a high and noble sense of honour, the peculiar virtues of chivalry, these two knights may be well compared together; but Sir Philip Sidney's character, upon the whole, is much superior to Bayard's, because he not only excelled in wit and learning, but was also endowed with great talents and abilities for state-affairs, as we know from the testimony of the greatest statesman of that age, William prince of Orange, who sent this message to Queen Elizabeth by Sir Fulk Greville, "that (in his judgment) her

"majesty had one of the ripest and  
"greatest counsellors of state in Sir  
"Philip Sidney that then lived in  
"Europe, to the trial of which he  
"was pleased to leave his own  
"credit engaged, until her majesty  
"might please to employ this gen-  
"tleman either amongst her friends  
"or enemies."

The credit of the prince of Orange, wants no support; but I will add, from the same author, Sir Fulk Greville, the testimony of the earl of Leicester, who said to Sir Fulk, "that when he under-  
"took the government of the Low-  
"countries he carried his nephew  
"(Sir Philip Sidney) over, with  
"him, as one amongst the rest;  
"not only despising his youth for  
"a counsellor, but withal bearing  
"a hand over him as a forward  
"young man. Notwithstanding,  
"in short time *he saw this sun so*  
"*risen above his horizon, that both*  
"*he and all his stars were glad to*  
"*fetch light from him.* And in  
"the end acknowledged, *that he*  
"*beld up the honour of his casual*  
"*authority by him whilst he lived,*  
"*and found reason to withdraw*  
"*himself from that burden after his*  
"*death*" But lest this praise might be suspected, as coming from a relation, Sir Fulk says further:  
"In what extraordinary estimation  
"his worth was, even amongst ene-  
"mies, will appear by his death;  
"when Mendoza, a secretary of  
"many treasons against us, acknow-  
"ledged openly, *that, howsoever he*  
"*was glad King Philip, his master,*  
"*had lost in a private gentleman a*  
"*dangerous enemy to his state; yet*  
"*he could not but lament to see Chris-*  
"*tendom deprived of so rare a light*  
"*in these cloudy times, and bewail*  
"*poor Widow England (so he term-*  
"ed

*ed her) that, having been many years in breeding one eminent spirit, was in a moment bereaved of him by the hands of a villain for low common soldier; for that is the meaning of the word villain in this place).*

We may therefore conclude, that, in the faculties of his mind, Sir Philip Sidney rose above the highest pitch of knightly accomplishments, and was not only “un Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche,” but fit for the greatest offices of state and government. It seems indeed no less dishonourable to the memory of Queen Elizabeth, that she should have let such a spirit and such talents as his remain so long unemployed, than that she should have trusted so much of her most arduous business to her unworthy favourite the earl of Leicester. As for the Chevalier Bayard, he does not appear to have had any extraordinary parts, or to have been ranked among the *statesmen* of the times in which he lived: nor had he any superior degree of knowledge, to distinguish him much from the ignorant nobility of his country: whereas Sir Philip had acquired such a reputation for science and taste in the fine arts, that (to use the words of the above-mentioned author) “the universities abroad and at home accounted him a general Mæcenæ of learning; dedicated their books to him, and communicated every invention or improvement of knowledge with him. There was not a cunning painter, a skilful engineer, an excellent musician, or any other artificer of extraordinary fame, that made not himself known to this famous spirit, and found him his true

friend without hire, and the common rendezvous of worth in his time.” Since I wrote this, the public has been entertained with the life of a very extraordinary man, the Lord Herbert of Cherbourg, written by himself, from which he appears to have been as strongly possessed with the high spirit of chivalry as Sir Philip Sidney, and was also a man of parts and learning. But he seems to have had weaknesses and defects in his character, arising chiefly from vanity, which are not to be found in Sidney, none of whose actions were improper, and much less were they ridiculous. Yet it must be owned, if these gentlemen are compared as *writers*, that Lord Herbert’s History of King Henry the Eighth is superior upon the whole to any work of Sir Philip Sidney.

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*The following curious particulars of some remote nations and tribes of TARTARS, who are but little known, and even their names seldom heard of in Europe, are extracted from the travels of John Bell of Antermoney; and we doubt not will be pleasing to many of our readers.*

#### *Of the Kalmucks.*

THE author being at Cazan, says, after dinner a party of us crossed the river to visit a great horse-market, held by the Kalmuck Tartars; we saw about five or six hundred of these people, assembled in a field, with a number of horses all running loose, except those on which the Tartars were

mounted. The buyers came from different parts of Russia. The Tartars had their tents pitched along the river side. These tents are of a conical figure; there are several long poles erected, inclining to one another, which are fixed at the top into something like a hoop, that forms the circumference of an aperture for letting out the smoke, or admitting the light; across the poles are laid some small rods, from four to six feet long, and fastened to them with thongs: this frame is covered with pieces of felt, made of coarse wool and hair. These tents afford better shelter than any other kind, and are so contrived as to be set up, taken down, folded and packed up with great ease and quickness, and so light that a camel may carry five or six of them. Where the khan or any person of character resides, they are placed in straight lines. These Tartars are strong made, stout men, their faces broad, noses flattish, and eyes small and black, but very quick. Their dress is very simple, consisting of a loose coat of sheep-skins, tied with a girdle, a small round cap, turned up with fur, having a tassel of red silk at the top, leather or linen drawers, and boots, their heads are all shaved, except a lock behind, which is plaited and hangs down their backs.

They are armed with bows and arrows, a sabre and lance, which they manage with great dexterity, acquired by constant practice from their infancy. They are men of courage and resolution; but much afraid of cannon, which puts their horses in disorder. As they are almost always on horse-back, they are excellent riders.

The dress of the women differs little from that of the men, only their gowns are somewhat longer than the coats of the men, a little ornamented, and bordered with party-coloured cloth; they wear ear-rings, and their hair all plaited in locks. The better sort dress in silks in summer. It must be observed for the honour of their women, that they are very honest and sincere, and few of them lewd; adultery is a crime scarce ever heard of. The Tartars make very good and faithful servants; and the more mildly they are used the better they perform their duty; for their wandering unconfined manner of life naturally inspires them with sentiments of liberty, and aversion and hatred to tyranny and oppression.

All their wealth is their flocks; like those who lived in the early ages of the world, they have camels, horses, cows, and sheep. The horses are of a good size for the saddle, and very hardy; as they run wild till they are sometimes six years old, they are generally headstrong; they are sold at this fair at five to fifteen or sixteen crowns, and the strong well-shaped natural pacers much higher. They have few camels, but many dromedaries, who have two protuberances on their backs. Their cows are of a middle size. The sheep large, having broad tails like those in Turkey; the wool is coarse, but the mutton very fine.

In the preceding century a Kalmuck prince, named Torgott-Chorluke, came from Alack-ulla, (which signifies the spotted mountains) a country situated between Siberia on the north, and India on the south, to the borders of Russia;  
and

and brought along with him about fifty thousand families, or tents, as they sometimes reckon. In his march westward to the Volga, he defeated Eyball-utzick, a Tartar prince, who lived in tents beyond the river Enbo. Advancing forward he met three other Tartar chiefs, named Kitta-haptzay, Malebash, and Etzan, whom he also defeated. And at last settled to the east of the Volga, under the protection of the Russians. Chorluke had six sons; Dangtzing the oldest succeeded him in the government, or chanship.

The present chan, named Aijuka, is the fourth from Chorluke, and is much esteemed in the east for his sagacity and justice. I am informed that the reason why Chorluke left his own country, was a dispute about the succession to the chanship. He being engaged on the weakest side, and having unsuccessfully tried his fortune in the field, at last took the resolution of abandoning his own country altogether. These people are generally called the black Kalmucks, though they are not black, but only swarthy.

They have no money, except what they get from the Russians, and their other neighbours, in exchange for cattle; with this they buy meal sometimes, but mostly cloth, silk-stuffs, and other apparel for their women. They have no mechanics, except those who make arms. They avoid all labour as the greatest slavery; their only employment is tending their flocks, managing horses, and hunting. If they are angry with a person, they wish he may live in one place, and work like a Rus-

sian. Their language contains none of those horrid oaths common enough in tongues of more enlightened nations. They believe virtue leads to happiness, and vice to misery; for when desired to do what they think wrong, they reply, in a proverb, 'Though a knife be sharp it cannot cut its own handle.'

On long marches all their provisions consist of cheese, or rather dried curd, made up into little balls, which they drink when pounded and mixt with water. If this kind of food fails they have always many spare horses, which they kill and eat. They broil or roast the flesh before the fire, on pieces of broken arrows, and never eat it raw, as is commonly believed, unless compelled by necessity. They have indeed large thick pieces of horse-flesh, smoaked or dried in the sun, which they eat; but this cannot properly be called raw. I have tasted some of it, and thought it not amiss.

As to their religion I can say little; they are downright Heathens, and have many lamas or priests, who can read and write, and are distinguished by their yellow habits. Their high priest is called Delay Lama, and lives far to the eastward.

#### *Of the Tzerimish and Tzoowash.*

There are two pretty numerous tribes called the Tzerimish and Tzoowash, they speak a language quite different from the Mahometan Tartars in these parts, who use a corrupted dialect of the Arabic. The Mahometans likewise have some learning;

learning; but the Tzerimish and Tzoowash have none. They have a tradition among them, that in former times they had a book of religion; but as no body could read it, a cow came and swallowed it. They pay great veneration to a bull. From whence they came is unknown; but from their complexion, it is probable they are from Asia. They live by agriculture, and seem to be an inoffensive kind of people. Their hunters offer in sacrifice to some deity, the first creature they catch. Hence some curious men have imagined these people part of the ten tribes of the Jews, expelled by Shalmanezar. I advance this only as a conjecture, which every reader may follow or not as he pleases.

By accident I met with an Englishman at this place. He was by trade a carpenter, and had been in the Russian service; but, being suspected of deserting, he was condemned to banishment, to this country, for a certain time: and, notwithstanding that was elapsed, the poor man, deprived of all means of asserting his liberty, remained still in the same situation. He bought a Tzerimish wife, from her father, for six rubles, about thirty shillings sterling. He brought her to visit me. She was a woman of a cheerful and open countenance, and dressed in the manner of her country; of which, for its singularity, I shall give a short description.

Her hair was plaited round her head, in many locks, but that on the back part longer than the rest, at the end of which was tied a tassel of red silk, and in the middle a small round brass bell; about her

head was a fillet set with small shells, instead of jewels, and hung all round with silver pence; above this was a piece of linen so artfully plaited, and done up, that it looked like a grenadier's cape; at the top was a silk tassel, with another brass bell, which gingled as she turned her head. The rest of her dress was clean though homely, and the whole seemed becoming enough.

#### *Of the Tartars about Astrachan.*

The Mahometan Tartars here live without the town; and have the same privileges as in other places. I met several of their women in the street with rings in their noses, which were of different value according to the rank of the person who wore them; some of gold, and others set with precious stones. On enquiring the reason of such a singular ornament, I was told, that it was the consequence of a religious dedication of these persons to the service of God: It is made by the parents, even while the mother is pregnant; in token whereof, as soon as the child is born, they put a ring in the right nostril, which continues there till death. I have seen some with two such rings.

One day as I was walking through the streets of Astrachan, I observed a very singular appearance; it was a pretty Tartar lady mounted astride upon an ox; she had a ring in her nose, and a string drawn through the nose of the ox, which served instead of a bridle; she was dressed better than common, and attended by a footman; the singularity of the equipage, but particularly her extraordinary



nary beauty, drew my attention. The Mahometan must not be confounded with the Kalmuck Tartars; the first are a well-looking civilized people in comparison of the other.

Before I leave Astrachan it may be proper to rectify a mistaken opinion, which I have observed frequently to occur in grave German authors, who, in treating of the remarkable things of this country, relate that there grows in this desert, or stepp, adjoining to Astrachan, in some plenty, a certain shrub or plant, called in the Russian language Tartarskey barashka. i. e. Tartarian lamb, with the skins of which the caps of the Armenians, Persians, Tartars, &c. are faced; they also write, that this Tartarskey barashka partakes of animal as well as vegetative life; that it eats up and devours all the grass and weeds within its reach. Though it may be thought, that an opinion so very absurd could find no credit with people of the meanest share of understanding, yet I have conversed with some who have seemed much inclined to believe it: So very prevalent is the prodigious and absurd with some part of mankind.

In search of this wonderful plant I walked many a mile, accompanied by Tartars who inhabit these deserts; but all I could find out were some dry bushes, scattered here and there, which grow on a single stalk, with a bushy top, of a brownish colour; the stalk is about eighteen inches high; the top consisting of sharp prickly leaves: It is true that no grass or weeds grow within the circle of its shade, a property natural to

many other plants here, and elsewhere. After further enquiry of the more sensible and experienced among the Tartars, I found they laughed at it as a ridiculous fable.

At Astrachan they have great quantities of lamb-skins, grey and black; some waved, others curled, all naturally, and very pretty, having a fine gloss, particularly the waved, which, at a small distance, appear like the richest watered tabby; they are much esteemed, and are much used for the lining of coats, and the turning up of caps in Persia, Russia, and other parts. The best of these are brought from Bucharra, Chiva, and the countries adjacent, and are taken out of the ewe's belly, after she hath been killed, or the lamb is killed immediately after it is lambled; for such a skin is equal in value to the sheep.

The Kalmucks and other Tartars, who inhabit the desert, in the neighbourhood of Astrachan, have also lamb-skins, which are applied to the same purposes; but the wool of these being rougher, and more hairy, they are far inferior to those of Bucharra, or Chiva, both in gloss and beauty, as also in the dressing, consequently in value; I have known one single lamb-skin of Bucharra sold for five or six shillings sterling, when one of these would not yield two shillings.

#### *Of the Kossatshy-Orda, and Kara-Kalpacks, or Black-Caps.*

This place is sometimes alarmed with incursions of the Tartars, called Kossatshy-Orda, and Kara-Kalpacks; but the Rus-

sians

fians have of late so fortified their frontiers, that these rovers appear seldom than formerly. Both these tribes are Mahometans, live always in tents, and spread themselves, with their flocks, in the great desert; both are very numerous, and own subjection to different chiefs, whom they call Batteer, which signifies a hero. These are chosen by themselves, and are the most famous among them for their abilities in military exploits. They are at continual war with the Kalmucks who inhabit along the Volga, and with all their other neighbours. They are not able to stand against regular troops; and, when attacked by them, retire into the wide desert, with their families and cattle; whither none, but people accustomed to their manner of life, can follow them.

The country of the Kara-Kalpacks, or Black-Caps, so called from a kind of caps they commonly wear turned up with black lamb-skins, lies to the south-west, towards the Volga. That of Kosfatshy-Orda extends to the south-east, as far as the river Irtysh.

*Of the Tartars at, and near Tobolski, the capital of Siberia. Of the Kontaysha, or prince of the black Kalmucks.*

Under the hill in the suburbs, along the banks of the river, are several large streets, called the Tartar-streets, occupied by the remains of the ancient inhabitants of these parts. Here, as at other places, these people enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and the privileges of trade. They resemble, in their persons, religion, language, and manners, the

Tartars of Cazan and Astrachan. Their houses are very cleanly. They are very courteous to strangers, and esteemed honest; on which account they get great credit in their commercial affairs.

Before I leave this place, I imagine it will not be improper to subjoin a few more particulars relative to the Kontaysha, prince of the Kalmucks, whom I formerly mentioned. I am the more inclined to do this, as I can entirely depend on my intelligence; having procured it from persons who have been in that country, and seen this prince; but particularly from an ingenious and penetrating gentleman, who fills a public office in this place, and was employed in several messages to him from the late governor of Siberia.

The territories of this prince are bounded by three of the most potent empires in the world; on the north by Russia, by China on the east, and by the country of the Great Mogul to the south. From the two first he is separated by desert plains, and from the third by almost impassable mountains. To the south-west his frontiers reach near to Bucharria. The Kontaysha is a very powerful prince, and able to bring into the field, at a short warning, an hundred thousand horsemen, who are all of them able-bodied men, well mounted, and armed with bows and arrows, lances and sabres. This is a greater number of horse than any prince that I know can muster, except his Russian majesty, and the emperor of China. These Tartars live in tents all the year, removing from place to place, as called by necessity or inclination. This is the most ancient and pleasant

fant manner of life. It is entertaining to hear them commiserate those who are confined to one place of abode, and obliged to support themselves by labour, which they reckon the greatest slavery.

The Kontaysha has always some thousands of his subjects encamped near himself, who treat him with great veneration and respect. And, in justice to him, it must be confessed, that he is as attentive to the interests of his people, and as assiduous in the administration of justice, in particular, as if they were his own children.

The Kalmucks are not such savage people as they are generally represented; for I am informed a person may travel among them with greater safety, both to his person and effects, than in many other countries.

The Kontaysha received the deputies from the governor of Siberia, like ambassadors from foreign princes, and treated them accordingly. This shews what high respect these eastern princes entertain for his Czarish majesty, when the governor of Siberia is regarded as a sovereign. The ceremony on these occasions was as follows.

The deputy with his servants were admitted into the tent, where the Kontaysha sat, with his queen and several children about him. He desired all of them to sit down on carpets or mats; for the Kalmucks, like most Asiatics, use no chairs. They were entertained with tea before dinner; and, after it, the Kontaysha dismissed the deputy in a friendly manner, telling him, he would send for him next day to receive an answer to the governor's letter, which he punctually

performed. This answer was expressed in very plain and concise terms. These Tartars in general write with brevity and perspicuity. I have seen several of their letters translated, which pleased me extremely, as they contained no tedious preambles, nor disgusting repetitions, which serve only to perplex the reader.

The emperor of China was some time ago engaged in a war with the Kontaysha, about some frontier towns, of which the latter took possession, and maintained his claim with a strong army. The emperor sent against him an army of three hundred thousand men, under the command of his fourteenth son, who is reckoned the best general of all his children. Notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, the Kontaysha defeated the Chinese in several actions. The emperor at last thought it best to accommodate the difference, and a peace was concluded, to the satisfaction of both parties.

It must be observed, that the Chinese, being obliged to undertake a long and difficult march, through a desert and barren country, lying westward of the long wall; being also incumbered with artillery, and heavy carriages containing provisions for the whole army during their march, had their force greatly diminished before they reached the enemy. The Kontaysha, on the other hand, having intelligence of the great army coming against him, waited patiently on his own frontiers, till the enemy was within a few days march of his camp, when he sent out detachments of light horse to set fire to the grass, and lay waste the country. He also distracted them,

them, day and night, with repeated alarms, which, together with want of provisions, obliged them to retire with considerable loss.

This method of carrying on war, by wasting the country, is very ancient among the Tartars, and practised by all of them from the Danube eastward. This circumstance renders them a dreadful enemy to regular troops, who must thereby be deprived of all subsistence, while the Tartars, having always many spare horses to kill and eat, are at no loss for provisions.

I have only to add, that the Kontaysha must be the same prince, who, in our European maps, is generally called the Great Cham of Tartary. As no Europeans travel through that country, these maps must be very erroneous. It is however to be expected, that the Russians will, in time, make a more complete discovery of the eastern parts of Asia.

We passed through many Tartar villages, and at night lodged in one of their little huts, and warmed ourselves at a good fire on the hearth. These houses consist generally of one or two rooms, according to the ability of the landlord. Near to the hearth is fixed an iron kettle to dress the victuals. In one end of the apartment is placed a bench, about eighteen inches high, and six feet broad, covered with mats, or skins of wild beasts, upon which all the family sit by day, and sleep in the night. The walls are built of wood and moss, consisting of large beams, laid one above another, with a layer of moss between every two beams. All the roofs are raised.

A square hole is cut out for a window, and to supply the want of glass, a piece of ice is formed to fit the place exactly, which lets in a good light. Two or three pieces will last the whole winter. These Tartars are very neat and cleanly, both in their persons and houses. They use no stoves, as the Russians do. Near the house there is commonly a shade for the cattle.

#### *Of the Barabintzy, or Tartars of Barabara.*

Here we laid in provisions for our journey over the Barabara; which signifies, in the Tartar language, a marshy plain. Its inhabitants are a mixture of different Tartar tribes, called Barabintzy, from the name of the country in which they live. They are a poor miserable people, being treated as subjects both by the emperor and kontaysha; and obliged to pay a tribute, in furs and skins of wild beasts, to each. They have no grain nor cattle of any kind, except a few rein-deer; and subsist by hunting and fishing. What fish they consume not in the summer, are dried and smoked for their winter provisions. They are partly of the Mahometan and partly of the Kalmuck religion; but this difference causes no disputes.

In the places through which we passed, the ambassador sent for all the hunters and sportsmen, that he might inquire what kinds of game and wild beasts were in their neighbourhood. Hunting is the employment of most of the young fellows in this country; and is very profitable, as they sell the furs

furs to great advantage. We found that this place produced great plenty both of game and wild beasts, but few fables. In the spring, a number of elks and stags come hither, from the south; many of which are killed by the inhabitants, both on account of their flesh and their hides. What of the flesh is not consumed fresh they salt. The hides are very large, and are dressed into excellent buff. The huntsman, having found the track of a stag upon the snow, pursues it upon his snow-shoes, with his bow and arrows, and little dog, till the animal is quite fatigued: for, the snow on the surface, being melted by the heat of the sun, and congealed, at night, by the frost, but not strong enough to bear the weight of such an animal; he sinks deep at every step, and the sharp ice cuts his ancles; and lames him; so that he becomes an easy prey to the hunter.

One of these hunters told me the following story, which was confirmed by several of his neighbours. That, in the year 1713, in the month of March, being out a hunting, he discovered the track of a stag, which he pursued; at overtaking the animal, he was somewhat startled, on observing it had only one horn, stuck in the middle of its forehead. Being near this village he drove it home, and shewed it, to the great admiration of the spectators. He afterwards killed it, and eat the flesh; and sold the horn to a comb-maker, in the town of Tara, for ten alteens, about fifteen pence sterling. I inquired carefully about the shape and size of this unicorn, as I shall call it, and was told it exactly resembled a

stag. The horn was of a brownish colour, about one archer's bow, or twenty-eight inches long; and twisted, from the root, till within a finger's length of the top, where it was divided, like a fork, into two points very sharp.

Baraba is really what its name signifies, an extensive marshy plain. It is generally full of lakes, and marshy grounds, overgrown with tall woods of aspen, alder, willows, and other aquatics; particularly many large birch-trees, having their bark as white and smooth as paper. The lakes abound with various kinds of fishes; such as pikes, perch, breams, eels, and, particularly, a fish, called *Karras*, of an uncommon bigness, and very fat. These the inhabitants dry, in summer, for winter provisions; which are all the food to be found among them. I have eat of it often, and thought it not disagreeable. In winter, they use melted fat for water. They are very hospitable; and desire nothing, in return of their civilities, but a little tobacco to smoke, and a drink of brandy, of which they are very fond. The dress, both of men and women, consists of long coats of sheep-skins, which they get from the Russians and Kamtshats, in exchange for more valuable furs. As they wear no other apparel, not even shirts, they are very nasty. Their huts are most miserable habitations, and sunk about one half under ground. We were glad, however, to find them, as a baiting-place in such a cold season.

The Barabiaty, like most of the ancient natives of Siberia, have many conjurers among them; whom

whom they call shamans, and sometimes priests. Many of the female sex also assume this character. The shamans are held in great esteem by the people; they pretend to correspondence with the shaytan, or devil; by whom, they say, they are informed of all past and future events, at any distance of time or place. Our ambassador resolved to inquire strictly into the truth of many strange stories, generally believed, concerning the shamans; and sent for all of fame, in that way, in the places through which we passed.

In Baraba, we went to visit a famous woman of this character. When we entered her house, she continued busy about her domestic affairs, without almost taking any notice of her guests. However, after she had smoked a pipe of tobacco, and drunk a dram of brandy, she began to be more chearful. Our people asked her some trifling questions about their friends; but she pretended to be quite ignorant, till she got more tobacco, and some inconsiderable presents; when she began to collect her conjuring tools. First, she brought the shaytan; which is nothing but a piece of wood, wherein is cut something resembling a human head, adorned with many silk and woollen rags, of various colours; then, a small drum, about a foot diameter, to which were fixed many brass and iron rings, and hung round also with rags. She now began a dismal tune, keeping time with the drum, which she beat with a stick for that purpose; several of her neighbours, whom she had previously called to her assistance, joined in the chorus. Du-

ring this scene, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, she kept the shaytan, or image, close by herself, stuck up in a corner. The charm being now finished, she desired us to put our questions. Her answers were delivered very artfully, and with as much obscurity and ambiguity, as they could have been given by any oracle. She was a young woman, and very handsome.

### *Of the Tongusky.*

We continued our journey, for several days, along the Tongusta. We found, now and then, little villages, or single houses, on the banks. One day we chanced to meet a prodigious flock of hares, all as white as the snow on which they walked. I speak within compass when I say there were above five or six hundred of them. They were coming down the river, very deliberately, on a small path, of their own making, close to the beaten road. As soon as they saw us, all of them run into the woods, without seeming much frightened. I am informed that these hares travel to the south, in much greater flocks than this, every spring, and return in autumn, when the rivers are frozen and the snow falls. In most of the villages, we found plenty of this sort of venison; the inhabitants, however, value it but little; for they catch these hares more on account of their skins, of which they make considerable profits, than their flesh.

The Tongusky, so called from the name of the river, who live along its banks, are the posterity of the ancient inhabitants of Siberia,



beria, and differ in language, manners, and dress, and even in their persons and stature, from all the other tribes of these people I have had occasion to see. They have no houses, where they remain for any time, but range through the woods, and along rivers, at pleasure; and, wherever they come, they erect a few spars, inclining to one another at the top; these they cover with pieces of birchen bark, sewed together, leaving a hole at the top to let out the smoke. The fire is placed in the middle. They are very civil and tractable, and like to smoke tobacco, and drink brandy. About their huts they have generally a good stock of rein-deer, in which all their wealth consists.

The men are tall and able-bodied, brave, and very honest. The women are of a middle size, and virtuous. I have seen many of the men with oval figures, like wreaths, on their foreheads and chins; and sometimes a figure, resembling the branch of a tree, reaching from the corner of the eye to the mouth. These are made, in their infancy, by pricking the parts with a needle, and rubbing them with charcoal, the marks whereof remain as long as the person lives. Their complexion is swarthy. Their faces are not so flat as those of the Kalmucks, but their countenances more open. They are altogether unacquainted with any kind of literature, and worship the sun and moon. They have many shamans among them, who differ little from those I formerly described. I was told of others, whose abilities in fortune-telling far exceeded these of the shamans at this place, but they

lived far northward. They cannot bear to sleep in a warm room, but retire to their huts, and lie about the fire on skins of wild beasts. It is surprising how these creatures can suffer the very piercing cold in these parts.

The women are dressed in a fur-gown, reaching below the knee, and tied about the waist with a girdle. This girdle is about three inches broad, made of deer's skin, having the hair curiously stitched down and ornamented; to which is fastened, at each side, an iron ring, that serves to carry a tobacco-pipe, and other trinkets of small value. Their gowns are also stitched down the breast, and about the neck. Their long black hair is plaited, and tied about their heads, above which they wear a small fur-cap, which is becoming enough. Some of them have small ear-rings. Their feet are dressed in buskins, made of deer-skins, which reach to the knee, and are tied about the ankles with a thong of leather.

The dress of the men is very simple, and fit for action. It consists of a short jacket, with narrow sleeves, made of deer's skin, having the fur outward; trousers and hose of the same kind of skin, both of one piece, and tight to the limbs. They have besides a piece of fur, that covers the breast and stomach, which is hung about the neck with a thong of leather. This, for the most part, is neatly stitched and ornamented by their wives. Round their heads they have a ruff, made of the tails of squirrels, to preserve the tips of the ears from the cold. There is nothing on the crown, but the hair smoothed, which hangs in a

long plaited lock behind their backs.

Their arms are a bow and several sorts of arrows, according to the different kinds of game they intend to hunt. The arrows are carried, in a quiver, on their backs, and the bow always in their left hand. Besides these, they have a short lance, and a little hatchet. Thus accoutred, they are not afraid to attack the fiercest creature in the woods, even the strongest bear; for they are stout men, and dexterous archers. In winter, which is the season for hunting wild beasts, they travel on what are called snow shoes, without which it would be impossible to make their way through the deep snow. These are made of a very thin piece of light wood, about five feet long, and five or six inches broad, inclining to a point before, and square behind. In the middle is fixed a thong, through which the feet are put. On these shoes a person may walk safely over the deepest snow; for a man's weight will not sink them above an inch; these however can only be used on plains. They have a different kind for ascending hills, with the skins of seals glued to the boards, having the hair inclined backwards, which prevents the sliding of the shoes; so that they can ascend a hill very easily; and, in descending, they slide downwards at a great rate.

The nation of the Tongusky was very numerous; but is, of late, much diminished by the small-pox. It is remarkable, that they knew nothing of this distemper, till the Russians arrived among them. They are so much afraid of this disease, that, if any one

of a family is seized with it, the rest immediately make the patient a little hut, and set by him some water and victuals; then, packing up every thing, they march off to the windward, each carrying an earthen pot, with burning coals in it, and making a dreadful lamentation as they go along. They never revisit the sick, till they think the danger past. If the person dies, they place him on a branch of a tree, to which he is tied with strong wythes, to prevent his falling.

When they go a hunting into the woods, they carry with them no provisions; but depend entirely on what they are to catch. They eat every animal that comes in their way, even a bear, fox, or wolf. The squirrels are reckoned delicate food; but the ermins have such a strong rank taste and smell, that nothing but starving can oblige them to eat their flesh. When a Tonguse kills an elk or deer, he never moves from the place, till he has eat it up, unless he happens to be near his family; in which case, he carries part of it home. He is never at a loss for fire, having always a tinder-box about him; if this should happen to be wanting, he kindles a fire by rubbing two pieces of wood against each other. They eat nothing raw, but in great extremity.

The fables are not caught in the same manner as other animals. The fur is so tender, that the least mark of an arrow, or ruffling of the hair, spoils the sale of the skin. In hunting them they only use a little dog, and a net. When a hunter finds the track of a sable upon the snow, he follows it, perhaps, for two or three days, till the

the poor animal, quite tired, takes refuge in some tall tree; for it can climb like a cat; the hunter then spreads his net around the tree, and makes a fire; the sable, unable to endure the smoke, immediately descends, and is caught in the net. I have been told, by some of these hunters, that, when hard pinched with hunger, on such long chaces, they take two thin boards, one of which they apply to the pit of the stomach, and the other to the back opposite to it; the extremities of these boards are tied with cords, which are drawn tighter by degrees, and prevent their feeling the cravings of hunger.

Although I have observed, that the Tongusy, in general, worship the sun and moon, there are many exceptions to this observation. I have found intelligent people among them, who believed there was a being superior to both sun and moon; and who created them and all the world.

I shall only remark farther, that from all the accounts I have heard and read of the natives of Canada, there is no nation in the world, which they so much resemble as the Tongusians. The distance between them is not so great as is commonly imagined.

#### *Of the Buraty.*

Here we found another tribe of the natives of Siberia, who differ, in some particulars, from all those I have formerly described. They are called by the Russians Bratsky, but by themselves Buraty. They live in tents all the year; and, having large flocks of sheep, and many cows and horses, they re-

move from place to place, as the convenience of grazing requires. Their language has a great affinity to that of the Kalmucks; and they have priests among them who can read and write that language. As to their dress, and manner of life, I could observe little difference between them and the Kalmucks on the Volga; and therefore conclude they have both descended from the same original. Their faces, however, are not quite so flat as those of the Kalmucks; their noses being somewhat higher, and their countenances more open.

The Buraty are stout active men, but hate all kind of labour. For, though they have the example of the Russians ploughing and sowing their ground, and living plentifully on the produce of this rich and fertile soil, they chuse still to live in their tents, and tend their flocks, on which their subsistence entirely depends.

The chief exercise of the men is hunting and riding. They have a good breed of saddle-horses; and their horned cattle are very large. Their sheep have broad tails, and their mutton is excellent. They have also great abundance of goats. For all these animals they make no provision of fodder; but leave them to feed in the open fields. When the snow falls to a great depth, which seldom happens in these parts, they drive them southward to rising grounds, where little snow lies.

Their arms are bows and arrows, lances and sabres; all of which are used on horse-back; for, like the Kalmucks, they have no infantry. They are dexterous archers, and skilful horsemen.

These people were formerly sub-  
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jest to a prince of the Mongalls ; but now live very quietly under the Russian government. They are at present a very numerous people, reaching towards the east and south of the Baykall lake ; and are generally reckoned very honest and sincere.

As to their dress, the men wear a coat, or rather gown, of sheep-skins, girt about the middle, in all seasons ; a small round cap, faced with fur, having a tassel of red silk at the top ; which, together with a pair of drawers and boots, makes up the whole of their apparel. The womens dress is nearly the same ; only their gowns are plaited about the waist, and hang down like a petticoat. The married women have their hair hanging in two locks, one on each side of the head, drawn through two iron rings to prevent its floating on the breast ; and looking very like a tye-wig. Round their forehead they wear a hoop of polished iron, made fast behind ; and on their head a small round cap, faced with fur, and embroidered, in their fashion, to distinguish it from those of the men. The maids are dressed in the same manner ; only, their hair is all plaited, hanging in separate locks round their head, and is as black as a raven ; some of them have good complexions. Both the men and women are courteous in their behaviour. I should like them much better if they were a little more cleanly. Both their persons and tents are extremely nasty, from their using only skins to preserve them from the cold ; on these they sit, or lie, round a little fire, in their tents.

The religion of the Buraty seems to be the same with that of

the Kalmucks, which is downright paganism of the grossest kind. They talk indeed of an almighty and good being, who created all things, whom they call Burchun ; but seem bewildered, in obscure and fabulous notions, concerning his nature and government. They have two high priests, to whom they pay great respect ; one is called Delay-Lama, the other Kutuchtu. Of these priests I shall have an opportunity to give some account afterwards.

In passing the tents of the Buraty, I often observed a long pole ; whereon was hung, by the horns, the head and skin of a sheep. On enquiring the reason of this appearance, I was told that the animal, whose head and skin these were, had been slain, and offered in sacrifice, to the God who protected their flocks and herds. I could observe no images among them, except some relics given them by their priests, which they had from the Delay-Lama ; these are commonly hung up in a corner of their tents, and sometimes about their necks, by way of an amulet, to preserve them from misfortunes.

#### *Of a Buratsky Shaman, or Conjuror.*

We were entertained with a famous Buratsky shaman, who was also a lama, or priest, and was brought from a great distance. As these shamans make a great noise in this part of the world, and are believed, by the ignorant vulgar, to be inspired, I shall give some account of the behaviour of this one, in particular, by which it will appear that the whole is an imposition.

He was introduced to the ambassador by the commandant, accompanied by several chiefs of his own tribe, who treat him with great respect. He was a man of about thirty years of age, of a grave aspect and deportment. At his introduction he had a cup of brandy presented to him, which he drank, but refused any more.

After some conversation, he was desired to exhibit some specimen of his art; but he replied, he could do nothing in a Russian house; because there were some images of saints, which prevented his success. The performance was therefore adjourned to a Buratsky tent in the suburbs. Accordingly, in the evening, we went to the place appointed, where we found the shaman, with several of his companions, round a little fire, smoking tobacco; but no women among them. We placed ourselves on one side of the tent, leaving the other for him and his countrymen. After sitting about half an hour, the shaman placed himself cross-legged upon the floor, close by a few burning coals upon the hearth, with his face towards his companions; then he took two sticks, about four feet long each, one in each hand, and began to sing a dismal tune, beating time with the sticks; all his followers joined in the chorus. During this part of the performance, he turned and distorted his body into many different postures, till, at last, he wrought himself up to such a degree of fury that he foamed at the mouth, and his eyes looked red and staring. He now started up, on his legs, and fell a dancing, like one distracted, till he

trode out the fire with his bare feet. These unnatural motions were, by the vulgar, attributed to the operations of a divinity; and, in truth, one would almost have imagined him possessed by some demon. After being quite spent with dancing, he retired to the door of the tent, and gave three dreadful shrieks, by which, his companions said, he called the demon to direct him in answering such questions as should be proposed. He then returned, and sat down in great composure, telling he was ready to resolve any question that might be asked. Several of our people put questions in abundance; all which he answered readily, but in such ambiguous terms that nothing could be made of them. He now performed several legerdemain tricks; such as stabbing himself with a knife, and bringing it up at his mouth, running himself through with a sword, and many others too trifling to mention. In short, nothing is more evident than that these shamans are a parcel of jugglers, who impose on the ignorant and credulous vulgar.

#### *Of a Buratsky Tea-drinking.*

Our horses having swam the river, we went into one of the Buratsky tents, till they were dried. The hospitable landlady immediately set her kettle on the fire, to make us some tea; the extraordinary cookery of which I cannot omit describing. After placing a large iron kettle over the fire, she took care to wipe it very clean with a horse's tail, that hung in a corner of the tent for that purpose; then the water was put

into it, and, soon after, some coarse bohea tea, which is got from China, and a little salt. When near boiling, she took a large brass ladle and tossed the tea, till the liquor turned very brown. It was now taken off the fire, and, after subsiding a little, was poured clear into another vessel. The kettle being wiped clean with the horse's tail, as before, was again set upon the fire. The mistress now prepared a paste, of meal and fresh butter, that hung in a skin near the horse's tail, which was put into the tea-kettle and fried. Upon this paste the tea was again poured; to which was added some good thick cream, taken out of a clean sheep's skin, which hung upon a peg among the other things. The ladle was again employed, for the space of six minutes, when the tea, being removed from the fire, was allowed to stand a while in order to cool. The landlady now took some wooden cups, which held about half a pint each, and served her tea to all the company. The principal advantage of this tea is, that it both satisfies hunger and quenches thirst. I thought it not disagreeable; but should have liked it much better had it been prepared in a manner a little more cleanly. Our bountiful hostess, however, gave us a hearty welcome; and, as these people know not the use of money, there was nothing to pay for our entertainment. We only made her a present of a little tobacco to smoke, of which these people are very fond. I have given this receipt with a view that some European ladies may improve upon it.

*Of the Mongall Tartars.*

The Mongalls are a numerous people, and occupy a large extent of country, from this place to the Kallgan, which signifies the everlasting Wall, or the great wall of China. From this wall they stretch themselves northward as far as the river Amoor; and from the Amoor, westward, to the Baykall sea; where they border with the territories of the Kontaysha, or prince of the black Kalmucks. On the south, they are bounded by a nation called Tonguts, among whom the Delay-Lama has his residence. One may easily imagine, from the vast track of land which the Mongalls occupy, that they must be very numerous; especially, when it is considered, that they live in a healthy climate, and have been engaged in no wars, since they were conquered, partly by the Russians on the west, and partly by the Chinese on the east; to whom all these people are now tributaries. In former times the Mongalls were troublesome neighbours to the Chinese, against whose incursions the great wall was built.

Kamhi, the present emperor of China, was the first who subdued these hardy Tartars; which he effected more by kind usage and humanity than by his sword; for these people are great lovers of liberty. The same gentle treatment hath been observed by the Russians, towards those of them who are their subjects. And they themselves confess, that, under the protection of these two mighty emperors, they enjoy more liberty, and live at more ease, than they



they formerly did under their own princes.

The present prince of Mongolia is called Tush-du-Chan, and resides about six days journey, to the south-east, from Selinginsky. The place is called Urga, and is near to where the Kutuchtu, or high priest, inhabits. When the Mongalls submitted themselves to the emperor of China, it was agreed, that the Tush-du-Chan should still maintain the name and authority of a prince over his people; but undertake no war, nor expedition, without consent of the emperor; which has strictly been observed ever since.

It is remarkable, that, in all the vast dominions of Mongolia, there is not so much as a single house to be seen. All the people, even the prince and high priest, live constantly in tents; and remove, with their cattle, from place to place, as conveniency requires.

These people do not trouble themselves with ploughing, or digging the ground in any fashion; but are content with the produce of their flocks. Satisfied with necessaries, without aiming at superfluities, they pursue the most ancient and simple manner of life; which, I must confess, I think very pleasant in such a mild and dry climate.

From the river Volga, to the wall of China, there are three great Tartar princes; the Ayuka-Chan, the Kontaysha, and the Tush-du-Chan. These three mighty nations have almost the same features, religion, and language; and live in the same manner. It will easily be perceived, by casting an eye on the map, what an extent of territory these princes possess,

whose subjects go by the general name of Kalmucks. Few languages can carry a traveller over a greater extent of country than that of the Kalmucks. With the Arabic, indeed, a person may travel through many places of the east, from Egypt to the court of the Great Mogul; but, with the Illyric, he can travel much further than with either of the former; viz. from the gulf of Venice to the outmost boundaries of Kamtzatky; for the Russian is a dialect of the Illyric.

The greatest part of Mongolia is one continued waste; except the places along the Amoor, and towards the Russian borders on the west. The soil also, to the south, from Selinginsky, is exceedingly fine; and capable, by proper culture, of producing grain of several sorts.

*Of the Kutuchtu High Priest, or Lama, of the Mongall Tartars.*

The same officer, who carried the ambassador's letter to the prince of Mongolia at Urga, was ordered to present his compliments to the Kutuchtu, or high priest, who is a near relation of the prince. He received the officer in a very friendly manner, desired him to sit down in his presence; an honour granted to very few, except ambassadors, and pilgrims from remote countries; and, at his departure, gave him a present of some inconsiderable things; particularly, a few pieces of Chinese silks.

I cannot leave this venerable personage, without taking some notice of him. I shall therefore relate a few things concerning him, among thousands more ridiculous,

culous, which the people in this country tell and believe.

This extraordinary man assumes to himself the character of omniscience, which is the interpretation of the word Kutuchtu; and the people are taught to believe that he really knows all things, past, present, and future. As his intelligence, by means of his lamas, is very extensive, he is easily able to impose on the vulgar in this particular. They also believe that he is immortal; not that his body lives always; but that his soul, upon the decay of an old one, immediately transmigrates into some young human body; which, by certain marks, the lamas discover to be animated by the soul of the Kutuchtu, and he is accordingly treated as high priest.

When the spirit of the Kutuchtu has taken possession of a new body, that is, in plain English, when he is dead, the lamas are immediately employed to discover in what part of the world this wonderful person is regenerated, or born again, as they express it. They need, however, go to no great distance to find him; for the affair being previously concerted among the chief lamas, they soon determine the choice of a successor; who generally happens to be a young boy, that has been well instructed how to behave on that occasion. When a successor is pretended to be found, a company of lamas are sent to examine the matter, who carry along with them many toys, such as small silver bells, and things of that nature, which belonged to the former Kutuchtu, intermixed with others that did not. All these are laid before the child, who picks out such things as belonged to his pre-

decessor, and discovers the greatest fondness for them; but rejects, with disgust, whatever is not genuine. Besides this trial, some questions are put to him, relative to wars, or remarkable events, in his former state; all which are answered to the satisfaction of the conclave. Whereupon he is unanimously declared to be the self-same Kutuchtu, is conducted with great pomp and ceremony to Urga, and lodged in the tent of the high priest.

Till the new Kutuchtu arrives at a certain age, he is entirely under the government of the lamas; and few are permitted to see him, except at a great distance, and even then it is not easy to get access to him. It may seem surprising, that, in so numerous an assembly of lamas, no intrigues should be carried on, nor disputes arise, among the electors. All is conducted without noise or contention. It is however imagined, that the authority of the prince greatly contributes to their unanimity.

The Mongalls relate, that their Kutuchtu has now lived fourteen generations, and renews his age every moon; for, at the new moon, he appears like a youth; when she is full, like a full-grown man; but, when near the change, he is an old man with grey hairs.

What they call the Urga is the court, or the place where the prince and high priest reside; who are always encamped at no great distance from one another. They have several thousand tents about them, which are removed from time to time. The Urga is much frequented by merchants from China, and Russia, and other places; where all trade is carried on by barter, with

without money of any kind. The Chinese bring hither ingots of gold, damasks, and other silk and cotton stuffs, tea, and some porcelain; which are generally of an inferior quality, and proper for such a market. The Russian commodities are chiefly furs of all sorts. Rhubarb is the principal article which is exchanged for these goods, great quantities whereof are produced in this country, without any culture. The Mongalls gather and dry it in autumn; and bring it to this market, where it is bought up, at an easy rate, both by the Russian and Chinese merchants.

The Kutuchtu and his lamas are all clothed in yellow, and no layman is allowed to wear this colour, except the prince. This mark of distinction makes them known and respected every where. They also wear about their necks a string of beads, which are used in saying their prayers. The Mongalls believe in, and worship, one Almighty Creator of all things. They hold that the Kutuchtu is God's vicerent on earth; and that there will be a state of future rewards and punishments.

The following relation, which I had from a Russian merchant, to whom the thing happened, will show the methods taken by these lamas, to maintain the dignity and character of their mighty high priest. This merchant had gone to the Urga, with an intention to trade with the Chinese. While he was at this place, some pieces of damask were stolen out of his tent. He made a complaint to some of the lamas, with whom he was acquainted; and the matter was soon brought before the Kutuchtu, who immediately ordered proper steps to be taken with a

view to find out the thief. The affair was conducted in this uncommon manner; one of the lamas took a bench with four feet, which seems to have been of the conjuring kind; after turning it, several times, in different directions, at last it pointed directly to the tent where the stolen goods lay concealed. The lama now mounted astride on the bench, and soon carried it, or, as was commonly believed, it carried him to the very tent; where he ordered the damask to be produced. The demand was directly complied with; for it is in vain, in such cases, to offer any excuse.

I shall now subjoin a few observations on the Delay-Lama, or priest of the desert, who is reckoned still superior to the Kutuchtu. He lives about a month's journey to the south-east of this place, among a people called the Tonguts, who use a different language from the Kalmucks. I am informed that the religion of the Tonguts is the same with that of the Mongalls; that they hold the same opinions with respect to the transmigration of the Delay-Lama, as the Mongalls do about the Kutuchtu, and that he is elected in the same manner. What appears most surprising is, that these two mighty Lamas keep a good correspondence, and never encroach on one another's privileges. The word *delay* signifies either the sea, or a great plain, such as this priest inhabits.

*Of an Interview, and Hunting Match with a Mongall Batyr, or Hero.*

A chief, named Taysha, of those Mongalls who are subjects of his ma-

majesty, came to pay his respects to the ambassador, who gave him a friendly reception, and kept him to dinner. He was a merry old man, near fourscore, but so vigorous, that he could mount a horse, with as much agility as many young men. He was accompanied with five sons, and many attendants, who treated him with equal respect as a king; and even his sons would not sit down in his presence, till he desired them. I confess it gave me great pleasure to see the decency with which they behaved. One of our company, a pretty fat man, asked the Taysha what he should do in order to be as lean as he was. The old man replied in these few words, "Eat less, and work more:" a saying worthy of Hippocrates himself. In his youth he had been engaged in many battles with the Chinese, whom he held in great contempt. As he was a keen sportsman, the ambassador made an appointment with him for a grand hunting match. After which he and his retinue returned to their tents.

The Taysha-Batyr arrived, in consequence of his appointment with the ambassador, and brought along with him three hundred men, well mounted for the chace. This old gentleman had the appellation of Batyr; a title of great respect among the Mongalls. It signifies a hero; and is conferred only on those who have signalized themselves, by their courage and conduct, in the field of battle. Besides these Mongalls, we carried with us fifty of our Cossacks, and our tents, as we proposed to be abroad some days.

Early on the 6th, we took our way to the eastward, over high

hills, and through tall woods, having almost no underwood to incommode the horses, or interrupt our view; which made it very pleasant. After riding a few miles, the Taysha, being master of the chace, ordered his men to extend their lines. The Taysha and we were in the center; and often saw the game pass us, pursued by the horsemen, at full speed, without the least noise, but the whistling of arrows. The horses, being accustomed to this kind of sport, follow the game as a greyhound does a hare; so that the riders lay the bridles on their necks, and attend to nothing but their bows and arrows. One may easily imagine the exquisite entertainment, in seeing several of these horsemen in pursuit of an elk or stag through the valleys. When the animal is driven from the woods, it flies, for safety, to the nearest rocks. Some of these creatures are nearly as large, and strong, as the horses that hunt them. The stags are of two kinds; one called zuber, the same with the German crownhirsch, but somewhat larger. The zuber is large and beautiful, and carries its head almost upright as it runs; which prevents its horns being entangled with branches of trees. There are none of them in Russia, nor even in Siberia, except about the Baykall lake, and eastward from it; the places farther to the north being too cold for them. The elk is larger than the stag, and stronger made; having also long branchy horns, but a little flat.

Tired with sport, we left the hills in the afternoon, and came down into a fine valley, where we pitched our tents, near a pure brook. The Taysha then ordered  
all

all the dead game to be brought before him, and ranged in proper order. We found, that, this day, we had killed no less than five large elks, four stags, a dozen roebucks, several wolves and foxes, besides fawns and hares.

The Taysha caused the game to be divided among the huntsmen; who began immediately to dress it, some of them by boiling, others by broiling, and eat it without either bread, or salt. The tails of the stags, which, by these people, are reckoned very delicate, fell to the Taysha's share. He cut them into slices, and eat them raw. I eat a bit of one of them, and thought it very palatable. The taste resembled nothing so much as that of fresh caviare. After we had feasted on variety of excellent venison, for we had no other provisions, we went to rest, well satisfied with the diversion of the day.

*Our author gives the following account of the custom amongst the Mongall Tartars, of setting the grass on fire, in the vast plains of their country.*

The grass is rank and thick, and, as the season is very dry, would, with little labour, make excellent hay. This grass is often set on fire, by the Mongalls, in the spring, during high winds. At such times it burns most furiously, running like wild-fire, and spreading its flames to the distance of perhaps ten or twenty miles, till its progress is interrupted by some river or barren hill. The impetuosity of these flames, their smoke and crackling noise, cannot easily be conceived by those who have not seen them. When any person

finds himself to the leeward of them, the only method, by which he can save himself from their fury, is to kindle immediately the grass where he stands, and follow his own fire. For this purpose, every person is provided with flints, steel, and tinder. The reason why the Mongalls set fire to the grass is to procure early pasture for their cattle. The ashes, left upon the ground, sink into the earth at the melting of the snow, and prove an excellent manure; so that the grass, in the spring, rises on the lands, which have been prepared in this manner, as thick as a field of wheat. Caravans, travellers with merchandise, but especially armies, never encamp upon this rank grass. And there are several instances of considerable bodies of men being put in confusion, and even defeated, by the enemy's setting fire to the grass.

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*Character of the Duke of Shrewsbury: From a book entitled, Thoughts, Essays, and Maxims, chiefly Religious and Political. By Charles Howard, Esq; of Greystock, in Cumberland.*

Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury, was a great man, first earl in England, of a most ancient family, and either a lineal or a collateral descendant from the renowned Talbot, who made so conspicuous a figure in France, in the wars between England and France in the reigns of Henry V. and VI. He was not brought up to the military art, but had great talents and abilities as a minister and statesman, and the real and true politeness of a nobleman. He passed

passed through most of the great offices of state; he was knight of the garter, ambassador in France, lord-lieutenant in Ireland, and, I believe, once secretary of state; in all which stations he had the happiness to please, and give satisfaction. He is very well spoken of in France and Ireland, though this latter country was at that time the most difficult to govern and content, from the rage of party and faction which then prevailed in the remnants of Jacobitism, so rooted in that people's understanding; it being immediately or soon after the revolution, when king William gained the crown of Great Britain without the loss of one man's life: but as he established himself in Ireland by victories, courage, and military skill superior to his opponent, this of course left more rancour in that people's mind, from the natural consequences of the humiliating consideration of being beaten; and a lively people as the Irish are, were more particularly affected by it. This spirit of remembrance was artfully kept up by all the principles of religion, and the most violent jealousy; and perhaps encouraged by foreign powers, as well as all the interest and influence of the Stuart family, who then resided at St. Germain in France, and who ever lived in the flattering hopes of a restoration; for which reason it is the writer's opinion, that unhappy Stuart family has done more harm to Irish Roman Catholics, than many of the penal laws, as they were fundamentally the occasion of their being made. At this time, and under these circumstances, this nobleman gave con-

tent and satisfaction to a people who are not easily pleased, from the above reasons; which is a very strong proof of the solidity of his understanding, justness of thinking, disinterested and upright behaviour, and more particularly so in him, as he had to struggle with the odium of having changed his religion among a nation who, at that time, were five to one Roman Catholics, and were, from religious and political principles, very zealous and furious to those they looked upon or regarded as apostates. The duke of Norfolk and himself conformed to the Protestant religion in Charles II.'s reign, at the time of Oates's plot; but as he had no issue by the Italian lady he married (Poaloty,) the family continue Roman Catholic, and is very respectably represented in the moral and truly religious earl of Shrewsbury. His attachment to his family was noble, just, and praise-worthy; for though he disliked his successor, he left him all his estate, free and unencumbered, with this saying, "Though I dislike George Talbot, I leave my estate to the earl of Shrewsbury."

In James II.'s reign, he went over to Holland, to young Nassau, prince of Orange, and landed with him in England, and was very instrumental in the revolution. Perhaps he might be induced to take this step, from the Letters of Coleman, who was secretary to the duke of York, and which were published at the time of Oates's plot: by these it plainly appears, that the measures pursued by that unhappy monarch could answer no end but to defeat his own intentions, ruin and dethrone himself, and



and hurt his own friends and adherents. He could have no motive in his junction with the prince of Orange but a sincere conviction (in the writer's opinion), that in doing of it he was serving his country; for he was made duke by him afterwards in 1694. He might, in all probability, have received the same honours from James II. He wanted no acquisition of fortune, having a very good one, and he always lived within compass; but then he did not trim, or stand shilly-shally, but manly, and nobleman-like, pursued the measures he thought right: he took a side, and on that side was firm and strong. Whatever faults he might have (and who is without them?) they were only personal; and did not concern the public: the writer has therefore no business to meddle with them.

In a word, he seems to have been very deserving of the character one of the greatest of the English poets, Pope, gave him; and was a worthy descendant of his renowned ancestor, so well characterized by the immortal towering genius Shakespear, in the picture he gives of the father and son, in his Henry VI. where the son is brought in dead before his father.

Come, come, and lay him in his  
father's arms;

My spirit can no longer bear these  
harms.

Soldiers, adieu! I have what I  
would have,

Now my old arms are young John  
Talbot's grave.

N. B. The writer would not  
be thought or understood not to

regard or look upon Oates's plot to be one of the most vile forgeries and perjuries that ever disgraced the annals of English history; or to suppose that the viscount Stafford, who was executed for the same, was not the reverse of the character and dispositions he was charged with by those perjured wretches Bedloe and Oates; the latter of whom was convicted of perjury in the short reign of James II. and publicly whipt at a cart's tail through the streets of London; and king William, after the revolution, never attempted to reverse his attainder.

Though he changed his religion himself, he, unlike many converts, did not think himself obliged to behave with more violence than others against his old friends, weakly to shew the sincerity of his conviction; on the contrary, he ever behaved with the greatest moderation, candor, and civility, to the Roman Catholics. His leaving his estate, as mentioned, is one proof; and his supposing Savage earl of Rivers, a Roman Catholic priest and nobleman, in a family dispute in which he had been so ill used, that in heat and resentment he conformed to the Protestant religion, against his own conviction. The duke told him, "My lord, what you have done in a private sort of manner before a justice of peace, do publicly in the house of lords, and take your seat, and you will be supported according to the justness of your pretensions." Upon his replying, "My lord, I have through passion and resentment gone too far already;" the duke's answer was worthy of himself: "My lord, I never will press a  
"tender

“tender conscience;” and Lord Rivers made what terms he could with his antagonist, and retired into Flanders, and lived many years afterwards, much respected, canon of Liege, where he died about thirty years since. Such was the uprightness, and force of friendship, in the duke of Shrewsbury in supporting what appeared to himself just and honest, without being guided by those little narrow party notions of fearing consequences, or what the world would say.

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*Character of John Duke of Argyle.  
From the same.*

**T**HIS nobleman was a Scotchman, chief and head of the ancient and numerous family of the name of Campbell in Scotland. He was duke and peer of Scotland, and the same in England by the title of Greenwich, which he acquired himself before the union of the two kingdoms; and perhaps he may allude to this by the motto he then took, *Vix illa nostra voco quæ non fecimus ipsi*. He was brought up to the profession of arms, and behaved well, and in a soldier-like and gallant manner; witness his conduct under the duke of Marlborough, and his behaviour at Sherif-Moor, where he commanded in chief, and was the principal means and cause of the total extinction, at that time, of the rebellion in Scotland, without much bloodshed. He had then a very difficult part to act as a Scotchman; for at that period three parts out of four of that kingdom were naturally and affectionately Jaco-

bites, though they had fewer Roman Catholics among them than in either of the two other kingdoms, England or Ireland; and, perhaps, for that reason more openly determined and daringly professed being acting friends to the Stuart family.

In direct opposition to him, or that part of the army he commanded, at the head of all his Campbells was placed Campbell earl of Breadalbin, of the same family and kindred, by some fatal error that ever misguided and misled that unhappy family of the Stuarts, and all its adherents. What was the consequence? Both sets of Campbells, from family affection, refused to strike a stroke, and retired out of the field of battle. He never was first minister, but was a very able statesman and politician, and was most steadily fixed in those principles that he thought right, and not to be shaken or changed. His delicacy and honour were so great, that it hurt him to be even suspected; witness that application, said to be made to him by one of the adherents of the Stuart family, in 1743 or 1744, in order to gain his interest, which was considerable both in England and Scotland. He immediately sent the letter to the secretary of state, and it vexed him much even to have an application made him, lest any person should think him capable of acting a double part. He was equally firm and resolute in his opposition to the measures and ministers, when he thought them wrong.

He did not oppose Sir Robert Walpole out of pique, party, or faction, but because he thought some

some of his measures were erroneous, and that he made corruption too much the guide and standard of his actions. Indeed, this, and his playing the fool with Jacobitism, and his keeping it as a stalking-horse to himself in its power, and not attacking its headquarters; as it has been effectually done since, seems the most blameworthy part of this minister's character, who otherwise was a very able one, a friend to liberty, and understood the constitution of his country well. You never can so effectually take any principle from man by power, force, or any method, as you do when you take it from their minds; and those people you divest of this opinion you make more easy, cheerful in their mind, and more capable of serving you.

When he thought measures wrong or corrupt, he cared not who was the author, however great or powerful he might be; witness his boldly attacking the great duke of Marlborough in the house of lords, about his forage and army-contracts in Flanders, in the very zenith of his power and popularity; though in all other respects, he was the most able renowned general of his time. He deserved, and indeed he was nobly and amply rewarded by his country. The duke of Argyle possessed great public places and honourable employments, which did not influence him in his way of acting, or voting in parliament, as he shewed upon several occasions, by resigning them when he thought any thing was required of him to comply with that he did not think right. In this he is censured by some, as

too hasty; for why should a man punish himself when he acts upon principle, and deprive his country of his service, because he thinks another doth wrong? If he was mistaken, it must be as little as any man, because he had a good head and heart. In the house of lords he spoke well; with a firm, manly, and noble eloquence, and seems to deserve the character given of him by Pope:

Argyle the state's whole thunder  
born to wield,  
And shake alike the senate and the  
field.

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*Character of the Duke of Berwick  
From the same.*

THE duke of Berwick was natural son of James II. by Mrs. Arabella Churchill, sister to the great duke of Marlborough. He followed the fate of his father, and came into France after the revolution with James II. who retired thither, to put himself under the protection of his friend and ally Lewis XIV. His ally he was, because he refused to sign the treaty of Augsburgh, in a general combination to lower the ambition and greatness of the French monarch, agreed to by most of the European powers, and, it is said, even by the pope himself. This refusal, it is thought, hastened the revolution; for at that time the prince of Orange's views to the crown of Great Britain, if he had any, must have been very distant; and it is thought that king William was better pleased with his accession to the crown of Great Britain, from the situation and power

power it gave him to attack the overgrown power of France, than from any real satisfaction as being king of Great Britain: and this appears more probable, from the answer he gave to the conventions of the states, when they offered to make him king conjointly with his wife, but only for his life: "I respect the princess, but will not hold my crown on her apron-strings." Such was the native love that the Nassau prince of Orange bore his country, perhaps founded upon a good deal of resentment, naturally caused by the attack upon Holland by Lewis XIV. in Charles II.'s reign, when that republic, by the rapid victories of the French monarch, was very near destruction. He was not successful, in general, in his wars with France, but laid the foundation for the more successful one of his successor queen Anne.

James II. was received in France, and supported in a king-like manner during all his life at the castle of St. Germain. Lewis XIV. shewed upon all occasions the utmost friendship for him. Indeed, the two monarchs were in some measure directed by the same principles in religion, which ever unite friendship; and both were too much, at that time, governed by the same set of priests. Lewis XIV.'s great, and otherwise most noble character was much blemished by being in such subjection to them. James II. was dethroned by them, from his own weakness in too precipitately listening and following their councils, in mistaking obstinacy and wrong-headedness for firmness and resolution; for zeal without knowledge ever counteracts itself.

The duke of Berwick was recommended to the court of France by his superior merit; he attained all the military honours and dignities his most Christian Majesty could confer on him; he was marshal of France, knight of the Holy Ghost, duke and peer of France, grandee of Spain, commander in chief of the French armies; in all which stations his behaviour was such, that few equalled, perhaps none surpassed him. He lived in an age when the renowned prince of Orange, and many other of the greatest men, commanded against him. His courage was of the cool, steady kind; always possessing himself, taking all advantages, not foolishly, rashly, or wantonly throwing away the lives of his soldiers. He kept up on all occasions the most strict discipline, and did not spare punishment among his soldiers for marauding and other crimes, when properly deserved; for which some rash, silly, inconsiderate people have found fault, and blamed him. They were hard put to it to find a fault in this great man; for surely an army without strict discipline, good order, and due subordination, will never do their duty, as all histories and times evince; and they would be little better (considering the sort of men armies must be composed of) than a powerful set of banditti and thieves. This, then, in the writer's opinion, is far from blameable, but a most praise-worthy part of his character. If he were strict and exact in his command, and the prevention of wrongs by others, he was most just in himself; not raising unnecessary contributions

tributions, and promoting pillage; in order to enrich himself, as many generals have formerly done before his time. He has been reflected upon by the very zealous and violent adherents of the Stuart family, for not being sufficiently attached to that party, which was his own family. But by a cool examination of his actions, which are stubborn things, and the best index of the mind of a sensible man, it will appear, that his behaviour in this particular was, as in most parts of his life, sensible and just. When he accepted of employments, received honours, dignities, and became a naturalized Frenchman, he thought it his duty, as an honest man, to become a Frenchman, and a real subject to the monarch who gave him bread; and to be, or not to be, in the interest of the Stuart family, according to the will and commands of the sovereign whom he served, and in the interest of France according to time and circumstances; for there is no serving two masters well. But when ordered by his king to be in that family's interest, he acted with the greatest sincerity, and took the most effectual and sensible methods to serve that unhappy house, as the following anecdote, if true, and it has great appearance and probability on its side, proves.

The duke of Marlborough, after the signing of the treaty of Utrecht, was censured by the British parliament for some of the army contracts in relation to bread and forage; upon which he retired into France: and it was then credibly asserted, the duke of Marlborough was brought over to the interest of the Stuart family; for

it is now past a doubt that queen Anne had a very serious intention of having her brother upon the throne of England after her death: and several circumstances, as well as the time \* of that duke's landing in England, make many people believe he was gained over to the Stuart party. If the duke of Berwick was, directly or indirectly, the means of gaining his uncle over to that interest, he more effectually served it than that rash, mock army of unhappy gentlemen who were taken prisoners at Preston in 1715, had it in their power to do.

In a word, the duke of Berwick was, without being a bigot, a moral and religious man, and shewed by his life and actions, that morality and religion are very compatible and consistent with the life of a statesman, and a great general; and if they were oftener united in those two professions, it would be much happier for the rest of mankind.

He was killed by a cannon-ball, in doing his duty at the siege of Philippsburgh, in 1738. So died the marshal of Berwick, ripe in years, full of dignities, honours, and glory. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

N. B. Lewis XIV. before his undertakings against Holland, sent word, underhand, to the prince of Orange, offering to make him absolute sovereign of the Netherlands, if he would be his ally; when he answered, "he should be true to his country." "But reflect, Sir, said the emissary, how you will withstand a prince who makes you such fair offers, if he undertakes to invade Holland?" "If that be the case, resumed the

\* The very day or day after the death of queen Anne.

prince, I believe Europe will come to its succour; but should we be abandoned, and left to ourselves, if vanquished, I then fall, and shall perish with my country."

*Character of the Duke of Ormond.  
From the same.*

**T**HIS duke was blessed with a most noble fortune, and it fell into very good hands; for no person was of a more generous, hospitable disposition: he was the most popular man of his time, head of the ancient, opulent, and numerous family of the Butlers, both an English and an Irish duke, commander in chief of the English army in Flanders, when the great duke of Marlborough, by the intrigues of the party that then prevailed in England, was recalled home. He was chancellor of the University of Oxford, and I believe of Dublin, knight of the garter, and had all the honours conferred on him that his country could bestow; and his princely generous disposition became them well, and in some measure supported his understanding, which, when analyzed from real facts, was but weak, and not truly sincere and honest, but like great part of mankind, not very moral. He received honours, great places of trust and profit, from king William, queen Anne, and of course was obliged to take the test oath of allegiance and abjuration to those respective princes; yet at the same time he encouraged Jacobitism, and, among his friends, professed himself the greatest friend and adherent to the house of Stuart. This is repugnant to sincerity, ho-

nesty, and, I may venture to say, religion, which ever ought to be associated together; because it is professing one thing, and being, or pretending to be, of another opinion. It is weak, because it is destructive of the schemes and measures intended to be accomplished and brought about: it may be said to divide oneself against oneself, and of course one's own strength and force is weakened, by endeavouring to demolish with one hand, what one builds with the other.

When he was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he made, or occasioned to be made, many of the penal laws that are most hurtful to the Irish Roman Catholics. This was not honest or grateful, because it was hurting those who were his best friends. It was weak, and not politic, being directly opposite to that maxim, if you have a mind effectually to serve yourself, fling power into the hands of your friends: and he, by his behaviour, weakened, and disabled those people from assisting him so much as they might have done, and by whom he expected to be supported.

He did not suffer so much by his attainder as many others that acted with more determined sincerity and resolution; because his brother, the earl of Arran, a very good sort of man, enjoyed and possessed great part of his very opulent fortune, which enabled him to perform what was dictated by brotherly affection and honesty, in paying him annually a sufficient sum to live in a most princely manner at Avignon, where he died; from whence he was brought, and buried in Westminster Abbey.

Upon



Upon the whole, it is thought by many, that if George I. who was in himself a humane and compassionate prince, had not been so much set against him, he would have accepted of his services, when he made a tender and offer of them, upon his landing at Greenwich.

With all his foibles and weaknesses, he might have become a very good subject, and a useful member to society, particularly to Ireland, his native country, when he had seen his errors; for to do the Irish justice, with whom the writer is well acquainted, ingratitude doth not seem to be among their national vices. That he would have seen his errors, and have corrected them, there is the greatest probability and reason to think, because it is credibly asserted, and I believe known, that he absolutely refused, directly or indirectly, to be concerned in any of the confusions and troubles that happened in his country in the year 1745. Why not change his opinions, or correct his errors? It is never too late to mend, or own you have been in the wrong, which is next to being in the right. Some of his friends aver, that he never externally professed a thing, but what he internally believed at the time, and was sincere: this is very difficult to credit, as it rarely happens in such frequent changes; especially as he seldom veered but when his interest or power was thereby enlarged: but if it be true, it only shews a weakness, and a mutability of disposition liable to the influence of others.

*Character of Cardinal de Fleury.  
From the same.*

Peace is my delight, not FLEURY'S  
more. POPE.

Cardinal Fleury was a very good and intelligent minister, and upon the whole pursued the real interest of France. He was honest, sincere, religious, and moral; qualifications and virtues which, when united, (and it is to be wished they were oftener found in ministers) will ever, without even extraordinary and over-shining abilities and talents, make statesmen serve their country the better; because they then act upon principle, and think they are accountable for their actions to more than man, and have more than that vague and vain love of fame and popularity, or fear of punishment in this world, to incite and spur them to the performance and execution of good in themselves, and the prevention of evil in others; all which ministers have much in their power to do, when power falls into the hands of men of abilities, application, and good morals; which must ever take their spring from real religion, and a belief and hope of a future reward, and the fear of the like punishment. Such was Cardinal Fleury in the beginning of his appearance in public, then preceptor to Lewis XV. and during that time he instilled into his prince those real principles of religion which very apparently, upon many occasions, animate that monarch. He was a good minister to France,  
E 2 because

because he confined himself to her natural strength, the encouragement of her manufactures, and the improvement of the intrinsic and natural advantages with which providence has blessed that kingdom above all the rest of Europe; not vainly attempting to make it go out from itself, in forcing it to be, what nature and its situation never designed it, the first maritime power; because then it would naturally weaken its military strength, which is very necessary to support itself against the powerful kingdoms that surround it, and are not without reason jealous of its too much increasing power: besides, a well regulated and disciplined military force is very necessary to keep so lively a people in due order and subordination.

He kept France in peace very near his whole administration, which was above twenty-seven years, except a small interval of a sort of war in 1734; and that, by his very able head and humane disposition, he hindered from spreading, and finished without making it general, and of course prevented a devastation and slaughter of mankind. It is true, upon the death of the emperor, the queen of Hungary's father, he was, somehow or other, brought into a war in his very old age, with the rest of the Germanic princes, about the division of the territories of that illustrious and magnanimous princess; soon after which he died, at the age of eighty-four.

In all human probability, had he lived, and retained his parts and understanding, which is not very common at so very great an age, he would have finished it

much sooner. France in that war was very successful in Flanders, though not in Germany, or by sea; and, in the writer's opinion, it was no ways advantageous to France upon the whole; for she received more real benefit by that most sensible treaty whereby she acquired Lorrain, made by this great and honest minister, than by all its conquests of that rich and fertile country of Austrian Flanders.

In a word, most governments have more territory and country than they improve and make good use of.

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*Some account of Mrs. Thomas, the celebrated Corinna; from the 12th volume, or supplement to the General Biographical Dictionary, lately published.*

**T**HOMAS (Mrs.) known to the world by the poetical name of Corinna, was the child of an ancient, and infirm parent, who gave her life when he was dying himself, and to whose unhappy constitution she was sole heiress. From her very birth, which happened in 1675, she was afflicted with fevers and fluxions, and being over-nursed, her constitution was so delicate and tender, that had she not been of a gay disposition, and possessed of a vigorous mind, she must have been more unhappy than she actually was.

Her father dying when she was scarce two years old; and her mother not knowing his real circumstances, as he was supposed from the splendour of his manner of life to be very rich, some inconveniences were incurred, in bestowing upon

upon him a pompous funeral, which in those times was fashionable. The mother of our poetess, in the bloom of eighteen, was condemned to the arms of this man, upwards of sixty, upon the supposition of his being wealthy, but in which she was soon miserably deceived. She disposed of two houses her husband kept, one in town, the other in the county of Essex, and retired into a private, but decent, country lodging. The house where she boarded was an eminent cloth-worker's in the county of Surry, but the people of the house proved very disagreeable. The lady had no conversation to divert her; the landlord was an illiterate man, and the rest of the family brutish, and unmannerly. At last Mrs. Thomas attracted the notice of Dr. Glysson, who observing her at church very splendidly dressed, solicited her acquaintance. He was a valuable piece of antiquity, being then, 1683, 100 years of age. His person was tall, his bones very large, his hair like snow, a venerable aspect, and a complexion which might shame the bloom of fifteen. He enjoyed a sound judgment, and a memory so tenacious, and clear, that his company was very engaging. His visits greatly alleviated the solitude of this lady. The last visit he made to Mrs. Thomas, he drew on, with much attention, a pair of rich Spanish leather gloves, embossed on the backs and tops with gold embroidery, and fringed round with gold. The lady could not help expressing her curiosity, to know the history of those gloves, which he seemed to touch with so much respect. He answered, "I do respect them, for the last time I had the honour of approaching my

mistress, queen Elizabeth, she pulled them from her own royal hands, saying, here Glysson, wear them for my sake. I have done so with veneration, and never drew them on, but when I had a mind to honour those whom I visit, as I now do you; and since you love the memory of my royal mistress, take them, and preserve them carefully when I am gone." The doctor then went home, and died in a few days.

This gentleman's death left her again without a companion, and an uneasiness hung upon her, visible to the people of the house; who guessing the cause to proceed from solitude, recommended to her acquaintance another physician, of a different cast from the former. He was denominated by them a conjurer, and was said to be capable of raising the devil. This circumstance diverted Mrs. Thomas, who imagined that the man whom they called a conjurer, must have more sense than they understood. The doctor was invited to visit her, and appeared in a greasy black grogram, which he called his scholar's coat; a long beard; and other marks of a philosophical negligence. He brought all his little mathematical trinkets, and played over his tricks for the diversion of the lady, whom, by a private whisper, he let into the secrets as he performed them, that she might see there was nothing of magic in the case. The two most remarkable articles of his performance were, first lighting a candle at a glass of cold water; performed by touching the brim before with phosphorus, a chymical fire which is preserved in water, and burns there; and next reading the smallest print by a candle of six in

the pound, at 100 yards distance in the open air, and darkest night. This was performed by a large concave glass, with a deep pointed focus, quick-silvered on the back-side, and set in tin, with a socket for a candle, scone fashion, and hung up against a wall. While the flame of the candle was diametrically opposite to the center, the rays equally diverging, gave so powerful a light as is scarce credible; but on the least variation from the focus the charm ceased.

The lady discerning in this man a genius which might be improved to better purposes than deceiving the country people, desired him not to hide his talents, but to push himself in the world by the abilities of which he seemed possessed.

"Madam, said he, I am now a fiddle to asses, but I am finishing a great work which will make those asses fiddle to me." She then asked what the work might be? he replied, "His life was at stake if it took air, but he found her a lady of such uncommon candour, and good sense, that he should make no difficulty in committing his life and hope to her keeping."

All women are naturally fond of being trusted with secrets; this was Mrs. Thomas's failing; the doctor found it out, and made her pay dear for her curiosity. "I have been, continued he, many years in search of the philosopher's stone, and long master of the smaragdine table of Hermes Trismegistus; the green and red dragons of Raymond Lully have also been obedient to me, and the illustrious sages themselves deign to visit me; yet it is but since I had the honour to be known to your ladyship, that I have been so fortunate as to obtain

the grand secret of projection. I transmuted some lead I pulled off my window last night into this bit of gold." Pleased with the sight of this, and having a natural propensity to the study, the lady snatched it out of the philosopher's hand, and asked why he had not more? He replied, "it was all the lead he could find." She then commanded her daughter to bring a parcel of lead which lay in the closet, and giving it to the chymist, desired him to transmute it into gold on the morrow. He undertook it, and the next day brought her an ingot which weighed two ounces, which with the utmost solemnity, he avowed was the very individual lead she gave him, transmuted to gold.

She began now to engage him in serious discourse; and finding by his replies, that he wanted money to make more powder, she enquired how much would make a stock that would maintain itself? he replied fifty pounds, after nine months, would produce a million. She then begged the ingot of him, which he protested had been transmuted from lead, and flushed with the hopes of success, hurried to town to know whether the ingot was true gold, which proved fine beyond the standard. The lady now fully convinced of the truth of the empyric's declaration, took fifty pounds out of the hands of a banker, and intrusted him with it. The only difficulty which remained, was, how to carry on the work without suspicion, it being strictly prohibited at that time. He was therefore resolved to take a little house in another county, at a few miles distance from London, where he was to build a public laboratory.

ry, as a profest chymist, and deal in such medicines as were most vendible, by the sale of which to the apothecaries, the expence of the house was to be defrayed during the operation. The widow was accounted the house-keeper, and the doctor and his man boarded with her; to which she added this precaution, that the laboratory with the two lodging-rooms over it, in which the doctor and his man lay, was a different wing of the building from that where she and her little daughter, and maid servant resided; and as she knew some time must elapse before any profit could be expected, she managed with the utmost frugality. The doctor mean time acted the part of a tutor to miss in arithmetic, latin, and mathematics, to which she discovered the strongest propensity.

All things being properly disposed for the grand operation, the vitriol furnace was set to work, which requiring the most intense heat, for several days, unhappily set fire to the house; the stairs were consumed in an instant, and as it surprised them all in their first sleep, it was a happy circumstance that no life perished. This unlucky accident was 300 l. loss to Mrs. Thomas: yet still the grand project was in a fair way of succeeding in the other wing of the building. But one misfortune is often followed by another; the next Sunday evening, while she was reading to, and instructing her little family, a sudden, and violent report, like a discharge of a cannon, was heard; the house being timber, rocked like a cradle, and the family were all thrown from their chairs on the ground. They

looked with the greatest amazement on each other, not guessing the cause, when the operator, pretending to revive, fell to stamping, tearing his hair, and raving like a madman, crying out undone, undone, lost and undone for ever. He ran directly to the athanor, when unlocking the door, he found the machine split quite in two; the eggs broke, and the precious almagamum which they contained was scattered like sand among the ashes. Mrs. Thomas's eyes were now sufficiently opened to discern the imposture, and with a very serene countenance, she told the empyric, that accidents would happen, but means might be fallen upon to repair this fatal disappointment. The doctor observing her so serene, imagined she would grant him more money to complete his scheme; but she soon disappointed his expectation, by ordering him to be gone, and made him a present of five guineas, lest his desperate circumstances should induce him to take some violent means of providing for himself.

Whether deluded by a real hope of finding out the philosopher's stone, or from an innate principle of villany, cannot be determined, but he did not cease his pursuit, and still indulged the golden delusion. He now found means to work upon the credulity of an old miser, who, upon the strength of his pretensions, gave him his daughter in marriage, and embarked all his hoarded treasure, which was very considerable, in the same chimerical adventure. In a word, the miser's stock was also lost, the empyric himself, and the daughter reduced to beggary. This unhappy affair broke the miser's heart,

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who did not many weeks  
the loss of his cash. The  
also put a miserable end to  
by drinking poison, and  
wife, with two young chil-  
n a state of beggary. But  
rn to Mrs. Thomas. The  
dy suffered on this occasion  
deal of inward anguish;  
ashamed of having reduced  
tune, and impoverished her  
by listening to the insinu-  
of a madman. Time and  
e at last overcame it; and  
her health, which by this ac-  
had been impaired, was re-  
to her, she began to stir  
st her husband's great clients.  
ok a house in Bloomsbury,  
means of good œconomy,  
an elegant appearance, was  
ed to be better in the world  
e really was. Her husband's  
received her like one risen  
ne dead: they came to visit  
nd promised to serve her.  
the duke of Montague ad-  
ner to let lodgings, which  
life she declined, as her ta-  
were not suited for dealing  
rdinary lodgers; but, added  
if I knew any family who  
such a conveniency, I would  
accommodate them." I  
ou at your word replied the  
"I will become your sole  
; nay, don't smile, for I am  
neft, I love a little more  
n than I can enjoy at home,  
may come sometimes and eat  
f mutton, with four or five  
fellows, whose company I  
in." The bargain was  
and proved matter of fact,  
on a deeper scheme than  
g a bottle; and his grace  
pass in the house for Mr.  
n of Hertfordshire. In a few

days he ordered a dinner for his  
beloved friends, Jack and Tom,  
Will and Ned, good honest coun-  
try fellows, as his grace called  
them. They came at the time ap-  
pointed; but how surprised was  
the widow, when she saw the duke  
of Devonshire, lords Buckingham  
and Dorset, and a certain viscount,  
with Sir William Dutton Colt,  
under these feigned names. After  
several times meeting at this lady's  
house, the noble persons, who had  
a high opinion of her integrity,  
intrusted her with the grand secret,  
which was nothing less than the  
project for the revolution.

Though these meetings were  
held as private as possible, yet sus-  
picions arose, and Mrs. Thomas's  
house was narrowly watched; but  
the messengers, who were no ene-  
mies to the cause, betrayed their  
trust, and suffered the noblemen to  
meet unmolested, or at least with-  
out any dread of apprehension.

The revolution being effected,  
and the state become more settled,  
that place of rendezvous was quit-  
ted; the noblemen took leave of  
the lady, with promises of obtain-  
ing a pension, or some place in  
the household for her, as her zeal  
in that cause highly merited; be-  
sides she had a very good claim to  
some appointment, having been  
ruined by the shutting up the ex-  
chequer. But alas! court pro-  
mises proved an aerial foundation,  
and the noble peers never thought  
of her more. The duke of Mon-  
tague indeed made offers of ser-  
vice, and being captain of the  
band of pensioners, she asked him  
to admit Mr. Gwynnet, a gentle-  
man who had made love to her  
daughter, into such a post. This  
he promised, but upon these terms,  
that



that her daughter should ask him for it. The widow thanked him, and not suspecting that any design was covered under this offer, concluded herself sure 'of success': but how amazed was she to find her daughter, whom she had bred in the most passive subjection, and who had never discovered the least instance of disobedience, absolutely refused to ask any such favour of his grace. She could not be prevailed upon neither by flattery, nor threatening; and, continuing still obstinate in her resolution, her mother obliged her to explain herself upon the point of her refusal. She told her then, that the duke of Montague had already made an attack upon her; that his designs were dishonourable; and that if she submitted to ask his grace one favour, he would reckon himself secure of another in return, which he would endeavour to accomplish by the basest means.

This explanation was too satisfactory: who does not see the meanness of such an ungenerous conduct? He had made use of the mother as a tool for carrying on political designs; he found her distressed; and, as a recompence for her services, and under the pretence of mending her fortune, attempted the virtue of her daughter, and would provide for her on no other terms, but at the price of her child's innocence. In the mean time, the young Corinna, a poetical name given her by Mr. Dryden, continued to improve her mind by reading the politest authors.

We have already seen that she was addressed, upon honourable terms, by Mr. Gwynnet, of the Middle-Temple, son of a gentle-

man in Gloucestershire. Upon his first discovering his passion to Corinna, she had honour enough to remonstrate to him the inequality of their fortune, as her affairs were then in a very perplexed situation. This objection was soon surmounted by a lover, especially as his father had given him possession of the greatest part of his estate, and leave to please himself.

Mr. Gwynnet no sooner obtained this, than he came to London, and claimed Corinna's promise of marriage: but her mother being then in a very weak condition, she could not abandon her in that distress, to die among strangers. She therefore told Mr. Gwynnet, that as she had not thought sixteen years long in waiting for him, he could not think six months long in expectation of her. He replied with a deep sigh, "Six months, at this time, my Corinna, is more than sixteen years have been; you put it off now, and God will put it off for ever." It proved as he had foretold; he next day went into the country, made his will, sickened, and died April the sixteenth, 1711, leaving his Corinna the bequest of 600*l.* and adds she, "Sorrow has been my food ever since." Had she providentially married him, she had been secure from the insults of poverty; but her duty to her parent was more prevalent than considerations of convenience.

After the death of her lover, she was barbarously used: his brother stifled the will, which compelled her to have recourse to law; he smothered the old gentleman's conveyance deed, by which he was enabled to make a bequest, and

and offered a large sum of money to any person who would undertake to blacken Corinna's character; but wicked as the world is, he found none so completely abandoned, as to perjure themselves for the sake of this bribe. At last, to shew her respect to the memory of her deceased lover, she consented to an accommodation with his brother, to receive 200*l.* down, and 200*l.* at the year's end. The first payment was made, and distributed instantly amongst her mother's creditors; but when the other became due, he bid her defiance, stood suit on his own bond, and held out four terms. He carried it from one court to another, till at last it was brought to the bar of the house of lords; and that being a tribunal where the chicanery of lawyers can have no weight, he thought proper to pay the money without a hearing: The gentlemen of the long robe had made her sign an instrument, that they should receive the money and pay themselves; after they had laid their cruel hands upon it, of the 200*l.* the poor distressed lady received but thirteen pounds sixteen shillings, which reduced her to the necessity of absconding from her creditors, and starving in an obscure corner, till she was betrayed by a false friend, and hurried to jail. Besides all the other calamities of Corinna, she had ever a bad state of health, occasioned by a surprising accident, swallowing the middle bone of the wing of a large fowl, being above three inches long. Her uncommon case was given into the college of physicians.

Under all these calamities did poor Corinna labour; and it is

difficult to produce a life crowded with greater evils. The small fortune which her father left her, by the imprudence of her mother, was soon squandered: she no sooner began to taste of life, than an attempt was made upon her innocence. When she was about being happy in the arms of her amiable lover, Mr. Gwynnet, he was snatched from her by an immature fate. Amongst her other misfortunes, she laboured under the displeasure of Mr. Pope, whom she had offended, and who took care to place her in his *Dunciad*. Mr. Pope once paid her a visit, in company with Henry Cromwell, Esq; whose letters by some accident, fell into her hands, with some of Pope's answers. As soon as that gentleman died, Mr. Curl found means to wheedle them from her, and immediately committed them to the press. This so enraged Mr. Pope, that he never forgave her.

Not many months after our poetess had been released from her gloomy habitation, she took a small lodging in Fleet-street, where she died on the third of February, 1730, in the fifty-sixth year of her age, and was two days after decently interred in the church of St. Bride's.

Corinna, considered as an authoress, is of the second rate; she had not so much wit as Mrs. Behn, or Mrs. Manley, nor had so happy a power of intellectual painting; but her poetry is soft and delicate, her letters sprightly and entertaining. Her poems were published after her death, by Curl; and two volumes of letters, which passed between her and Mr. Gwynnet.

*Ann.*

*Anecdotes of Mons. de Voltaire in his present situation at Fernex in Burgundy, near Geneva.*

**T**HE following anecdotes are said to be authentic; it is, however, evident, that the collector of them is not an enthusiastic admirer of the celebrated writer, whom he professes to characterize.

**I**N the preface to an ingenious volume, lately published, under the modest title of *Bagatelles*, I lately saw the following observation, which my acquaintance with Voltaire has truly, too truly verified.

“ Authors are, in general, the reverse of all other objects; they magnify, by distance; they diminish by approach: it reminds me of a city built on a hill, and in perspective; where the towers, the spires, and lofty parts, are seen with admiration; but, on a nearer approach, we discover narrow streets, little alleys, and offensive objects perhaps; till we are, at last, taught to wish we never had quitted our first distance; and wish, tho’ in vain, to be thus happily deceived, as before.”

As this great author had ever in his eye, the realizing a proper fortune to retire upon, he has, somehow or other, accomplished it; for, at present, he possesses a vast tract of land in that part of Burgundy properly called the *Pais de Gex*: which stretches almost to that gate of Geneva which opens into France, and that part of Switzerland bounding on the south-west side of the lake.

It is plain, by anecdotes deliver-

ed to us from Berlin, that, during his long residence there, and enjoying those substantial emoluments, which that monarch denies even to his deliverers, the military gentlemen, Voltaire at last so enraged the king by perpetual accounts of his mean behaviour; that one thing bringing on another, and joined to a quarrel with the great Monpertuis, then at the head of the academy of sciences in Berlin, Voltaire was dismissed with a genteel kind of disgrace; being ordered to leave the golden key he wore, and to depart in twenty-four hours.

It appeared that out of the ample allowance of the king of Prussia, he had remitted every dollar home; though his Majesty gave him a more ample pension than usual, to justify his affectionate choice of this bosom friend, by supposing he would diffuse it among his subjects; and thereby gain, if not a settled, yet a transitory kind of popularity.

The king lived to find the fallacy of his judgment in this particular, at least; and it is well known, that this great little man, when the court went into deep mourning on some near occasion, borrowed of some friend a suit that fitted him, rather than be at the expence of making a new one.

That he was vexed to be found out (and his good friend Monpertuis took especial care to inflame the bill) appears by the severe couplet or two left on his table, together with the king’s picture and clef d’or; the purport of which was:

“ I received it with affection,

“ I return it with disdain;

“ As

“ As does a once fond lover to  
 “ his favourite,  
 “ When his affection is turn’d  
 “ to hate.”

This is the purport, if not the exact translation. The king, as I heard, treated it with that proper contempt which Richard does the billet put into his hands the evening before the battle; which, as Sternhold and Hopkins have it on another occasion, may be either sung or said.

Voltaire was afterwards equally well received at the court of Mannheim; and it was during his stay here, that he wrote his tragedy of *Olympia*; and, with his usual accuracy, lays the scene in the temple of Ephesus two hundred years, at least, after that famous structure was destroyed.

And this reminds me of a strange answer he gave to old general Furstinberg at the same court; who, giving him an hint, and with great diffidence to so great an author; that a certain battle in his *History of the War*, was marked down as in the month of April, when really it happened in October; made answer, “ Well fool! it was fought then; no matter when.” What dependence on such a volatile historian?

The same general was in England, as engineer-general to the Hessians; was governor to the present landgrave, during his minority; had great rank at the elector palatine’s, as commandant of Mannheim; and yet could not escape the pointed ribaldry of our great author.

One small circumstance at the court of Berlin seems necessary, ere I drop the curtain there; that,

as it came out afterwards, his majesty certainly availed himself (and perhaps it was his original view in the said invitation) of his stay there, to form certain odes, since made public under the title of *Philosophe sans Soucie*; and which, if not Voltaire’s, were corrected by him; on the quarrel the secret appeared, and Voltaire was rude enough to say, “ I was his old washerwoman, and was sent for only to clean his dirty sheets.”

Having been so long accustomed to dethrone kings and overthrow empires on paper, he thinks himself justified in realizing these his chimeras; and this has been but a too general complaint at all courts, that the ministry could not quietly go on in their work for him.

When he left the court palatine, he retired to his new purchase near Geneva. Various were the reasons given for his situation; namely, that he could dodge his persecutors from one country to another; being in an hour either in Geneva, Switzerland, or Savoy. But where such property is, the stake is too great—for his person he would less value than an inch of his acquisitions.

No author but himself ever perhaps knew how to out-wit booksellers; even those of Holland have felt his superiority of traffic; nay, while he has sold a copy at Paris, he would re-sell the same to others at Leipzig, the Hague, Brussels, Leige, Francfort, and elsewhere; with the addition only of a new title-page, or different introduction.

He has a rented house, on the territory of Geneva, which he seldom visits; and the real cause of

dislike

dislike was being prevented exhibiting a play there to the marshal duke de Richlieu ; for at the instant, (which made the slight more conspicuous) they were going to lift the curtain, a caveat in form came from the states, and too powerfully attended to be gainfaid.

At Fernex, his place of residence, he found a large old French chateau, which he razed to the ground ; and in its stead, has erected a very noble seat-like house ; but preserving some awkward gateways, and turrets, the beauty of the building is much deformed on that front which faces the great road to Gex ; and the back front is only visible to those walking there.

Notwithstanding his long stay in England, and his pretended attention to, and affectation of our taste in planting, building, and gardening, every part of his demesne is equally Frenchified as any citizen's plat of ground in the environs of Paris. All his woods are cut into walks star-fashion ; and all the variety consists in its being a star of greater or less magnitude, with more or fewer rays.

Being the first possessions he ever enjoyed, he takes all methods at table to inform his guests that every dish comes off the territoire ; and as a gallows is the mark of a seigneurie or manor in France, he is not wanting also to inform you that he has as many potences as would string half the monarchs in Europe ; and who, as he often says, deserve no other or better exaltation.

He seems fond (politically so, perhaps ; because the English at

Geneva are his best friends in all kind of subscriptions, witness his edition of Corneille) to recount the honours he received, and connexions he made in England ; and recounts that one evening all the genius's were assembled in compliment to him, at the earl of Peterborough's on Parson's Green. As he had read and admired Addison's works, more than any other, he was happy to plant himself near so great a man, himself being then a stripling.

It so happened our English author was in one of his fits of taciturnity, but had drank too much, even so as to be obliged to discharge some share of what he had loaded his stomach with ; when the evening ended, and the company separating, Voltaire waited on Mr. Addison to the coach ; confessed his obligation at having had the honour to sit so near him all the time ; but added, " That he was sorry to say the best thing which came out of his mouth that night was the claret."

It was at the same time he claims the merit of furnishing Mr. Pope with the metaphor of his ape in the first Essay on Man ; and even says, that many other of the best philosophical maxims were his own ; particularly all that portion of the third essay, which gives the history of natural government.

However his pen now may be unequal to tracts of length or solidity ; his vein for the bon-mot and quick repartee remains, and most likely will to the last ; one proof of this will serve for the present.

At the rehearsal of one of his own tragedies, Mr. Cramer, book-seller

seller at Geneva (and Voltaire's own immediate publisher) was finishing his part, which was to end with some dying sentences; when Voltaire, all despotic over those he thinks his dependants, cries out aloud, "Cramer, you lived like a prince for the four preceding acts, but at the fifth you die like a bookseller." Dr. Tronchin, the Boerhaave of this age, being present could not help in kindness interfering; adding with all, "Why, Mons. de Voltaire, can you ever expect to have gentlemen to be at this expence of dresses, and fatigue of getting such long parts, if you thus continue to upbraid them? On the contrary, I think they all deserve the greatest encouragement at your hands; and, as to my friend Cramer, I declare, that, as far as I am a judge, he dies with the same dignity he lived." Voltaire, who detests advice, or being informed by an inferior: (for an author is, in his eye, beyond even an Æsculapius were he living) made this cool answer; "Pr'ythee, doctor, when you have got kings to kill, kill them your own way; let me kill mine as I please."

Mr. Voltaire's theatre is in one of his out-offices, is neatly fitted up, and may contain two hundred persons; two changes of scenes answer all the ends of French tragedy or comedy; tho' they begin to follow the English custom of late, and think unity of time and place not essential in the least to good plays.

Indeed, if my fancy stretches so far, as one night to imagine a parcel of deal planks to be Athens, the next evening Paris, and the day after old Rome; I may, by

the same change of ideas, change the scenes too; and equally imagine the business of three days to be comprized into three hours; as that incidents of time and chance should fall into the compass of three hours; which it is impossible should have occurred in as many days.

But as French tragedy all centers in palace-plot, and cabinet-conspiracy; and as all their species of comedy falls into the path of parlour-intrigue, their stage may still support this folly half a century longer. The English being by their nature Ubiquarians, and seldom in one place long, must have painted canvases as quick as their ideas, or they would fall asleep.

To return to our little theatre at Fernex; the attendants are made up of the butler, coachman, groom, &c. I have caught the laughing dairy-maid in the habit of a priestess: and the old cook was found in the fact of being for that night a young vestal.

But what abates the whole pleasure, is the frequent and outrageous interruptions of Mr. Voltaire, who, when any passage goes wrong, never fails to proclaim it: and will cross the stage in his night-cap and gown to scold at an empress, or pull the cap of a queen.

Great wits, says a great author, are surely allied to madness; one would imagine this who saw our epic-writer on such a night. I remember his coachman not entering time enough to lay him down gently in the hour of death, in the character of a Turkish slave; he changed his tragedy part into comic



comic reasoning ; and whimsically asked him for a receipt in full of all demands ; “ for I am sure,” said Voltaire, “ I must be in your debt, or you would not have used me so, as to let me die thus like a beggar.”

After the most serious conclusion of a tragedy, or refined finishing of a comedy, this great man renders himself truly little, by some jest to the audience, lower, if possible, than a merry-andrew’s at Bartholomew fair.

And so little does he think music a part of the entertainment, that, when Mr. Hayes, now master of the king’s band in Dublin, made up a pleasing set in his orchestra, he always shortened their ingenuity by the warning-bell ; or would be laughing in the pit or boxes with ladies so very loud, as to drown all efforts of harmony.

This is rather the more surprising, as he pays great attention to his niece, madame Dennis ; who plays the harpsichord equal, if not superior, to any professor of the science.

And, since I have mentioned one lady of his household, I am called upon to inform the reader that the descendant of the great Corneille was at the eve of her stipend, as a pensioner in some convent in France ; when he, with no small labour, found her out ; and having married her to a French officer, one Depuy, Voltaire seemingly published Corneille’s works by subscription, to make her a fortune equal to her husband ; but, from many other concurrent circumstances in his life of avarice and penury, I do really believe Voltaire shared the profits, which

I hear amounted to near 50000 sterling.

When we consider how many crowned heads espoused this undertaking, this sum less surprises ; but this we know, that where (as the empress-queen for instance) any great personage subscribed for an hundred, and only in politeness took one copy, he sold all the rest at a market-price, and so trafficked with the generosity of his best friends.

The young couple live under his roof ; and, tho’ never married himself, yet does he love to see others happy in that state ; having, as I heard him say, joined together eighteen couple of servants, during his residence at Farnes ; scarce then above five years.

He has other good houses on his estates ; such as Tournaye, &c. for the French mark their smallest demesnes with a chateau ; tho’ perhaps the said building shall never be furnished or finished.

Under these articles of finishing and furnishing, no houses are perhaps so insufferably defective as the country-houses in France : those who can afford to have two houses (namely, town and country) send all their best moveables to Paris ; while those whose circumscribed fortunes never permit them that advantage, live in farms ; which being tricked off with a few turrets and pinnacles, bears the name of chateau always.

From this vanity of a little piece of property, occurs that perpetual jumble in the names of families, so as hardly to be able ever to distinguish one branch from another : for should a lord of a manor have ten sons, one takes the name of Du-bois (of the wood) ; a second de

de la Haye (of the hedge); a third de la Tour, (of the tower); a fourth de la Fontaine (of the fountain); till, after every part of the house and garden is ransacked for a fresh appellation, should the good lady bring another, they would call him, rather than not give some Nom de Guerre at the christening, de la Jartiere, from one of his mother's garters.

But to return to Fernex: the parish church forming part of the quadrangle or grand cour to the old chateau; and Voltaire being thereby intercepted a view of the lake, fairly sawed the church in two, without any spiritual licence for so doing; or, without a with your leave or by your leave of the bishop or dean; but, as a salvo to the injury, he has put in very large capitals, distinguishable from the great road to the town of Gex (and so purposely intended) these words:

*Deo Erexit Voltaire.*

Many epigrams, sonnets, and madrigals have been wrote on the occasion, but not one worthy of insertion; suffice it, that as the rule of his conduct is, in general, every school-boy can throw his squib of animadversion.

On the dissolution of the order of jesuits, and of course their dissipation, Voltaire selected one to be his table-companion, and fellow chess-player. The poor Pere Adam (that is his name) is forced to eat his pudding, and hold his tongue; for never was a Welsh curate so much the butt of his squire's arrows, as is this chaplain of his.

I give him a title here Voltaire never intended him; but I know

that the accidental residence of this jesuit in his house, has frequently given an handle for many to think and say, that, however ludicrous our epic is in public, that in private he is not without his fears; which he proves by having this reverend chaplain in his house and at his elbow; whereas it is well known that both the vespers and mattins of monf. de Voltaire are chess and back-gammon, piquet or a game at quadrille.

When he invited the poor Pere Adam to his house, it is said he was ingenuous enough to add, "if you can dare to live with a man who professes himself to have no religion at all, or, if any thing, is a stricter disciple of Confucius than you can be of your humble master, then come to me."

He seldom goes to bed till day-break, drinking coffee almost every half hour, and playing at chess; next day he is never visible till noon, and then disagreeably so; having but too often a dirty banjan, an unpowdered tye-wig, with the knots before; and a cap over that, either of silk or velvet embroidered; and being naturally hasty and waspish, I am often reminded of Lear as represented in a strolling company, where the wardrobe furnishes the same suit for that insane king, as for the Mahomet of some Turkish tragedy, incomplete at least, and at best very shabby.

The Jesuit residing with Monf. de Voltaire being rather a man of slight, than striking genius, often gives this head of the family an handle to make him the butt of conversation; however, the Pere Adam follows the

the old adage of, "eating his pudding, and holding his tongue."

Voltaire says of him often, *Il est Pere Adam, mais pas le premier des hommes*. He may be Father Adam, but is far from being the first of men.

To draw up the curtain of Berlin once more (which seemed already dropt) I should inform the reader that Maupertuis and he had a real quarrel, and what the king of Prussia began in a political jest, had near ended in a very serious manner.

Indeed, the phlegmatic disposition of Maupertuis, (a Norman) was a proper subject for the king, in his hours of humour and raillery, to play off his artillery on, by means of the said Maupertuis, against the vivacity of a Frenchman born southward, and differing more from the northern French in the several provinces of Normandy, Britany, Anjou, &c. than perhaps any country in the globe.

To return, matters were carried so high, that Maupertuis sent a challenge to Voltaire; then sick in bed. The exact words of his invitation to the field of battle I never saw, but his answer was almost in these words.

Monsieur de Maupertuis.

S I R,

I had the honour of your challenge, which I would gladly have accepted had you given me the choice of my own weapons; being ill a-bed, a syringe would have been the most proper instrument; and that, from your known humanity, I do expect to receive from your skilful hands.

VOL. X.

But I must also observe to you, that a pistol ball will kill me, but can have no effect on you; lead will assimilate with your brain; and therefore are we not on an equal footing?

I am, with all respect,

VOLTAIRE.

The quarrel, by these means, ended like that of Dr. Caius and Sir Hugh Evans. It became a party-affair of the most laughable kind; so that the very boys of Berlin upbraided Mons. de Maupertuis, for not sending a squirt to Mons. de Voltaire, instead of a challenge with ball and pistol.

To return to our lord-paramount at the *chateau de Fernex*, where he may be truly called such; the gay part of Geneva take delight in visiting him; but as he knows what is related to them, will reach the ears of their magistracy, he never fails saying the severest things an irritated genius can invent.

A gentleman's equipage not coming punctually, who was on a visit to him, he asked if the coachman was a Genevite; and being answered in the affirmative, he replied, "Oh! there the very servants are kings; no wonder you are so tyrannically used."

At another time, (the reader must observe that Geneva has no territory) he said, supposing each free-citizen of this great republic had a shirt, and would lend it on the occasion, they might cover their dominion with their own linen.

His house is a receptacle for all foreigners; and, as every such visitor strains his genius to entertain him, no wonder, by such a quick succession of all the several inhabi-

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tants

tants of the four quarters of the world, that Voltaire has such an universal knowledge of mankind.

His conversation among men generally turns (and too unhappily so) on blasphemous subjects; and (which argues a great want of politeness) he generally increases this vein if any churchmen are present; nay, according to their rank, he augments or decreases his sallies of what he falsely calls pleasantry.

Thus a story which would be a good one for a poor curé or abbé, must be enriched for a mitred brow or cardinal; and pere Adam (the good simple Jesuit) whatever little he may say on the occasion, pays it off in thinking.

Yet, to keep up appearances, he has given an altar to the church adjoining to his house, and some rich vestments to the sacristy; and will, occasionally, attend the service; particularly on a wedding, which shall happen in his own family.

The archbishop of Troyes dining with him one day, Voltaire was, as usual, playing off all his artillery against the prelate, who was also a cardinal. The good divine immediately became the gentleman, and said, "the world have such obligations to men of genius, that a particular allowance is ever made to them, in return for their productions; though I don't doubt yet but Monsr. de Voltaire will be a good convert to us before he dies." Voltaire immediately answered, "My lord! if ever I am made a convert of, it must be, like St. Paul, on horseback."

With ladies, he is rather indecent; as with the church, he is but too apt to be ludicrous. Many of

his late works will verify this; and I rather think that the sweepings of his brain, so lately published, are more owing to his flattering bookseller and his wife; who, like F——r in Dublin, never care if Voltaire or Dean Swift suffer, so he or they can have venison in the proper season.

The *salle à manger* at Voltaire's is very dirty in general. And you will see servants waiting in waistcoats, and women at work (in not the most delicate of needle employment) while company of the first rank are at dinner. But his drawing-room, and other apartments, make ample amends for this carelessness; scarce any nobleman having a more elegant suite of chambers, either for state or convenience.

You would be surprised to see on what scraps of paper he writes his best hints for material works. I am amazed he can find them in the dissipated manner they lie. While he writes he always sits with his back to the fire; which is, perhaps, to save his eyes.

When he does dress (which is rare) no man produces a more variegated wardrobe: but so eccentric is he, that, in a suit of velvet and embroidery, I have seen him join the dance of some servants in the hall, on hearing the violin give the summons.

But let me not dare by these *minutiae* to think of lessening the value of so great a master of the pen. On the contrary, Dean Swift had, in his private hours, more of this vein than even Voltaire; descending often to chuse mere trifles, in order the better, perhaps, to rise in sentiment afterwards. Pope certainly

tainly means this, when he so elegantly pays this compliment to lord Bolingbroke :

“ Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,

“ To fall with dignity, with temper rise.”

There is a monarchical, despotic state in this great man, which appears in his minutest actions. Thus, at table, he never comes in with the rest of the company ; but will delay about any trifle ; and, on entrance, loves to recall all the dishes, and disturb every part of the table with placing and mis-placing them, after every one else has been satisfied ; which is rather disagreeable, when the appetite of others has been satisfied ; nothing being so unwelcome as the remnants of dishes half spoiled, and scraps of delicacies ; which, by these means, no longer are such.

Land being cheap in this part of Burgundy (called properly the *païs de Gex*) it is amazing what a quantity of acres he has on his estate ; and he seems to value himself on this, in preference to a smaller share of territory more cultivated.

He pretends to shew a turn for English improvements, from observations he made, or pretended to make in England, when he was there. But the attachment to French ornaments still prevails ; and a flower-plat and fountain are, to him, greater embellishments than all the woods and waters of a Chatsworth, a Castle-Howard, or a Sturton.

His favourite work is the *Pucelle d'Orleans* ; which, in fact, is the Hudibras of the French poetry and

language. His picture is often drawn looking on his *Henriade*, but I believe he has not that affection for it he has for many other of his performances.

Being asked which of his tragedies he most affected, he replied, *Olympia* ; “ for the same reason,” says he, “ that a man is proud of having a child at seventy-five.”

He has many carriages, according to the French custom, but not one fit to ride in. No nation (elegant as they are at Paris in these conveniences) is so careless distant from the metropolis. If you are carried, or (as is the common expression) lifted out of the dirt, it is all they think of ; stained linings, ragged fringes, broken windows, make up the sum of a French country equipage ; and Mr. Shandy (in a late volume) gives this under his hand in his observations, during a French perambulation.

Though Voltaire never would accept a title from any monarch, yet does he much attach himself to personages so adorned ; nay, in the very opening of his letters, he will give a preference of reading to those with ducal coronets over those of common earls, viscounts, or barons.

He complains much of an unconquerable dryness in his habit of body ; “ which,” says he, “ one day or other, must end me ;” as if but for that he might live a century longer ; and I am told, that in illness no man is so afraid of the devil's claws as himself ; inasmuch, that the most ignorant and mendicant priest can, at that time, have a sway over him, which, in perfect health, the infallible head of the church would fail of.

The many presents from the great, of wine, and every delicacy which

which so many different countries afford, allow him to keep a better table than many of his equals in fortune ; and, whether their favours arise from fear or love, he is equally gainer.

Most people think him, at least, twenty years older than he really is ; appearing on the theatre of life so early (for he published at sixteen) many imagine him a man from that era ; when, in fact, he was only a stripling. Nor do I now believe him to be above seventy.

However, being one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the king, his age may easily be ascertained ; for a man cannot enter on such a post till of certain age ; and, by the date of his commission, it will appear when he obtained that honour.

His affection to the elector-palatine seems beyond that of any other monarch ; he resided with him a year under his roof at Mannheim, and had every honour of a prince of the blood ; but mingling in politics, the minority there grew jealous of him ; and so he retired to his territory near Geneva.

The elector had several busts of him executed by Mr. Verchetsel, the most eminent statuary now living, and who is governor of the sculpture academy at Mannheim ; but, to keep him in good humour, some ladies of the court were always near him ; or he would not have had patience to go through the ceremony of a model.

In short, he is such a mixture of dignity and littleness ; such a contrast of the trifler and man of judgment : that he seems, as Falstaff says so wittily of himself, a double

man. As his various works prove him the great man, I have only touched on those anecdotes which shew him in another light ; perhaps, unknown to the world, and which, blended with his other character, make him as he is — a mortal man ; and not that deity the minor writers would fain raise him to.

If I have been too severe, attribute it to a punctuality in my nature ; and when he dies, let us say of him what prince Henry said over even his enemy :

“ Thy ignominy sleep with thee  
in the grave,  
“ But not remember'd in thy epitaph.”

By ignominy, I mean his universal dislike to all religion ; in which he is not content (for this I could forgive him) to think only ; but he loves to vent his opinion in public ; and the world are left to judge, with the attachment people are too apt to have towards men of genius, what an infinite number of proselytes he is capable of drawing to himself in these days of libertinism and dissipation.

Being exiled the kingdom of France (some people only say, the court) he past over to England, the surest, as the happiest asylum, to a gentleman and a genius. He raised subscriptions there, unknown to any native ; and which in an enemy's country might, or is, indeed, called contributions.

On his wishing to return home, on some private affairs, he strongly solicited the then French ministry to obtain leave for such a favour to himself ; but, however publicly his majesty might approve and coun-



tenance such recall, the revengeful ministers were not so easily reconcilable, but became very strenuous opposers of it. But Voltaire (ever an over-match in politics and genius, for these his enemies of state) wrote to some powerful friends in Germany, and suddenly got himself invested with a public character; I think it was either from the electorate of Cologne, or prince bishop of Liege.

On obtaining this rank, he immediately set off for the court of Versailles, having previously got his credentials acknowledged before he presented himself in public.

On his first appearance, the reader may well imagine what a buzz there was throughout the drawing room of such an inquisitive court; and of course, his old enemies, from curiosity, and not affection, incircled him, and began, as usual, their congratulations, each equally endeavouring to exculpate himself, and in general, themselves, from any hand in his banishment. After hearing what they all had to offer, he said: "By being thus exiled my country so long, I am incapable of understanding your language now, with precision. But, if you will talk with my secretary here (or any of my train) they will inform me, when I get home, what kind services you mean to me."

His pardon was soon after sealed, and it is said, that, by this insolence of his, as also his being honoured with a public character, (in which department he might equally serve or injure them) that the very ministry, once his enemies, were now the first leaders to his pardon.

At Manheim (where he resided after his disgrace at Berlin, if it may be so called, when he chose his own dismissal) he behaved with such imperiousness, or absence of mind, that when the elector, who would honour him often with a visit in his apartments, and even by his own appointment waited on him, he would pretend not to know him; and, but for that sovereign's insuperable benevolence, the friendship must have ended.

A certain English oculist being at Berlin during Voltaire's residence there, I will in few words introduce an anecdote of this chevalier, professor and member of all the academies in Europe; which, as it is connected a little with Voltaire, is not *outraie* in this letter.

His majesty of Prussia, for some reasons, held the English then at arm's length, and was so little desirous of pleasing the country in general, that he would hardly be civil to any particular part of it, though backed with title, or offices of state. Lord D —, Earl St. —, the Duke of St. —, and many great commoners, were then in the city of Berlin, but never once invited to court. Nay, so slighted were they, that on the Parade (the general resort of all foreigners, while the guard mounts) the king would publicly say to general Keith and lord Marshal, "What! are your countrymen not gone yet?" Observe, as a further proof of his revenge; his ambassador at Paris, and the French ambassador to his court, were both attainted peers of this kingdom; namely, the lords Marshal and Tyrconnel; as the own and only brother

brother of the former was at that time also commander in chief of all his forces. But to the point: at the time the English nobility were thus whimsically excluded the court, our chevalier oculist was publicly admitted: nay, to render it more satirical against us, with double honour, superior to what a person of that rank deserved; however, his usual vanity might desire, or perhaps expect it. Observe, that the said doctor was then strongly suspected of being employed by our ministry, as a private observer on the actions of several princes; and his profession gave him these opportunities, as he was perpetually fluctuating between one court and another, and admitted to their presence.

The oculist being introduced to the king, his majesty (with his usual politeness) asked him what favours he could confer on him, being ready to distinguish all men of eminence like himself. The doctor only desired to have the honour of being oculist to his m——y; and which, to make short of, the king readily granted; adding, “as I do not love to suspend any one’s happiness long, be at court tomorrow early, and your patent shall be ready.”

The chevalier (flushed with this unexpected promise,) now appeared at court as by royal command; but notwithstanding a double parade of lacqueys and equipage, on his approach the king said, “You desire to be my oculist—there is your patent; you must take the usual oaths on these occasions: that done, come to me again.”

On reporting to the king that all necessary forms were gone through, his majesty said: “You desired to

be my oculist—you are so; my eyes want no assistance;—yet are you my oculist;—but, if you touch the eyes of one of my subjects, I will hang you up. I love my subjects equally as myself.”

The chevalier departed (or was rather ordered to depart) in six hours: he pleaded more time to pack up his eyes and implements, but was refused; and a guard being set over him, he was escorted like any delinquent to the borders of Saxony, that being the country most contiguous. The respect his majesty seemed first to pay him in preference to all the English, (of which number the smallest was his superior) now appeared a still stronger satire against England, and proved that he suspected the chevalier’s other profession, in conjunction with those of oculist, orator, and professor of every science.

To bring this home to Voltaire, which was my intention, an epigram appeared from his pen, no doubt—the sting of which was, “that the king had driven out of his dominions the only man who could have opened his eyes.”

And now, to return to Fernex once more, where we shall take leave of our hero, and leave him to the opinion of others, no less than his own opinion of himself; his great favourite is doctor Tronchin, whom he calls his *Æsculapius*. The wife of his bookseller seems very much to rule him, and alternately, one madame Relier, whose husband is a leading man in the present affairs of Geneva: a place which Voltaire has such an aversion to enter the walls of, that he has been known to sit in his coach at the very gates, and send for those persons he has any business

or

or connection with to the window-side, and give them an audience with all the self-sufficiency of an eastern prince.

He is fond of driving a single-horse chair, and has a roan horse, which the elector-palatine gave him at Manheim, because it happened to be foaled just under his eye from an Arabian mare.

He will sometimes drive more madly than Phaeton, and then at once falls into a solemnity of pace, as if composing some great work.

An English gentleman who slept one night at his house, begged a book of him to amuse him when he rose in the morning: on which Voltaire gave him his *Pucelle d'Orléans*: adding, "A virgin in my house is no small rarity."

Meanwhile, I see him now with his whip in his hand, calling the whole house to go a hunting (*à la chape, à la chasse*) and when he had assembled every body, it was only to walk round his house, and brush down the spiders and their webs, which the servants had neglected among the pillars of each portico of his building.

He will talk much of what the writers will say after his death; and often hints, that the conversation of Monsieur de Voltaire on his death-bed, cooked up by some Jesuit, will be a most delicious morsel for the Paris booksellers; "and the rascals will pick up many a good meal of my bones," says he, "bare as I am."

His kitchen-garden at Fernex is very large and convenient, but divided and subdivided so often by walls, looks rather unsightly: an open plat of ground would be too much exposed to heat, perhaps, to forward culinary productions; the

frequent walls may rather create a necessary shade.

His love of dates, sweet oranges, and pomegranates, is very particular. Observe in the south of France, that the orange being grafted on the pomegranate gives it a fine colour; and he will often hold it up, and say, "This must have been the forbidden fruit."

His favourite productions in our language are, Garth's *Dispensatory*; Prior's *Henry and Emma*; Pope's *Prologue to Cato*; and the smallest works of Pope: but as to Shakespear and Milton, he can hardly speak of them with any degree of patience.

As he writes much from hearsay, no wonder he is so subject to errors in chronology, and even facts. In a late production of his, which he calls *Contes, or Tales*, he declares, when writing a critique on the play of the Orphan, that Chamont, as a proof of the barbarity of the English stage, asks his sister, the fair and virtuous Monimia, if she has not lost her maiden-head; and affirms, that Polydore twice pulls his beloved and lovely orphan by the hair of her head across the stage.

Whether any young English gentlemen, from design or ignorance, drew him into the scrape of committing this to the press I cannot say; but so it is—and I wish some comic genius of our island did not do it purposely, to expose him, as, having endeavoured, or rather dared, as they would call it, to draw a picture of the English stage, without ever knowing its mere out-lines.

In his observations on the tragedy of Hamlet, (a play he utterly despises) he has hit on a blunder of

our great English literature which I think will not be so visible.

"And now," says he, "the first act ends with the king giving his royal orders (and which must never be disobeyed) to fire all the cannon round the ramparts, two hundred years before gunpowder was invented."

The famous soliloquy of, "To be, or not to be," he has variously paraphrased; as thus:

"To dance, or not to dance,  
"To drink, or not to drink,  
"To dress, or not to dress,  
"To ride, or not to ride,  
"To pay, or not to pay,  
"To sing, or not to sing; that  
is the question."

On an English gentleman's taking leave of him, to go to London, he said: "Well Sir! I will come and see you when you are got home—but that is after I am dead: there are above twenty ghosts in the tragedy of Macbeth, why should I not be one among them."

On addressing a lady, who had just lain in, he said, "And who was your midwife?" On her telling him Dr. B——r, a man, he smiled; and said, "Well! give my respects to your husband, and tell him he is half a cuckold."

He gives no regular livery; so that his servants often wearing that of the last place they lived at, have the appearance of several gentlemen's servants attending as on a visit to him.

He is fond of hawks; and as the adjacent Alps, and the vast chain of mountains, known by the name of *Mont Jura*, afford various species of these birds, his house is a menagerie of that kind; and he will sometimes amuse himself, with

letting them fly at a pigeon or a tame hawk, about his house, calling them kings who eat the innocent subjects in pieces.

His house was built by an architect of Geneva, called Billon; but in this, he was only the bricklayer or stone-mason, for the model is very common all over France.

Though he is of a noble family, yet is he ever shy of mentioning it; nor can any one learn what part of France he was born and bred in: perhaps, he thinks, if too many particulars were known, that it would be published before his death, as dying speeches often are, and he would not wish to hear he was so near dying.

His love of English humour is so strong, that he will invite the most common and blackguard fancies; and by taking proper memorandums of them, one would think he meant to new dress them, and thereby make them his own, in some future book of tales.

A certain English general officer led so dissipated a life, that he often drank to-day of a guinea a quart, even when alone. Upon which his lady would often say, "My dear general, whatever you do for the honour of the crown, and in compliment to state days, do not drink such expensive wine when by yourself; for what must your poor children do?" "Oh!" says the general, "I am easy as to that, let them smell at the corks."

It being necessary to tap him some time after for the dropsy, he went through the operation like a soldier; but asking what the surgeons had found, and they replying water, he said, "How can that be? I never drank a drop of water in all my life. But how long

long will it be before I must be tapped again?" On being answered six months, he replied, "It is impossible! no vessel in my house ever held above six weeks."

In short, his life was so profligate, that his lady at last saying "Why! general, you will not leave a shilling to bury you:" he answered, "Oh! I'll stink them into good manners." Voltaire rubbed his hands for joy, immediately set pen to paper, and an elegant tale on that subject, with all the English *bons mots*, is now to be seen at Fernex.

But again I repeat, and ever shall, that, with all these little-nesses, he is at intervals the very greatest genius of this century. When he does compose, which is rare, he is so amazingly attentive, that he has been known to write a five act tragedy in as many days; and I have heard him say of comedy, that he could write it faster

than any actors could represent it, if he had good and quick secretaries.

With respect to the building at Fernex, (was it not for having committed the folly of preserving the gateways, and some towers capped with pinnacles, according to the French manner of building) it would be a very magnificent fabric; but an error of the same nature is in point, as the lawyers say, near Bridgewater, in Somersetshire; where, to keep up a gateway of lord Rochester's, the building of a very great and ingenious architect and nobleman is entirely spoilt, I mean earl E——t.

I have no other anecdotes of Mons. de Voltaire, but what would offend the one or other part of human nature, if related; I therefore beg to be excused any farther observations on so great, or so little a man.

## NATURAL HISTORY.

*Observations upon Animals, commonly called Amphibious by Authors. Presented by Dr. Parsons, F. R. S.*

**T**HE following remarks, which I have the honour to lay before this learned society, were occasioned by a conversation that passed between me and a gentleman well acquainted with natural history, however mistaken in the subject before us. His opinion was, that amphibious animals lived more in the water than on the land: but I believe the contrary will appear by the sequel of this treatise.

If we consider the words ἀμφί and βίος from which the term amphibious is derived; we should understand that animals, having this title, should be capable of living as well by land or in the air, as by water, or of dwelling in either constantly at will; but it will be difficult to find any animal that can fulfil this definition, as being equally qualified for either; and in classing creatures of this kind, authors are much divided, and sometimes mistaken.

Now if any natural historian should deduce his distinction of this class, from the structure or characteristic of any part of the animal, I think he would be a little out of the way; because the

term comprehends nothing but what regards its living in both air and water at discretion; however, since the word amphibious is adopted by the writers of the history of animals, let us retain it still, and examine some of this class, and, by considering their natural œconomy respectively, endeavour to range them, according to that standard, in the following manner. They are such as;

1. Enjoy their chief functions by land, but occasionally go into the water.

2. Such as chiefly inhabit the water, but occasionally go ashore. Of the latter there are but very few species. And although none of the winged tribe are to be ranged under this class, yet as many of them remain long upon the water in search of their proper food, we shall enumerate some peculiar advantages, which have been allowed to several of them by the bountiful wisdom of the creator, in order to render them the more able to obtain it; and this will make one curious part of my present purpose, not generally known.

The dispute mentioned between my friend and me, turned upon the class of the phocæ, which consists of a very numerous tribe of different species: I shall therefore endeavour to shew that none of them



them can live chiefly in the waters, but that their chief enjoyment of the functions of life is on shore.

These animals are really quadrupeds; but, as their chief food is fish, they are under a necessity of going out to sea to hunt their prey, and to great distances from shore; taking care that, however great the distance, rocks or small islands are at hand, as resting places when they are tired, or their bodies become too much macerated in the water; and they return to the places of their usual resort to sleep, copulate, and bring forth their young, for the following reasons, viz. It is well known that the only essential difference (as to the general structure of the heart) between amphibious and mere land animals, or such as never go into the water, is that in the former the oval hole remains always open. Now, in such as are without this hole, if they were to be immersed in water for but a little time, respiration would cease, and the animal must die; because a great part of the mass of blood passes from the heart, by the pulmonary artery, through the lungs, and by the pulmonary veins returns to the heart; while the aorta is carrying the greater part of the mass to the head and extremities, &c.

Now the blood passes through the lungs in a continual uninterrupted stream, while respiration is gentle and moderate; but when it is violent, then the circulation is interrupted, for inspiration and expiration are now carried to their extent; and in this state the blood cannot pass through the lungs either during the total inspiration

or total expiration of the air in breathing; for in the former case the inflation compresses the returning veins, and in the latter, by the collapson of the lungs, these veins are interrupted also, so that it is only between these two violent actions that the blood can pass: and hence it is that the lives of animals are shortened, and their health impaired, when they are subjected to frequent violent respiration; and thus it is that in animals who have once breathed, they must continue to respire ever after; for life is at an end when that ceases.

There are three necessary and principal uses of respiration in all land animals, and in these kinds that are counted amphibious; the first is that of promoting the circulation of the blood through the whole body and extremities; in real fishes, the force of the heart is alone capable of sending the blood to every part, as they are not furnished with limbs or extremities; but in the others mentioned, being all furnished with extremities, respiration is an assistant force to the arteries in sending blood to the extremities, which, being so remote from the heart, have need of such assistance; otherwise the circulation would be very languid in these parts; thus we see, that in persons subject to asthmatic complaints, the circulation grows languid, the legs grow cold and oedematous, and other parts suffer by the defect in respiration.

A second use of breathing is, that, in inspiration, the variety of particles, of different qualities, which float always in the air, might be drawn into the lungs.

to be infinuated into the mass of blood, being highly necessary to temperate and cool the agitated mass, and to contribute refined pabulum to the finer parts of it, which, meeting with the daily supply of chyle, serves to assimilate and more intimately mix the mass, and render its constitution the fitter for supporting the life of the animal. Therefore it is, that valetudinarians, by changing foul or unwholesome air for a free, good, open air, often recover from lingering diseases.

And a third principal use of respiration is, to promote the exhibition of a voice in animals; which all those that live on the land do according to their specific natures.

From these considerations it appears, beyond contradiction, that the phocæ of every kind are under an absolute necessity of making the land their principal residence; but there is another very convincing argument why they reside on shore the greatest part of their time, and that is, that the flesh of these creatures is analogous to that of other land animals; and therefore, by over-long maceration, added to the fatigue of their chasing their prey, they would suffer such a relaxation as would destroy them. It is well known that animals, which have lain long under water, are reduced to a very lax and even putrid state; and the phoca must bask in the air on shore; for while the solids are at rest, they acquire their former degree of tension, and the vigour of the animal is restored; and while he has an uninterrupted placid respiration, his blood is refreshed by the new supply of air,

as I have explained it above, and he is rendered fit for his next cruise: for action wastes the most exalted fluids of the body, more or less, according to its duration and violence; and the restorative rest must continue a longer or shorter time, according to the quantity of the previous fatigue.

Let us now examine by what power these animals are capable of remaining longer under water than land animals.

All these have the oval hole open between the right and left auricles of the heart, and, in many, the canalis arteriosus also: and while the phoca remains under water, which he may continue an hour or two more or less, his respiration is stopped, and the blood, not finding the passage through the pulmonary artery free, rushes through the hole from the right to the left auricle, and partly through the arterial canal, being a short passage to the aorta, and thence to every part of the body, maintaining the circulation: but, upon rising to come ashore, the blood finds its passage again through the lungs the moment he respire.

Thus the foetus in utero, during his confinement, having the lungs compressed, and consequently the pulmonary arteries and veins impervious, has the circulation of the blood carried on through the oval hole and the arterial canal; now so far the phoca in the water and the foetus in utero are analogous; but they differ in other material circumstances: one is, that the foetus, having never respired, remains sufficiently nourished by the maternal blood circulating through him, and continues

nues to grow till the time of his birth, without any want of respiration during nine months confinement; the phoca, having respired the moment of his birth, cannot live very long without it, for the reasons given before; and this hole and canal would be closed in them, as it is in land animals, if the dam did not, very soon after the birth of the cub, carry him into the water to teach him, so very frequently; by which practice these passages are kept open during life; otherwise they would not be capable of attaining the food designed for them by providence.

Another difference is, that the phoca, as I said before, would be relaxed by maceration in remaining too long in the water; whereas the foetus in utero suffers no injury from continuing its full number of months in the fluid he swims in: the reason is; that water is a powerful solvent, and penetrates the pores of the skins of land animals, and in time can dissolve them; whereas the liquor amnii is an insipid soft fluid, impregnated with particles more or less mucilaginous, and utterly incapable of making the least alteration in the cutis of the foetus.

Otters, beavers, and some kinds of rats, go occasionally into the waters for their prey, but cannot remain very long under water; I have often gone to shoot otters, and watched all their motions; I have seen one of them go softly from a bank into the river, and dive down, and in about two minutes rise, at ten or fifteen yards from the place he went in, with a middling salmon in his mouth, which he brought on

shore; I shot him, and saved the fish whole. Now, as all foetuses have these passages open, if a whelp of a true water-spaniel, was, immediately after its birth, served as the phoca does her cubs, immersed in water, to stop respiration for a little time every day, I make no doubt but the hole and canal would be kept open, and the dog be made capable of remaining as long under water as the phoca.

Frogs, how capable soever of remaining in the water, yet cannot avoid living on land, for they respire; and if, as I have often done, a frog be thrown into a river, he makes to the shore as fast as he can.

The lizard kind, such as may be called water lizards, or *lacertæ aquaticæ*, all are obliged to come to land and deposit their eggs, rest, and sleep; even the crocodiles, who dwell much in rivers, sleep and lay their eggs on shore; and, while in the water, are compelled to rise to the surface to breathe; yet, from the texture of his scaly covering, he is capable of remaining in the water longer by far than any species of the *phocæ*, whose skin is analogous to that of a horse or cow.

The hippopotamus, who wades into the lakes or rivers, is a quadruped, and remains under the water a considerable time; yet his chief residence is upon land, and he must come on shore for respiration.

The testudo, or sea-tortoise, though he goes out to sea, and is often found far from land; yet, being a respiring animal, cannot remain long under water. He has indeed a power of rendering himself specifically heavier or lighter than

than the water, and therefore can let himself down to avoid an enemy or a storm; yet he is under a necessity of rising frequently to breathe, for reasons given before; and his most usual situation, while at sea, is upon the surface of the water, feeding upon the various substances that float in great abundance every where about him; these animals sleep securely upon the surface, but not under water, and can remain longer at sea than any others of this class, except the crocodile, because, as it is with the latter, his covering is not in danger of being too much macerated; yet they must go on shore to copulate, and lay their eggs.

The consideration of these is sufficient to inform us of the nature of the first order of the class of amphibious animals; let us now see what is to be said of the second in our division of them, which are such as chiefly inhabit the waters, but occasionally go on shore.

These are but of two kinds: the eels and water-serpents, or snakes of every kind. It is their form that qualifies them for locomotion on land, and they know their way back to the water at will; for by their structure they have a strong peristaltic motion, by which they can go forward at a pretty good rate, whereas all other kinds of fish, whether vertical or horizontal, are incapable of a voluntary loco-motion on shore; and therefore, as soon as such fish are brought out of the water, after having flounced a while, they lie motionless, and soon die.

Let us now examine into the reason why these vermicular fish,

the eel and serpent kinds, can live a considerable time on land, and the vertical and horizontal kinds die almost immediately when taken out of the water: and, in this research, we shall come to know what analogy there is between land animals and those of the waters. All land animals have lungs, and can live no longer than while these are inflated by the ambient air, and alternately compressed for its expulsion; that is, while respiration is duly carried on, by a regular inspiration and expiration of air.

In like manner, the fish in general have, instead of lungs, gills, or branchiæ; and, as in land animals, the lungs have a large portion of the mass of blood circulating through them, which must be stopped if the air has not a free ingress and egress into and from them; so, in fish, there is a great share of blood-vessels that pass through the branchiæ, and a great portion of their blood circulates through them, which must in like manner be totally stopped, if the branchiæ are not kept perpetually wet with water; so that, as the air is to the lungs, in land animals, a constant assistant to the circulation, so is the water to the branchiæ of those of the rivers and seas; for when these are out of the water, the branchiæ very soon grow crisp and dry, the blood-vessels are shrunk, and the blood is obstructed in its passage; so, when the former are immersed in water, or otherwise prevented having respiration, the circulation ceases, and the animal dies.

Again, as land animals would be destroyed by too much maceration in water, so fishes would, on the other hand, be ruined by

too much exsiccation ; the latter being, from their general structure and constitution, made fit to bear, and live in, the water ; the former, by their constitution and forms, to breathe, and dwell, in the air.

But it may be asked, why eels and water snakes are capable of living longer in the air than the other kinds of fish ? this is answered, by considering the providential care of the great creator for these and every one of his creatures : for, since they were capable of locomotion by their form, which they need not be if they were never to go on shore, it seemed necessary that they should be rendered capable of living a considerable time on shore, otherwise their loco-motion would be in vain. How is this provided for ? why in a most convenient manner ; for this order of fishes have their branchiæ well covered from the external drying air, and are also furnished with a slimy mucus, which hinders their becoming crisp and dry for many hours, and their very skins always emit a mucous liquor, which keeps them supple and moist for a long time ; whereas the branchiæ of other kinds of fish are much exposed to the air, and want the slimy matter to keep them moist. Now, if, when any of these is brought out of the water, it was laid in a vessel without water, he might be kept alive a considerable time, by only keeping the gills and surface of the skin constantly wet, even without any water to swim in.

Before I dismiss the first part of my discourse, I must beg your patience, while I mention something that relates to a family among the

fish kinds, which is of a middle nature between the phocæ, and the real fishes of the sea, in one peculiar respect. This is the class of the phocenæ, or porpusses, of which there are several species ; and these have lungs, and therefore are forced to come up to the surface to breath at very short intervals ; but, when brought on shore, have no progressive locomotion. So that, having lungs, they resemble the phocæ, and, in every other respect, the real fishes of the sea.

Blasius, in his *Anatome Animalium*, page 288, gives an account of one of these taken and brought on shore alive ; the people let him lie, to see how long he could live out of the water ; and he continued alive only about seven or eight hours, and exhibited a kind of hissing voice.

From what has been said, it will, I hope, appear rational, that these are the only two orders that can properly be deduced from the class of amphibious animals ; and that the genus's of either order are very few in the animal world.

*A letter from James Parsons, M. D. F. R. S. to the right honourable the Earl of Morton, president of the Royal Society ; on the double horns of the rhinoceros.*

My Lord ;

**W**HEN I had the honour of laying my natural history of the rhinoceros before this learned society in 1743, which is printed in number 470, page 523. of the Transactions, I had not an opportunity of shewing a double horn

horn to the members; I have therefore taken this first occasion to entertain the present members with a sight of a noble specimen of the horns of an African rhinoceros, brought from the Cape of Good Hope, by my curious and worthy friend William Maguire, esquire, among many other curiosities; presuming that few of the society have ever seen a pair of the like kind. But what renders this subject the more particular, and worthy of observation, is, that by means of knowing there is a species of this animal, having always a double horn upon the nose, in Africa, Martial's reading is supported against the criticism of Bochart, who changed the true text of that poet, in an epigram upon the strength of this animal; for when Domitian ordered an exhibition of wild beasts, as it was the custom of several emperors, the poet says: The rhinoceros toss'd up a heavy bear with his double horn:

*Namque gravem gemino cornu sic  
extulit ursum.*

and as Bochart knew nothing of a double horn, he changed this line both in reading and sense thus:

*Namque gravi geminum cornu sic  
extulit eorum.*

as if two wild bulls were tossed up into the air, by the strong horn of the rhinoceros.

Mr. Maittaire adopted the notion of a single horn, but was of opinion that the *geminum eorum* of Bochart ought to have been plural, *geminos euros*, as being more elegant; and he was followed by Doctors Mead and Douglas, with

this difference, that these changed the *euros* for *ursos*, as imagining they were rather bears than bulls, that were thrown up by this noble animal.

Our then worthy president Martin Folkes, esquire, had seen my account of this subject, at the end of which, I endeavoured, however presumptuously, to defend Martial's reading against Bochart and the other eminent persons mentioned; and desired I would let it be read and printed, which I very readily agreed to, as his request did me much honour.

Before my paper was printed, Mr. Maittaire and Doctor Douglas died; and the learned Doctor Mead was the surviving critic, upon this line, of the three. Upon this occasion, therefore, I have a double pleasure; first, in amusing the present gentlemen with a most curious specimen in natural history; and, secondly, in remembering in this place, the nice candor and generosity of Dr. Mead upon that subject. For, about four months after the paper was printed, he received a present of several curious shells, seeds, &c. and with them the bones of the face of a young rhinoceros, with two horns *in situ*, all intire, by a captain of an African trader, who brought them from Angola.

As soon as he saw the horns, he sent to invite me to breakfast, and there, in company, ingeniously gave up his past opinion, and declared for Martial; and, indeed, I must add to the praise of that great man, that, as I was happy in being frequently at his house, I was witness to many such instances of the most disinterested candour



candour and generosity, where any part of science was the topic, among his select friends.

This anecdote I thought proper to mention upon the present occasion; nor can too much be said to his honour, among all lovers of philosophical learning. I am

Your lordship's

most obedient servant,

James Parsons.

P. S. The dimensions are as follows; viz. The length of the anterior horn, measuring with a string along the convex fore part, is 20 inches; perpendicular height 18; circumference  $21\frac{1}{2}$  at the base; the posterior horn is in perpendicular height  $19\frac{1}{4}$ ; circumference round the base 18; length of both bases together upon the nasal bones 14; and the weight of both together is 14 pounds 10 ounces.

The rhinoceros of the year 1739, described in the transactions, was three years old; and the horn not three inches high; and hence by comparing that with this, one may imagine this to be many years old, perhaps above twenty; and that this animal lives to a great age.

It is also plain that the horns are perpetual, as are those of oxen.

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*A letter to the president of the royal society, containing a new manner of measuring the velocity of wind, and an experiment to ascertain to what quantity of water a fall of snow is equal.*

Kirknewton, May 13, 1766.

My lord,

**I** SHOULD think myself most unworthy of the honour which your lordship and the royal society have done me, if the notice

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which you was pleased to take of my letter upon the late comet, did not make me more careful to observe whatever I thought might tend to improve the knowledge of nature, which is a capital part of the laudable design of the society.

Your lordship knows, that my situation exposes me to every blast that blows, and affords a fair opportunity for measuring the velocity of the wind (the force of which I am, so often, obliged to feel). I have attempted to determine this by letting light downy feathers fly in the wind (the method, I understand, used by the ingenious Dr. Derham); but cannot say, in all the trials I have made (though I have let fifty of these feathers fly, one after the other, at a time), that I have ever seen above one, or two at most, upon which I could have founded a calculation. The velocity of the wind near the earth is very unequal, upon account of the frequent interruptions it meets with from hills, trees, and houses; and even in open plains; the surface of the earth, though much smoother than it commonly is, must reflect and interrupt such a fluid as the air, and occasion great irregularity in the velocity of its current: this is the reason, when a feather is let fly with the wind, why it seldom, if ever, describes a strait line, but moves sometimes in a kind of spiral, now high, and then low, sometimes to the right, and then again to the left; and why two feathers let fly at once, seldom, if ever, keep together, or describe similar lines.

But, at some considerable distance from the earth, the velocity of the wind seems to be regular and steady: nothing can be more

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uniform, than the velocity of a cloud in the sky appears to be, even in the greatest storm: it is like a ship carried away insensibly by a smooth and gentle current, passing over equal spaces in equal times. This suggested the thought, that the motion of a cloud, or its shadow over the surface of the earth, would be a much more proper measure of the velocity of the wind.

In the end of March 1763, I had as favourable an opportunity of putting this method into practice, as I could have wished for: the storm was exceeding high, and moved with vast velocity; the sun was bright, the sky clear, except where it was spotted with light floating clouds; I took my station in the north window of my dining room, near the clock, from which I had a free prospect of the fields; the sun was in the meridian, the wind due west intersecting his rays at right angles; I waited until the fore-part of the shadow

of a cloud, that was distinct, and well defined, just touched a south and north line, which I had marked upon the ground; at that instant I began my reckoning, and followed the shadow with my eye in its progress, counting seconds all the while by the clock, until I had reckoned up 15 seconds; then I observed exactly where the foresaid edge of the shadow was.

This experiment I repeated ten times in half an hour, and seldom found the difference of a second, in the time which different clouds took to move over the same space. On the 5th of May current, I repeated the trial four different times, the sun being also near the meridian, the wind in the west, with light clouds floating in a clear sky as formerly; and found that the shadows of different clouds took some of them 44, and others 45 seconds, to pass over the same space which they had moved over in 15 seconds, in the former trials.

Feet

This space measures exactly 1384 = space passed over in 15 seconds,  
 which multiplied by 4  
 gives 5526 = space passed over in one minute,  
 which multiplied by 60  
 gives 332,160 = space passed over in one hour.

Which space is = 62.9 English miles per hour, the velocity of the wind in March 1763.

One third of this (or 21 miles nearly) shews the velocity of the wind on May the 6th, when it blew a fresh gale.

This day, May 12, there was a small westerly breeze, the velocity of which I measured upon the same line, the sun being 10 minutes past the meridian, and found

that the shadow took 95 seconds to pass over the above space, which gives the velocity of the wind at the rate of 9.9 English miles per hour.

Thus, by having several lines in different directions of a known length marked upon the ground, one may easily (and with great accuracy, I imagine,) measure the velocity of the wind. If a person was provided with an instrument for

for measuring the force of the wind, it would perhaps be worthwhile to observe, whether, when the velocities of different winds were the same, (or nearly so) the forces of these winds did not vary with the seasons of the year, the points of the compass from which the wind blows, and also with the different state of the barometer and thermometer, since the momentum of the wind depends not only upon its velocity, but also upon its density.

From the end of March 1765, to the end of March last, we, in this part of Scotland, had very little rain, and less snow in proportion; our rivers were as low, through the winter, as they use to be in the middle of summer; springs failed in most places, and brewers and maltsters were obliged, even in winter, to carry their water at a considerable distance; I was much afraid there would not be moisture enough in the earth for the purposes of vegetation, if this season should set in as dry as the former, before we got a new supply of rain. In the end of March last, we had a fall of snow; and, as I did not remember to have ever read an account of such an experiment, I wished to be able to determine, to what quantity of rain this fall of snow was equal.

The snow had been falling from five o'clock the former evening, till ten o'clock the next day; about eleven o'clock I measured the depth of the snow, and found it to be 6.2 inches; then I took a stone jug, holding about three English pints, and turned the mouth of it downwards upon the snow measured, and where the ground below was smooth and

hard; and by this means I took up all the snow from top to bottom in the jug; this snow I melted by the side of a fire, and the 6.2 inches of snow yielded six tenths of an inch deep of water in the same jug. After emptying the jug, I dried, and weighed it in a ballance, and took up the same quantity of snow in it as before, weighed it again, and found the weight of the snow taken up, and from this weight computed what quantity of water it should have produced, and found that it ought to have produced six tenths of an inch and  $\frac{1}{20}$  of an inch more: then I dissolved the snow, and found that it yielded a quantity of water in the bottom of the jug, six tenths of an inch deep, as in the former experiment. The difference of  $\frac{1}{20}$  of an inch in the depth of the water, betwixt the weight and the melting of the snow, was probably owing to an exhalation from the jug, while the snow was melting by the fire, for I observed a steam sometimes rising from it. A greater or lesser degree of cold, or of wind, while the snow falls, and its lying a longer or shorter while upon the ground, will occasion a difference in the weight and in the quantity of water produced from a certain number of cubic feet, or inches, of snow; but, if I may trust to the above trials, (which I endeavoured to perform with care) snow, newly fallen, with a moderate gale of wind, freezing cold, which was the case of the snow I made the trials upon, the 27th of March last, will produce a quantity of water equal to  $\frac{1}{15}$  part of its bulk; or the earth, when covered with snow, ten inches deep, will

be moistened by it when melted, rivers and springs recruited, as much as if a quantity of rain had fallen that covered the surface of the earth to the depth of one inch.

I am, my lord, &c.

Alex. Brice.

*Some curious particulars relative to the growth of rhubarb; how an animal called the marmot contributes to its propagation, and how the natives dry the root. Taken from Mr. Bell's travels.*

**T**HE best rhubarb grows in that part of the Eastern Tartary called Mongallia, a vast country inhabited by the Mongall Tartars, and which now serves as a boundary between the two mighty empires of Russia and China. The Mongalls, though once a great and independent people, have notwithstanding by degrees been induced to put themselves under the protection of one or other of these their powerful neighbours. This measure seems rather to have proceeded from the love of ease, a desire of security, and a want of unanimity; than to have been the effect of fear, or the consequence of an absolute conquest. The Mongallians still retain their own laws, customs, and princes; and though they submit to certain regulations, it does not appear that they pay any tribute. This submission has however divided their country and nation into what may be called Russian and Chinese; the two great, jealous neighbours, to prevent the continual disputes which would have happened about limits, or the de-

sertion of their people, have left a vast chain of country, of about 300 miles in breadth, and of a prodigious length, waste and uninhabited, as a common barrier between them. This country, which is one of the finest in Asia, produces the best rhubarb in the world, and runs the whole length of Mongallia, dividing it into two parts. We shall now give our curious traveller's own words.

The country retained much the same appearance, and the weather was very fine; but not a single inhabitant was yet to be seen. In the evening I walked from our tents, with some of our company, to the top of a neighbouring hill, where I found many plants of excellent rhubarb; and, by the help of a stick, dug up as much of it as I wanted.

On these hills are a great number of animals called marmots, of a brownish colour, having feet like a badger, and nearly of the same size. They make deep burrows on the declivities of the hills; and, it is said, that, in winter, they continue in these holes, for a certain time, even without food. At this season, however, they sit or lie near their burrows, keeping a strict watch; and, at the approach of danger, rear themselves upon their hind-feet, giving a loud whistle, like a man, to call in the stragglers; and then drop into their holes in a moment.

I should not have mentioned an animal so well known as the marmot, had it not been on account of the rhubarb. Wherever you see ten or twenty plants growing, you are sure of finding several burrows under the shades of their broad spreading leaves.

Perhaps they may sometimes eat the leaves and roots of this plant : however, it is probable, the manure they leave about the roots, contributes not a little to its increase ; and their casting up the earth makes it shoot out young buds, and multiply. This plant does not run, and spread itself, like docks, and others of the same species ; but grows in tufts at uncertain distances, as if the seeds had been dropped with design. It appears that the Mongalls never accounted it worth cultivating ; but that the world is obliged to the marmots for the quantities scattered, at random, in many parts of this country : for whatever part of the ripe seed happens to be blown among the thick grass, can very seldom reach the ground, but must there wither and die ; whereas, should it fall among the loose earth, thrown up by the marmots, it immediately takes root, and produces a new plant.

After digging and gathering the rhubarb, the Mongalls cut the large roots into small pieces, in order to make them dry more readily. In the middle of every piece they scoop a hole, through which a cord is drawn, in order to suspend them in any convenient place. They hang them for most part about their tents, and sometimes on the horns of their sheep. This is a most pernicious custom, as it destroys some of the best part of the root ; for all about the hole is rotten and useless ; whereas, were people rightly informed how to dig and dry this plant, there would not be one pound of refuse in an hundred ; which would save a great

deal of trouble and expence, that much diminish the profits on this commodity. At present, the dealers in this article think these improvements not worthy of their attention, as their gains are more considerable on this than on any other branch of trade. Perhaps the government may hereafter think it proper to make some regulations with regard to this matter.

I have been more particular in describing the growth and management of the rhubarb ; because I never met with an author, or person, who could give a satisfactory account where, or how, it grows. I am persuaded, that in such a dry climate as this, it might easily be so cultivated as to produce any quantity that could be wanted.

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*Some account of the horns, called mammon's horns ; and the strange opinions the Tartars hold of the kind of animal to which they imagine they belonged. From the same.*

**I**N the banks of the Oby, about this place, are found great quantities of that kind of ivory called, in this country, mammon's horn. Some of it also is found on the banks of the Volga. Mammon's horn, resembles, in shape and size, the teeth of a large elephant. The vulgar really imagine mammon to be a creature living in marshes and underground ; and entertain many strange notions concerning it. The Tartars tell many fables of its having been seen alive. But to me it appears that this horn is the tooth of a large elephant.

When, indeed, or how, these teeth came so far to the northward, where no elephants can, at present, subsist during the winter-season, is what I am unable to determine. They are commonly found in the banks of rivers which have been washed by floods. The commandant of this place had his entry ornamented with several very large ones, and made me a present of one of them.

I have been told by Tartars in the Baraba, that they have seen this creature, called mammon, at the dawn of day, near lakes and rivers; but, that on discovering them, the mammon immediately tumbles into the water, and never appears in the day-time; they say it is about the size of a large elephant, with a monstrous large head and horns, with which he makes his way in marshy places, and under ground, where he conceals himself till night. I only mention these things as the reports of a superstitious and ignorant people.

I have observed, in most of the towns we passed, between Tobolsky and Yeniseysky, many of these mammons horns, so called by the natives; some of them very entire and fresh, like the best ivory, in every circumstance, excepting only the colour, which was of a yellowish hue; others of them mouldered away at the ends, and, when sawn asunder, prettily clouded. The people make snuff-boxes, combs, and divers sorts of turnery ware of them.

They are found in the banks of all the great rivers in Siberia, westward of Iencoufky, when the floods have washed down the banks, by the melting of the

snow, in the spring. I have seen of them weighing above one hundred pounds English. (I brought a large tooth, or mammon's horn, with me to England, and presented it to my worthy friend Sir Hans Sloane, who gave it a place in his celebrated Museum; and was of opinion, also, that it was the tooth of an elephant. This tooth was found in the river Oby, at a place called Surgute.)

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*Extract from the Theatro Critico Universal. Para Desenganno De Errores Communes, the voluminous work of the famous Spanish Benedictine Monk, Father Feyjoo.*

FATHER Feyjoo begins with saying, that the fact treated of in this chapter is so extraordinary, and so contrary to the regular course of things, that he would not have given it a place in this work, if he had not found that the truth of it was attested by almost all the inhabitants of a whole province, many of whom were eye-witnesses, and persons of great credit, are still living.

The following are the principal circumstances of the fact. Francisco, the son of Francisco de la Vega, and of Maria del Casar, his wife, was born at a village called Lierganes, two leagues to the south west of the city of Santandergin, in the archbishopric of Burgos. At the age of fifteen he was sent to learn the trade of a carpenter at Bilboa, in which station he remained two years, till on the eve of St. John's day, in 1674, having, in company with others, gone to bathe himself in the river,

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his companions lost sight of him, and, after waiting for him a long while, they supposed him to be drowned, and informed his master of it, who acquainted the young man's mother, who mourned for him as dead. In the year 1679, some fishermen in the bay of Cadiz saw something swimming on the water, and diving at pleasure, that resembled a man. They endeavoured to catch it, but could not the first day. The next day they saw it again, and, by means of some pieces of bread which they threw into the sea, and which it laid hold of and eat, they enclosed it in their nets, and drew it to the shore. Upon examination, the fishermen found their prize was a perfect man, as to appearance, and they carried him to the convent of Franciscans in Cadiz, where the good fathers, supposing him to be possessed by some evil spirit, as he would return no answer to any of their questions, exorcised him, but they could not get him to pronounce any one word, except Lierganes, the meaning of which word they could not guess, till hearing from a native of Asturia that in his country there was a village of that name, and that Don Domingo de la Cantolla, secretary of the inquisition at Madrid, was born there, Don Domingo was writ to, informing him of this affair, and desiring him to write to Lierganes, to know whether a young man, whom they described as to his age and marks, had been missing from that place; and he had an answer, that a son of Francisco de la Vega had disappeared in the river of Bilboa five years before, but that his mother looked upon him as

drowned. Don Domingo gave this information to the convent of Cadiz, and one of the fathers, whose name was John Roscende, and who a little before came from Jerusalem, had a great desire to enquire into this extraordinary affair. Accordingly he set out from Cadiz in the same year 1679, with the man who had been caught in the net, with intention of going to Lierganes. When the father got within a quarter of a league of the village, he desired his companion to go before to shew him the way; which he did very exactly, going directly to his mother's house. The moment she saw him she knew him, and embraced him—crying out, This is my son Francisco whom I lost at Bilboa! Two of his brothers also (Thomas, a priest, and John, who still was alive when Feyjoo wrote) embraced him; but he expressed no emotion, nor did he utter a word. Father Roscende left him with his mother, and he remained with her nine years in this state of idiotism, (having been rather remarkable for his capacity before he disappeared at Bilboa,) and the only words he ever spoke were, tabaco, pan, vino (tobacco, bread, wine). Sometimes he eat most voraciously, on other days he touched no food. He used frequently to be employed in carrying letters round the neighbourhood, which he did very punctually. Once it happened, that Don Pedro del Guero sent him to Saint Andero with a letter for Don John de Olivarez; and because the ferryboat was not ready, he threw himself into the river, and swam cross it about a league broad, many seeing him land at St. Andero. He delivered his letter as directed;

but Don John, who asked him how the letter came to be wet, could get nothing from him. He carried the answer to Lierganes, with his usual punctuality.—He lived in this manner about nine years, and then disappeared, no body having ever found out what became of him.

Father Feyjoo gives us two letters to the above effect; one from the marquis of Valbuina, of St. Andero, to Don Joseph de la Torre, minister of the royal council of Oviedo, and another from Don Gasper Melchor de la Riba Auguera, to Don Diego de la Gandara Vaiaue. Don Gaspar says, that he had seen Francisco de la Vega frequently. Feyjoo says, that he had a third account, agreeing with the other two, from Don Pedro Dionysio de Rubel Cava, a gentleman of consequence of Solares, a place close to Lierganes. And in the supplement to this discourse, which we find in his ninth volume, from p. 280 to p. 283, he inserts a letter which he had received (after he had published the above account) from the archbishop of Sarragossa, Don Thomas de Agüero, who assures him, that when he was a young man, he had frequently seen this man-fish (*bombre pex* is the archbishop's expression) at his uncle Don Garcia de Agüero's house near Lierganes. But besides this, Feyjoo also gives us, in the supplement, a letter from Don Joseph Dias Guitran, an inhabitant of Cadiz, dated Dec. 22, 1738, in which he says, that Don Estavan Fanales, intendant of the marine, had told him, he had seen the man-fish frequently, and that a Franciscan friar was still alive, who assured him that he had been frequently in his cell.

*Of spirits prepared by the force of fire, with some observations for guarding against and remedying the noxious vapours of charcoal, &c. From Boerhaave's academical lectures on the Diseases of the Nerves; lately published, in Latin, by his pupil Van Eems, physician of Leyden.*

**T**HE bodies, which in the open air are so agitated by fire, as to pass into crackling flames, smoke, soot, and ashes, emit corpuscles from the solid mass, which may properly be denominated spirits. Three things here occur; smoke, sometimes coloured in a wonderful manner, as may be seen in sulphureous bodies; soot, and the remaining flame. Hence arises a stench, separable from the smoke, consisting of the volatile salt of the plant wasted into the air, and spirits passing forth by the action of the fire; and the smoke is collected into a black and flocculent matter, which is called soot. Those fumes, whilst so agitated, produce wonderful effects in our bodies; for they cause erosions in the eyes, make the lungs hoarse, and the voice harsh; and hypochondriac and hysteric persons, or those labouring under convulsive asthmas, are almost strangled by the small quantity of smoke that may be in a room. The smell only of a vegetable thing excites convulsion in epileptic people; and abortions, palpitations of the heart, and almost all other affections have had their origin from the fumes of a candle or lamp extinguished in a close place. When certain bodies are thrown upon the fire that smoke may proceed from them, it may then become poisonous: This is evident

## For the Y E A R 1767.

dent from throwing some twigs or leaves of the toxicodendron on the burning fire; for all the persons that may be about the fire at the same time, will grow pale as if they were dead, and if the place be close, they may fall into almost all sorts of diseases; yet these leaves, while they remain on the tree, though exposed to the sun, are quite harmless. Mercurialis relates, that in his time a military officer had occasioned the death of all present, by throwing a certain body on the fire, which body carried about one, did no harm, but only became active by fire. Hence we learn, and this is sufficient for us, that, by the strong force of fire in the open air, particles may be extricated, which have a power so to affect the nerves, as to produce all kinds of diseases, and death itself. In other respects we see that the most salubrious vapours proceed from other plants, as from guaiacum-wood, and that of the juniper-tree. The dough of bread yields no sensible smell, but, baked in an oven, if a quantity of it is cut fresh in a close place, it may cause death. Coffee-berries, whilst roasting in a place not blown through by the air, brought upon a man, who had too greedily snuffed up their smell, a cardialgia and vomiting.

But there are likewise spirits from the suffocation of fire. A live flame, urging a vegetable with the greatest force, and then suffocated and extinguished, so changes this body as to acquire a quality which may bring our body to death itself. If a piece of any kind of wood, or of the common turf, called also peat, is put into a chemical vessel, and the fire under

it is gradually brought to its most intense degree, water, spirit, and oil, are successively produced: If all these have passed out, and the residuum is still urged by a vehement fire, it will eternally breathe forth something, never shewing a deficiency. Hence it is called, by Van Helmont, the eternal coal, because that simple oil which adheres to the earth, is never separated in a close vessel; if pounded fine, it is an insipid, inert dust; if you expose this coal to the open air, it will light by the application of fire; the surface only, contiguous to the air, becomes white; if the coal is broken, it glitens every where within; if you go on burning it, it at length begins to be buried under ashes. It is impossible to consume this coal otherwise than in the external surface, contiguous to the air, which being consumed, the subsequent surface is also consumed, and, after such a consumption of surfaces from sixty pounds of wood, one only of ashes remains; nor can all those pounds, that are consumed, be gathered by any art; for the coal, in close vessels, cannot possibly be consumed by any degree of fire.

If one should write on paper, which is impregnated with a solution of orpiment, and dry this paper, no colour appears; but, if the paper is held over lighted coals, the letters will immediately become black, and hence that which flies up is thus manifested. If you place a burning coal between the sun and your eye, corpuscles will be seen carried upwards by a tremulous motion; but it is doubted whether these are produced from the coal or sun. Van Helmont called

called this way of changing this body a permutation into gas, and thinks that these corpuscles dwindle in this manner into the extremest tenuity, and are transformed into a kind of water, which can rise to the extremity of the atmosphere. If such a coal be taken, and fire applied to it in a spacious place that is shut up, all the animals in that place will die; not from heat, for the contrary is evinced by experience; and from the burning of wood in a chamber that is blown through by the wind, disease or death never happens. Who would believe it, that the mere force of fire can so change a very harmless body, if it acts upon it in the open air, when the most intense degree of fire can separate nothing of the like, from the same body, in a close vessel? It is therefore very improper to deride Van Helmont upon account of the word gas, for he explains it sufficiently, and he thought a new and singular name should be given to this change, the like of which we have no knowledge of.

Whilst Van Helmont, then an old man, was writing in a cold winter's day, he saw his ink freeze, and he ordered a chafing-dish to be brought him, with coals that did not smoke. He felt no harm from it; but, his daughter coming in shortly after, and saying that she perceived a strong stench from the coals, the father, making a motion for quitting the place, falls back, hurts the hinder part of his head, and is carried away for dead. It may appear from this singular example, that in a spacious place, the doors open, the weather cold, without the least observation of contracting any illness, all the

actions of a man were in a moment abolished by nothing more than these fumes. Boerhaave relates of himself, that being in a parlour, drinking tea with some ladies, where there was a chafing-dish of kindled charcoal for keeping the kettle boiling, and no chimney in the place, he saw all the ladies grow pale, and was so affected himself by the fumes of the charcoal, that had not the doors been opened, he felt himself tottering, and ready to tumble down. He likewise relates the same effects on some young ladies who lived in Leyden, and were sitting in a parlour, the windows of which gave into the street: the aunt of the mistress of the house, looking in at the window, announced her coming by tapping on the glass with her fingers; she saw through the window all the ladies seated and looking at her, but not one of them making the least motion; she repeated her taps, and so as to be louder, but none of them made her an answer; thinking they were passing some joke on her, she knocks in a passion, at the door, calling out, that the weather was too cold to be kept so long in the street: entering the parlour, she perceived the fumes of charcoal, and saw all the ladies pale and senseless; immediately she ordered the windows to be opened, and all their faces to be sprinkled with water; by this means all of them soon recovered, but one of them vomited, another had a head-ach, yet none of them suffered any thing more.

An English nobleman travelling by boat in the night from Utrecht to Leyden, took with him into his cabin a stove, and ordered the door

door to be kept shut: When he came to his place of destination, the waterman opening the door, found him dead, with no other apparent sign than a little froth about his mouth. Four peasants having made a fire in the hold of a ship, were all found dead there. An intire family in the suburbs, called de Hooge Morsch, were found dead from this cause, by laying in the winter-time a pan of live coals in the midst of a room where there was no chimney, and the doors shut.

Boerhaave says, that he experienced in himself, at the beginning of the ill effects from such vapours, an inclination to sleep, a tensive pain in the head, a nausea, a vomiting of thick froth, and his head remaining as it were for many days full; but if the vapour be dense, nothing of these particulars is perceptible, but the affected die senseless. This vapour, however, is not attended with any inconveniency, if a quantity of sea-salt is sprinkled on the fire, or if gunpowder is set fire to in the close room. But when the ill effects have taken place, the best remedy is to sprinkle cold water on the bodies, and to throw it upon the face and bare bosom. If cold water be thrown upon animals that have died in poisonous caverns, they are immediately brought to life; and hence, if men, who have died by the vapour of coals, were as soon as possible treated in the same manner, they might also perhaps be brought to life. In such case, however, this remedy is never to be neglected; for here there is no corruption, but a mere rest of all the moving parts, and in other

respects nothing is changed; if therefore they are dipped into cold water, the elasticity of the vessels being increased by the cold, the blood moves towards the inner parts through the veins; and the motion of the blood through the veins resuscitates its action to the heart, that is, resuscitates life itself.

The effects are not less noxious that proceed from places newly white-washed with lime, which diffuses a subastringent and fetid vapour, especially upon the introduction of fire. For this reason all newly built houses, if too soon inhabited, may bring on fatal disorders, or the worst of palsys, which can neither be cured by fomentations nor baths. These ailments might likewise be occasioned by burning the parts of animals. If a place infected with the nastiest insects, as bugs or fleas, is shut up close in all parts, and the bones of animals, or hartshorn, are laid on the open fire, and the smoke is hindered to pass out, all these animals are killed; and greater animals may also be killed by the like smoke. The wings of partridges, which abound with a volatile salt, being burnt, have often excited hysterical passions, and epileptic fits, where they were not, and dissipated them, when they were present. A dog, killed in a heat of 146 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer, emitted such a horrid and noisome stench, that those who came too near it, in a moment swooned away. In like manner, by the force of fire, dreadful symptoms are excited from fossils. Aretæus observes in his chapter on epilepsies, that the strong smell of the gagates stone had immediately brought

brought on epileptic fits. Fire, acting on cobalt, which seems to be intirely inert, raises a thick white vapour that kills every animal, and this vapour, fixing upon the ceiling of a room, concretes into a white flocculent matter, called arsenic, which is a most potent poison. If this cobalt, mixed with other fossils, and wrapped up in a paper, be kept in a wooden box, it will eat through both the wood and the box; and if this happens in so small a degree of heat, what must it be, when this body is agitated by fire? How fixed is nitre, whatever way tried! If it melts in the fire, it remains fixed and mild; if bolar or uncalcinable earths are mixed with it, and both exposed to the fire, it will yield a spirit, volatile like alcohol, which corrodes and dissolves all things, except gold and glass; and it is very hurtful to the lungs. The same way a spirit ascends from sea-salt, which corrodes all things. If sulphur be sublimed ten times, it remains mild, as before; but, if set on fire, it kills animals, and corrodes and constringes all things.

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*On the effect of the imagination on a different body. From the same.*

**W**HAT must we think of that action excited in the common sensory by the help of that faculty we call the imagination, which so disposes the common sensory from internal causes, as it was before disposed from external? For my part, I say, that the force of the common sensory is exerted by a true corporeal effect out of the human body, as ap-

pears from women that give suck, or the pregnant, who, by this property of the common sensory, change the foetus in their womb. I have seen myself an instance of a healthy woman suckling a very healthy child, who was so disturbed by another woman scolding at her, and so irritated as to be all over in a tremor; yet, by suckling her child in this condition, it was immediately convulsed, and remained epileptic. Who now will say what could be in her milk, and how it could receive the power of producing those corporeal changes? But it should be a point of prudence with a nurse never to suckle a child when she is under any disturbance of mind. We can in some measure account, why a drunken nurse inebriates a child; but we cannot so easily understand, how milk can be so far changed merely by the passions of the mind.

The same may hold true in pregnant women: There perhaps arises in the pregnant mother a certain idea; if it be frequent and customary, it does not affect her; if unusual, it sometimes affects her, and sometimes not. This idea proceeds sometimes from seeing or hearing, or from the imagination alone, or the appetite alone. The sudden sight of a thing not seen before impresses on an infant the figure of that thing. From hearing the history of some dreadful misfortune or calamity, the frightened mother imbibes a similar efficacious idea; and the same happens as often from the imagination, dreams, and that depraved state of the appetite called longing.

A very handsome lady, yet one  
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of strict morals, and abstaining from all manner of excess in the use of wine, being with child, conceived a longing for drinking Rhenish wine. She long struggles against this passion, her husband examines her about it, and she at last confesses what it is : He takes her to a wine-cellar in Amsterdam, where she drinks so great a quantity as would fuddle two stout men, yet no harm ensued to her from her copious draught ; and, when she had once satisfied her longing, she remained afterwards free from it. Another woman had an excessive longing for eating a morsel out of a butcher's shoulder, and could enjoy no rest, till she had found means once to bite him.

A princess was delivered of a black daughter, by only seeing for the first time a blackmoor. As this woman had never been left alone, but was constantly attended with the greatest care, all suspicion was void of any commerce with a black. This idea, once given birth to, does not rest ; it occupies the whole sensory, and every moment quickens the woman's fancy.

But so unusual a thing must strongly affect the very moment, for, if it affects but little, it will have but little efficacy ; but, if it be so forcibly impressed on the mind, as that the woman should say her whole inside is moved, then a future vestige of the evil is boded ; or if, in the very time of such an idea arising, a horror and tremor are felt shaking the whole body, it is an infallible sign that a vestige is left ; which does not happen, if there be no horror.

All physicians observe, that there is always a horror, when any

commotion is made in the body that changes its actions ; then ' a cold tremor trickles through the bones,' as Virgil says. He that is ill of an ague enjoys some days of health ; but he perceives a cold shivering, and the fever soon comes upon him. I have heard from the experienced, whilst the plague was rife, that, as soon as they felt a sensation, as it were from cold water being poured upon them, they were immediately taken ill of the plague. We shudder in the like manner, when the various poison infects us ; when the stitch of the pleurisy invades us ; and that shuddering penetrates through the whole body : Men feel then something cold, which suspends, as it were, for a little the vital motions ; and it is propagated with tremor, and almost changes the whole body. I would be glad to have a preceptor, who could explain to me, how and whence this horror arises.

I also observed pregnant women to have had, in almost all these cases, a spontaneous motion, and to have applied their hand to a certain part of the body, and that the fœtus then retained the mark impressed in the same part ; if they had not moved their hand to it, scarce any thing heterogeneous would have happened. Hence women with child should be cautious to move their hand to a part that is not covered by their cloaths, lest the deformity might afterwards be conspicuous. But there is a similar faculty in every man, which we cannot understand : Suppose a person's eyes inflamed and, as it were, sparkling with fire ; if you look at him, you will also rub your eyes. He that

that sees a sordid ulcer in another's thigh, will almost always take hold of or feel his own thigh; therefore we are true clock-work, exhibiting a consonancy with external objects, and we are even involuntarily drawn away to gesticulations; and therefore, also, for such ideas in women there is a much greater application of the hand to that part.

If the woman is afterwards delivered of a deformed foetus, the mark of the imagination is always found in the place that has been touched; and, if she had touched another part, the mark would have probably been in another place. The will is here of no effect, for there have been women who desired to bring forth monsters, in order that they might promote their trade of begging; and yet had handsome children; but the contrary often takes place in others against their will. In this city, (Leyden,) the happy mother of several well-formed children was asked an alms by a beggar-man; and, to move compassion, he shewed her that he had two thumbs, and therefore a hand unfit for earning his bread; she gives him an alms, suffers all that has been above observed, and is afterwards delivered of a child with two thumbs: I examined the bones of those thumbs, and they were all as in the other thumb; and this happened to a woman whom, before and after, the like never befel.

I was acquainted with a noble lady, in this city, who had many beautiful children. As she was sitting in her parlour at the window, and was eight months gone with child, she was accosted by an

impudent beggar with a red hair-lip; she trembles all over, strikes her mouth, and gives him an alms. Not long after, she was delivered of a beautiful child, with the like wound, and as it were bloody. It was wonderful, in this case, that all the parts of the body were so well formed, and the only vice was in the lips, and the palate was perfectly slit within the nostrils, as in that beggar.

A lady is still living, in this city, who, in her pregnancy, wanted to have a fine mulberry she saw on a tree. One chanced to fall on the tip of her nose, which she immediately rubbed. She was afterwards delivered of a girl, exceeding handsome, but had on the tip of her nose as perfect a mulberry as any painter could draw, which afterwards, however, by the help of vinegar and salt ammoniac, so sensibly diminished, as to leave no vestige of it remaining.

A woman with child saw, at Mechlin, two soldiers fighting, one of which cut off the other's hand. She, in a fright, draws back her hand, and was delivered of a child maimed in one arm, which, from the cut-off hand, sustained an hæmorrhage and died; and yet the hand was not found in the after-birth, nor did any ill consequences attend the woman.

When the Dutch defended Ostend against the Spaniards, a Spanish soldier lost his arm, and, being cured, went about begging, shewing the place bound up, which the wife of Mark de Vogelaar seeing, was seized with a horror and great internal commotions: She afterwards brought forth a daughter without the right arm, and the shoulder ran so with blood, that the sur-

surgeon was obliged to stop and consolidate it, to prevent the child's dying of an hæmorrhage; and yet the arm was not found in the after-birth. The infant was healed, and, marrying at a proper time, lived to the years of seventy-six.

The Duke of Alva having ordered three hundred citizens to be put to death together at Antwerp, a lady that was with child was very desirous of seeing the sight. She was not long returned home, when, taken with the pains of labour, she was delivered of a child without a head, which also was not found in the after-birth. Some authors are of opinion, that this cannot happen when the fœtus is thoroughly formed; but, whether so or not, the thing happens, and the proofs of it cannot be contested.

Father Malebranche relates, in his '*Recherche de la Verité*,' that there was a young man, an idiot from his birth, in the Hospital of the Incurables at Paris, whose limbs were broke in all the places where it is customary to break the limbs of those who are condemned to suffer upon the wheel. He lived in this condition near twenty years. Numbers were curious to see and examine his broken limbs, and among others the queen. The cause of his misfortune was his mother's going to see, when she was with child of him, a criminal broke upon the wheel. Every stroke the criminal received vehemently struck the mother's imagination, and the infant was broke exactly in the same parts of the body.

Father Malebranche relates another instance of the force of imagination, which happened at solemnising the canonisation of St.

Pius, at Paris: A pregnant woman, having too attentively considered that saint's image, was delivered of a child perfectly resembling it: It had the face of an old man, as far as could be expressed in a beardless infant: Its arms ran across its breast; its eyes were raised to heaven, its forehead was very narrow, because the forehead of the image was raised towards the vaulted roof of the church, looking up, as it were, to heaven: In short, the child was exceeding like the image, according as the mother had formed it by the force of her imagination. The author adds, "Every one could see it at Paris as well as myself, the infant being kept for a considerable time in spirits of wine."

Here is a history of various cases, out of which I have selected such particulars as incredulity cannot disprove! But I do not understand how this connection is between the mother's idea and the corporeal change of the fœtus; neither do I find it properly accounted for by any author. None of them have found such principles founded in nature, from which, being understood and applied, is known a sufficient reason of this effect, and answering to this idea. I am therefore greatly surprised, that Malebranche undertook to explain it. He says, the fibres of the mother's body are affected in a certain place by certain ideas; grant that this sometimes happens: He says, that, on those ideas being formed, certain determinate spirits run through the body; this also seems true: But what then? The mother is moved, not changed, and yet the infant is changed; but, Has the infant, whilst in its mother's womb,  
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the same motions, sensations, and ideas? This is obscure, yet we may also grant it. But how can the infant's bones be broke, and not the mother's? He says, this happens by percussio and horror; but this is an effect, and not a cause; and it does not appear why the mother's bones should not be broke, which are harder and therefore more brittle.

Paracelsus has deduced this from other causes: He says, that there is in man an imagination, which really effects and brings to pass the things that did not before exist; for a man, by imagination willing to move his body, moves it in fact; but, by his imagination and the commerce of invisible powers, he may also move another body; and this he calls *MAGICAL IMAGINATION*, which, by the help of demons, or invisible spirits, can communicate the force of imagination to other bodies, and operate at a distance. Van Helmont is of the same opinion; but, for my part, I despair to illustrate this matter, and do think it inexplicable, or that the cause of the phenomenon is unknown to us.

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*Of the common sensory, affected by poisons. From the same.*

**T**HOSE substances are called poisons in medicine, which, on being applied to a human living body, so change all its actions, as not to be conquered by the force of life, whence that vital force is destroyed: but medicaments are substances, which so change the actions, as to subdue the disease, and life triumphs over diseases; therefore medicaments cease to act

in a determinate time. And alliments are substances, which are so changed by a living body, as to be assimilated to it. Now the degrees of poisons are various, according to their peculiar violence, quantity, and the part they act upon. Half a grain of the glass of antimony is a strong emetic, but given to the amount of a drachm is a very potent poison. Most poisons act only on the stomach. If the crocus of metals, well prepared, is applied to the eyes as a collyrium, it takes away specks in the pellucid membranes of the eye, and occasions no pain; if mixed up with plasters, and applied to the naked nerves in a wound, it is a good detergent; if tasted, it has no taste; but, if one or two grains are received into the stomach, a prodigious vomiting will ensue, and, from a greater quantity, death.

An ounce of it given to horses affords a general remedy for their violent diseases, and yet they are but little purged by it. Therefore the stomach and its nerves are so constituted, by the author of nature, which, indeed, seems inexplicable from the nature of the nerves, that the substance which is not poisonous elsewhere, is so in the stomach.

The berries of night-shade do no harm in the eye; their taste is sweet, their smell flat; if one of them should be received into the stomach, a perturbation suddenly arises in every action; if you give the gilla of Theophrastus, and the berry is vomited up, the brain again recovers its former state. This too cannot be explained from the affections of the nerves in general, but only from a physical fitness between this juice and the nerves of

of the stomach. If opium spread in a plaster is applied to the external skin, it causes, in the part it is applied to, an exceeding great heat, and painful; it excites a blister, erosion, and incipient gangrene; it has a nauseous and virulent smell; if applied to the naked nerves, it takes away all sensation; if received into the stomach, it first causes a sensation of mirth, and then a snoring and apoplexy; its efficacy lasts about eight hours, unless it causes death by being given in too great a dose; when its force is quite enervated, the next day vomiting ensues, in which the opium pill is often again brought up, so that this remedy against vomiting now excites it. The Starkeyan pills consist of opium, hellebore, liquorice, and a soap made of alkali and cold drawn oil. The author writes of them, that they cause sweating, mitigate the severest pains, bring forth the morbid matter, and so make an excellent purge; but those effects are proper to opium. When the brain is affected, a nausea and vomiting often ensue; so that every thing, affecting the brain, affects also the stomach, and whatever affects the stomach, affects likewise the brain.

We are in a great measure obliged to think, that opium is a poison; it bears, as it were, the sway in the stomach, checking by a small dose the diseases that arise from the stomach, and at the same time composing the brain; but if given against the disease proper to the brain, which is the phrenitis, the disorder most commonly will be increased. It takes away not only pain, but also corrects the humours of the body. We see consumptive

persons, from the erosion of their lungs, cough almost every time they draw their breath, and their disorder is made worse by coughing, because the ulcerated place is perpetually irritated; if this coughing continues during the night, a little phlegm is evacuated; but, let one grain of opium be given, they will have no cough, and will sleep composed; but in the morning they expectorate a drachm or two of purulent matter. If taken in a greater quantity, it is poison, as we have seen in a physician tired of life; and in another, who, repenting of his rash action, by taking vinegar enervated its force, and afterwards felt no bad consequences from it. It suspends not only the senses, but also motions, nay almost all excretions, and hence those who use it, have no evacuation of urine for six or eight hours; even when its force is vanished, they still complain of a want of this evacuation. If also you give a grain of opium to a man labouring under a diarrhoea, it will be entirely stopt.

There is therefore something very wonderful in those nerves, that, from being touched by those bodies, such a change should happen in all the functions, which ceases, as soon as such body is disengaged from the stomach.

A lawyer had been taken ill of the colic; he was advised the use of anise-seed; but, by mistake, the apothecary had given him the seeds of henbane. The pain was allayed, but he became very delirious, All his functions were disordered; he sat by the fire, talked much, but did not speak one coherent sentence. A physician, being sent for, gave him a vomit of vitriol; the

seed was thrown up, and he was immediately delivered.

There is an umbelliferous plant, called fium, with the eruca leaf, or water-hemlock by Gesner, which has a succulent bulb, white, not unlike a turnip; and, being wounded, distills a plenty of milk, that grows yellow in the air; its smell is not virulent, and its pleasant taste allures unwary children. If but a small particle of it adheres to the stomach, it makes an intire change in all the animal functions, causing vertigoes, horrible imaginations, terrors, convulsions, the abolition of all the external and internal senses, and, in three or four hours time, inevitable death.

This body then, though apparently so innocent, will very suddenly bring on death. If discharged by a spontaneous vomit, no harm will ensue; if an emetic is given in the midst of the mad fit, all the symptoms will cease when the stomach is eased. Its chief power is therefore exercised on the nerves of the stomach, for, if it were mixed with the blood, a vomit would not have been immediately of service. Therefore Van Helmont was not in the wrong, when he placed the seat of life in the stomach, and judged that it extended its influence and power for health to distant and various parts of the body; for, the stomach being freed, the head is freed; and nothing else remains for amendment.

It has been observed, that thorn-apple is attended with the same symptoms with water-hemlock, but with this difference, that its smell is intolerable. A gardener having thrown out of a garden

some thorn-apple into the public highway, some boys, seeing it, examine the heads, and eat the seed: They are seized with all the above-mentioned symptoms, and those that did not vomit, died.

The belladonna, or night-shade with black berries, intices every passer-by; there is nothing ungrateful in its berries; their juice has a purple colour, sweet taste, and no fetid smell; yet swallowed down they kill one much the same way. A vomit is a present remedy; but their poison may be corrected, and the patient at length delivered, by taking a good quantity of vinegar.

Stalpartius Vander Weil relates the case of two citizens of the Hague, who, having tasted the root of the cœnanthes that is like hemlock, with virose juice, were taken ill not long after with a great heat of the throat and stomach, which was followed by a perturbation of the mind, vertigo, heart-burn, nausea, flux of the belly, running of blood from the nose, and such violent convulsions, that one of them died in two, and the other in three hours.

Van Helmont tasted the root of the napellus or monkshood on the tip only of his tongue, and in a moment his faculty of understanding and thinking was much brighter, which gave him great pleasure: At length, in about two hours after, he was twice attacked by a slight vertigo, and he then found his understanding as usual; and, though he sometimes afterwards tasted of the same, nothing of the like ever more happened to him. The smoking of tobacco for the first time is attended with some-  
thing



thing of the kind, which, however, does not afterwards happen. If one should chance to drink cold wine so suddenly as not to warm in his stomach, then the pylorus and upper orifice remain shut; and, the wine afterwards contracting warmth, the stomach swells, the party is choaked, as it were, and has a kind of apoplexy: If then, with a bit of sponge moistened with oil or honey, and wrapped about the end of a knitting-needle, the fauces are tickled, the wine is vomited up, and the party is freed from all dangerous symptoms.

When Otto Tachenius, according to the prescription of Johannes Agricola, had so often endeavoured to sublime arsenic, that it was at length to remain fixed in the bottom of the vessel; and when, after many sublimations, he had opened the vessel, he breathed an air pleasant and grateful to his palate; but in less than half an hour he felt his stomach aching and contracted, with a convulsion of all his limbs, difficult breathing, bloody urine, and a great heat; being afterwards suddenly seized with colic pains, he remained contracted for a full half-hour: Being recruited with milk and oil, he found himself much better; yet a slow fever, like an hectic, remained on him the whole winter, which he extinguished by decoctions of vulnerary herbs, the eating of cabbage, the use of orange-juice, oil, and salt; and by these remedies he perfectly recovered. Here is an example of all the functions of the common sensory hurt, from the olfactory nerves being only affected.

*Of the effect of rains, of marshes and bogs, subterraneous wood, and subterraneous waters. From M. Buffon's Theory of the Earth.*

**R**A I N S, and the running waters produced by them, detach continually, from the tops and ridges of mountains, sand, earth, gravel, &c. and carry them into the plains, whence streams and rivers bear away a part into lower plains, and often to the sea. Plains are therefore filled up successively, and rise by little and little, and mountains diminish constantly and become low, which diminution is perceptible in several parts. Joseph Blancanus relates facts in regard to this, which were well known in his time, and which prove that the mountains were become so low as to discover villages and castles from several parts, whence they could not be formerly seen. In the shire of Derby in England, the steeple of the village Craih was not visible in 1572, from a certain mountain, upon account of the height of another mountain interposed, which extends into Hopton and Wirksworth; and 80 or 100 years afterwards this steeple was seen, and even a part of the church. Dr. Plot cites a like example of a mountain between Sibbertoft and Ashby in the county of Northampton. The waters carry not only along with them the lightest parts of mountains, as earth, sand, gravel, and small stones, but even roll away large rocks, which considerably diminishes their height. In general the highest mountains are, and their inclination more steep, the more the rocks seem to be cut off from them. The highest mountains of Wales have

rocks extremely strait, and very naked; the shivers of those rocks are seen lying in large heaps at their bottom. It is frost and water that separate and bear them down; so that it is not only the mountains of sand and earth which rains lower, but also, as it appears, they attack the hardest rocks, and drag along their fragments into the vallies: And, these rocks and large stones, dispersed here and there, are much more common in countries where the mountains are of sand and freestone, than in those where they are of marble and clay, because the sand which serves as base to the rock, is a less solid foundation than clay.

To give an idea of the quantity of earth which the rains separate from the mountains, and bear down into the vallies, we may cite a fact related by Dr. Plot: He says in his Natural History of Staffordshire, that a great number of pieces of money, struck in the time of Edward IV. were found at 18 feet depth in the earth; so that this ground, which is marshy, swelled or was augmented about a foot in 11 years; or one inch and  $\frac{1}{2}$  in a year. A like observation may be made on trees, which have been dug up at 17 feet depth, under which were found medals of Julius Cæsar; and thus earth, carried off from mountains, into plains by running streams, increases very considerably the elevation of the ground of plains.

This gravel, sand, and earth, which the waters separate from the mountains, and carry into the plains, form there beds which must not be confounded with the ancient and original beds of the earth. We should rank in the class of these

new beds those of sand-stone, soft stone, gravel, and sand, of which the grains are washed and rounded; and to it should be likewise referred the beds of stone that are formed by a kind of sediment and incrustation, as we cannot deduce their origin from the motion and sediments of the waters of the sea. In those sandy, soft, and imperfect stones, are found an infinity of vegetables, leaves of trees, land or river shells, small bones of land animals, but never shells, nor other marine productions; which proves evidently, as well as their little solidity, that those beds are formed on the surface of the dry land, and that they are much newer than marble and other stone which contain shells, anciently formed in the sea. Sand-stone, and all those new stones, appear to have hardness and solidity when they are extracted; but, if used for any purpose, the air and rains are found to dissolve them very soon; their substance is even so different from true stone, that, when they are reduced into small parts in order to make sand of them, they are soon converted into a sort of earth and mud; the stalactites likewise, and other stony concretions, which M. Tournefort had taken for marbles that had vegetated, are not true stones no more than those formed by incrustations. Sand-stone is therefore an imperfect matter, different from stone and earth, and having its origin from both by the means of the water of rains, as stony incrustations have theirs from the sediment of the waters of certain springs; and thus their beds are not ancient, and have not been formed, as others, by the sediment of the waters of the sea.

The

The beds of peat or turf must likewise be considered as new beds, produced by the successive accumulation of half-rotted trees and other vegetables, which were no otherwise preserved than by happening to be in bituminous grounds, which have hindered their intirely corrupting. In all those new beds of sand or soft stone, or of stone formed by sediments, or of peat, no marine production is found; but, on the contrary, many vegetables, the bones of land animals, river and land shells, as may be seen in the meadows of Northamptonshire near Ashby, where a great number of snail-shells have been found, with plants, herbs, and several river shells, well preserved at the depth of some feet under ground, without any sea-shells. The waters that flow upon the surface of the earth, have formed all those new beds by often changing their channel, and spreading on all sides; a part of those waters penetrates to the interior, and flows through the clefts of rocks and stones; and this is the reason that no water is found on high lands, or on the tops of hills, because all the heights of the earth are generally composed of stone and rocks, especially towards the summit. In order to find water, the stone and the rock must be dug into till their base is reached; that is, till clay or firm earth appears, on which those rocks rest; and no water is found unless the thickness of the stone is pierced through and through, as may be observed in several wells dug in high grounds; and when the height of the rocks, that is, the thickness of the stone that must be pierced, is very considerable, as in high mountains, where the rocks are

often 1000 feet high, it is impossible to sink wells therein, and consequently to have water. There are likewise prodigious tracts of land where water is absolutely wanting, as in Arabia Petræa, a desert where it never rains, where burning sands cover the whole surface of the earth; where there is scarce any vegetable earth, and where the few plants that grow, faint away by drought: Springs and wells are so rare here, that five only are reckoned from Cairo to Mount Sinai, and their water is besides bitter and brackish.

When the waters on the surface of the earth cannot find channels to flow in, they form bogs and marshes; the most famous marshes of Europe are those of Muscovy, at the source of the Tanais; those of Finland, where are the great marshes Savolax and Enafak: there are marshes also in Holland, in Westphalia, and in several other flat countries: In Asia, there are the marshes of the Euphrates, those of Tartary, the Palus Mæotis; yet in general there are fewer in Asia and Africa, than in Europe: but America is, as it were, a continued bog in all its plains; and the great number of them is a much better proof of the newness of the country, and the fewness of the inhabitants, than of their little industry.

There are very large marshes in England, in the county of Lincoln, near the sea, which has lost a deal of ground on one side, and gained it on the other. In the old ground are found a great number of trees buried beneath the new ground which has been formed by the waters. A great number of trees are in like manner found in Scotland.

at the mouth of the river Nefs. Near Bruges in Flanders, digging to 40 or 50 feet in depth, are found a very great number of trees as close to one another as in a forest; the trunks, the branches, and the leaves are so well preserved, that the different species of trees are easily distinguished. Five hundred years ago that land, where these trees are found, was a sea, and before that time there is no account or tradition that this land had ever existed; but it must have been land, as these trees grew and vegetated; and thus the ground, which in far distant times was firm land covered with wood, was afterwards covered with the waters of the sea, which brought there 40 or 50 feet depth of earth, and afterwards those waters retired. A great number of subterraneous trees have likewise been found at Hull in the county of York, twelve miles below the city, on the river Humber; some of them are so large that they serve for building; and it is assured, perhaps without good foundation, that this wood is as durable and serviceable as oak; and it is cut into small rods, and long splinters, which are sold into the neighbouring towns, and the people use them for lighting their pipes. All those trees appear broken, and the trunks are separated from their roots, as trees which the violence of a hurricane or inundation had broken and carried away: The wood nearly resembles that of the fir-tree, has the same smell when burnt, and makes coals of the same sort. In the isle of Man, in a bog six miles long and three broad, called the Curragh, are found subterraneous fir-trees, and, though they lie 18 or 20 feet deep,

they are notwithstanding firm on their roots. The like are found in all great bogs, in quagmires, and in most marshy places, in the counties of Somerset, Chester, Lancaster, and Stafford. There are certain places where trees are found under ground, cut, sawed, squared, and worked by men: Axes and bills have been likewise found between Birmingham in Warwickshire and Bromley in Lincolnshire; and there are hills raised of fine and light sand, which rains and winds carry and transport away, by leaving dry and uncovered the roots of great firs, whereon the impression of the axe seems yet as fresh as if it had been just made. Those hills might have been, no doubt, formed as downs, by heaps of sand borne along and accumulated by the sea, and on which those firs might have grown; and they might afterwards be covered with other sands, collected as the former, by inundations or violent winds. A great number of those subterraneous trees are found also in the marshy grounds of Holland, in Friesland, and near Groningen; and it is from thence that comes the peat that is burnt all over the country.

In the ground are found an infinity of large and small trees of almost every kind, as fir, oak, birch, beech, yew, white-thorn, willow, and ash; in the marshes of Lincolnshire, along the river Ouse, and in the county of York in Hatfield-chace, the trees are straight, and planted as seen in a forest. The oaks are very hard, and are used in buildings, where they last for a long time; the ash is soft, and crumbles into dust, as does the willow; some of these trees have been found squared, others sawed, others hor-

ed,

ed, together with broken axes, and hatchets whose form resembles that of knives used in sacrifices. Nuts, acorns, and cones of firs, have been there found also in great quantities. Several other marshy parts of England and Ireland abound with trunks of trees, as well as the marshes of France and Switzerland, of Savoy and Italy.

In the city of Modena, and within four miles of its environs, in whatever place they dig, when they come to the depth of 63 feet, and have pierced the earth 5 feet deeper with an augre, the water springs up with so great a force that the well is filled in a short time almost to the top; and this water flows continually, neither diminishing nor increasing by rain or drought: What is further remarkable in this ground, is, that, when they come to 14 feet deep, they find the ruins of an ancient town, paved streets, floors, houses, different pieces of mosaic work; after which they find a pretty solid earth, and which might be believed to have been never stirred; yet underneath they find a moist earth, and mixed with vegetables; and at 26 feet trees quite intire, as hazels with nuts on them, and a great quantity of branches and leaves of trees; at 28 feet deep they find a soft chalk mixed with a great many shells, and this bed is 11 feet deep; after which are again found vegetables, leaves, and branches, and so alternately chalk and earth mixed with vegetables to the depth of 63 feet, at which depth there is a bed of sand mixed with small gravel, and such shells as are found on the coasts of the sea of Italy: Those successive beds of marshy soil and chalk are always found in the same

order, in whatever part they dig into, and sometimes the augre meets with large trunks of trees which must be bored through; and this gives the workmen great trouble; here are also found bones, pit-coal, flints, and pieces of iron. Ramazzini, who relates these facts, believes that the gulph of Venice formerly extended as far as Modena, and beyond it; and that in succession of time, rivers, and, perhaps, inundations of the sea, had gradually formed this ground.

I shall not here enlarge farther on the varieties of those beds, of new formation; it is sufficient to have shewn, that they have no other causes than the running or stagnant waters on the surface of the earth, and that they are never so hard, or so solid, as the old beds that have been formed under the waters of the sea.

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*Observations on the cicada, or locust of America, which appears periodically once in 16 or 17 years. By Moses Bartram, 1766. Communicated by the ingenious Peter Collinson, Esq;*

**O**N the 8th of June, 1766, I took several twigs of different kinds of trees, on which I then saw cicada's or locusts, darting (as it is called) to lay their eggs; of those twigs I put some in empty phials; some in phials, with a little water; and some I stuck in a pot of earth, which I kept moist, in order to preserve the twigs fresh.

July 21, the eggs in the twigs in the phial with water hatched, as did those in the twigs in the pot of earth, soon after them;

but the twigs in the empty phial being withered, the eggs perished; yet I have observed that on twigs accidentally broken off in the woods, if they lie near the ground in the shade so as to be kept moist, the eggs in them will hatch in their due time; but in those that are exposed to the sun, they surely die.

The young locusts that were hatched in the twigs in the phial, ran down the twigs to the water, on which they floated about four and twenty hours, and then died; those that were hatched in the twigs in the pot of earth, ran down the twigs immediately to the earth, and entered it at the first opening they could find, which they searched for eagerly, as if already sensible of danger, by being exposed to the light of the sun.

I have observed that in the natural way the eggs are usually hatched in six weeks; but, if by the luxuriance of the growth of the shoots into which the eggs are darted, the rind of the tree closes and confines them, they will in that situation remain several months, till by some lucky accident they are disengaged, and then they will hatch in a few minutes after, and seek their retreat in the earth, in the same manner as those hatched in the usual time. But many perish by being thus imprisoned.

Viewed through a microscope the moment they are hatched, they appear in every respect as perfect as at the time of their last transformation, when they rise out of the earth, put off their scaly covering, expand their wings, display their gaudy colours, dart

forth their eggs, and after a few days existence, to fulfil the wise purposes of their maker, close the period of their lives by an easy death. How astonishing therefore and inscrutable is the design of providence in the production of this insect, that is brought into life, according to our apprehension, only to sink into the depths of the earth, there to remain in darkness, till the appointed time comes when it ascends again into light by a wonderful resurrection! The means by which they are enabled to continue their species, is no less singular than their manner of existence. The females are furnished with a bearded dart, with which they pierce the tender shoots of all trees they happen to light upon, without regard to situation or species; many therefore perish by the quick growth of the trees in which the eggs are darted; and more perhaps by being laid in twigs that hang over streams or standing waters. The dart by which the operation is performed, consists of three parts; a middle, and two sides: The middle is hollow, through which the eggs are darted, and the two sides serve for a covering to defend it. These may easily be taken apart, by slipping the middle through the grooves of the two sides, and it is by slipping the two outside parts by each other rapidly, that they work a kind of slant hole in the soft twig they make choice of, till they reach the pith, and then they eject their eggs into it to the number of twelve; when this is performed, they begin another hole close by the side of the former, and so continue to work till they have carried along two rows, each row con-



consisting of twelve or more holes. They then remove to another twig, and proceed as before; and so from twig to twig till they have exhausted their store, after which they soon expire.

I have not yet been able to discover the full depth to which these little animals descend. Some, I have heard, have been found thirty feet deep. I myself have seen them ten.

They do not, however, seem to travel to any great distance horizontally; for they are seldom found far from the woods, unless in grounds that have been newly cleared. It often, however, happens, that in the long period of their torpid state, great tracts of country are cleared in North America from trees, and converted into arable or pasture; hence it is no unusual thing to see them leave their cells in those plain grounds, and hasten to some adjoining fence to put off their incumbrance, and prepare themselves for flight. This they do always in the night, by crawling to some tree, along a fence, or among bushes or strong grass; and it is remarkable, that they differ in this from every other insect in its chrysalis state; for instead of being wrapped up in a plain covering, which confines the inhabitant to a certain spot till it bursts, they have a covering fitted to their form, in which they can travel to a considerable distance; and which they cannot leave till they find some solid substance, in which they fix their claws, and then, with an effort which requires the utmost exertion of their strength, they burst their case, which always opens from the shoulders to the forepart of the head,

out of which they crawl, leaving it sticking fast behind. Thousands of these cases may be seen in a morning, sticking to all parts of trees, which being hardened in the sun, have a scaly-like substance, which not being flexible after it is dry, often so incumbers them before they can put it off, that many perish in the attempt. For this reason, they always chuse the night for this operation; and wait for the enlivening influence of the warm sun to strengthen and give consistence to their wings, which at first are white, soft, and moist, but soon assume a dark brown colour, with a firmness that enables them to fly, and a transparency that adds a beauty to their appearance which before was wanting.

It is remarkable, that in every state of this insect's existence, it is eagerly pursued for food by others. In the very egg, it is the prey of ants and birds of every kind; in that of the grub, by hogs, dogs, and all carnivorous animals that can unearth it; and in its most perfect state, not only by many kinds of beasts and birds, but even by men, many of the Indians, it is said, feeding sumptuously upon them.

Soon after they arrive at their last state of transformation, they seek mates to enable them to continue their species; and in this too, they are very singular; the female, as has been observed, is furnished with a dart, the shaft of which, takes its rise below the middle of the insect; on the contrary, the male projects his dart from behind, and fixes it near the shaft of that of the female, where it remains for many hours together; during

during which time, they are not to be separated without laceration.

During the season of copulation, from sun-rise to sun-set, the noise they make is so loud and perpetual, that little else can be heard in the woods where they abound; and it is doubtful, whether, during this season, or indeed during their whole time of existence in this state, they eat any thing, or subsist only by sipping the dew; for which purpose they seem to be furnished with a long tube, extending from their heads flat to their breast, and terminating between their legs, without the power of altering its position. Other than this tube they seem to have none for the purpose of subsistence. In short, the natural history of this little insect, seems highly to deserve the attention of the curious.

M. BARTRAM.

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*Experiments on a hog's bladder.—  
From the history of the Royal  
Academy of Sciences at Paris.*

**M.** De la Hire has given an account to the academy of some very curious experiments he had made on the bladder. Having taken the bladder of a hog quite fresh and very clean, he filled it with air, till it appeared to be as tender as it possibly could be. In this state there was no room to doubt of its being exactly closed up, and that the air could not get out of it; but, having made an aperture in the bladder, it flagged immediately of itself: Afterwards, whilst it was still quite fresh, he turned it so as that the part that was outward in the natural state

became the inward; and having poured water into it to about three fifths of what it might contain, immediately after the water began to ooze or drop out at several places, and in twelve hours time the half of the water was already run out. This water, so filtrated, was tinged with a very deep red colour, though the bladder seemed clear and transparent before the experiment. Hence it was judged, that the strong tension of the bladder, when it was filled with air, had made the blood to pass out that was contained in the infinity of the small blood-vessels with which this membrane is disseminated, and that this blood, which was shed between the fibres, had been carried off by the water that oozed through, and gave it this strong tincture. In fact, the bladder became very white after the water was intirely run out.

Hereupon M. de la Hire conjectured, that the membrane of the bladder must be pierced with an infinity of small holes, each furnished with its valve; and that those valves are so disposed, that water may enter therein from without inwardly in the natural state of the bladder; but, on the contrary, that neither water nor air can pass through it from within outwardly, howsoever great the compression of the air may be when shut up in this membrane. The most proper construction of those valves for producing these effects is, according to M. de la Hire, the same as may be observed in the valves of the colon of some fishes. The valves of the bladder will therefore be as papillæ formed by a duct that proceeds by diminishing towards the interior of the membrane

brane, and which may give an easy entrance to the surrounding liquids; but which, on the contrary, shut exactly the passage from within to without in flattening and lying upon the internal body of the bladder.

M. de la Hire drew from this experiment some conjectures in regard to the dropsy, which, according to him, might be only a distemper of the bladder, whose pores or apertures should happen to be stopt up by some cause or other: In this state it is easy to comprehend it would no longer receive the waters of the lower belly, which come there continually by passing through the membranes of the stomach, as M. Mery has experienced.

It is, perhaps, also, by this way, that the mineral waters which are drank, are so easily and readily evacuated.

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*Observation on some extraordinary symptoms occasioned by nutmeg taken in too great a quantity. By Dr. Jacob Schmidius.—From the Ephemerides of the Curious.*

*Unica nux prodest, nocet altera, tertia mors est.* Schol. Salern.

*One nut is wholesome, a second is hurtful, a third is mortal.*

SEVERAL authors pretend that it is the common nut which is pointed out by this verse of the school of Salernum, and that it was only intended thereby to signify, that, in general, it is an aliment of a very bad quality, in whatever small quantity it may be eaten. It appears however more probable, that the authors

of that work had in view three different kinds of nuts, and that their meaning is, that the nutmeg is of service to health, that the common nut is on the contrary hurtful to the body, and that the nux vomica is a sort of poison. But what should one think, if I undertook to prove that the nutmeg alone possesses these three different qualities; that it is at the same time salutary in certain cases, in others dangerous, and that it is sometimes mortal; and that consequently the verse of the school of Salernum had no other nut in view but this? Be the matter as it may, I shall relate, in a few words, what I observed touching its properties and effects.

A gentleman of Lower Silesia, about thirty-six years old, of a good constitution, and who enjoyed a good state of health, having felt, during some days, a belly-ach occasioned by wind, took it in his head, in order to mitigate the pain, to eat four nutmegs, which weighed all together two ounces, and he drank, in eating them, some glasses of beer; which he had no sooner done but was seized with a great heat, a violent pain in the head, a vertigo and delirium, and instantly deprived of the use of sight, speech, and all his senses. He was put to bed, where he spent two days and two nights; his body was oppressed with lassitude, always drowsy, yet without being able to sleep. Being called upon to see him the third day, I found on him all the symptoms I have related, and he was in that lethargic state which is called a coma vigil, with a weak and intermitting pulse. I made him immediately take some cephalic

lic remedies, cordials, and, among others, the spirit of cephalic vi-  
triol, and the essence of castoreum,  
in good spirit of salt ammoniac.  
The fourth day he recovered a  
little out of his lethargic state,  
but had absolutely lost his me-  
mory, so as not to remember the  
least thing he had done in his life.  
A continued fever then came upon  
him, accompanied by an obsti-  
nate watchfulness; a palpitation  
of the heart seemed to be the fore-  
runner of other symptoms, and  
he was finally struck with a palsy  
in all his limbs.

At the expiration of eight days,  
he recovered the use of reason, and  
told us, that, during the first four  
days of his illness, he seemed to  
himself to have constantly a thick  
veil before his eyes, and that a  
great number of sparks and flashes  
continually issued from it. All  
the bad symptoms of this malady  
yielded at last successively to the  
continued use of remedies appro-  
priated to his state; and in three  
months time he was perfectly re-  
covered, but he was particularly  
indebted, for his cure, to mercur-  
ial and ammoniacal remedies.

According to chemical princi-  
ples, it might, perhaps be said,  
that the aromatic and oily salt  
contained in nutmeg, of which  
this patient had taken too large a  
dose, had immediately excited so  
great an agitation in the humours,  
and so rapid a motion in the ani-  
mal spirits, that in some measure  
they had contracted an igneous  
nature; and that a viscid and nar-  
cotie sulphur, which resides like-  
wise in the nutmeg, though in a  
less sensible manner, being carried  
at the same time into the mass of  
the blood, by suddenly fixing the

animal spirits so exalted, and in-  
tercepting their course in the  
nerves, had afterwards caused the  
stupor in the limbs, the aphony,  
and the palsy. But I leave others  
to give us an explanation of these  
phenomena, and I have only in  
view, by communicating this ob-  
servation, to shew that the immo-  
derate use of nutmeg may be at-  
tended with very great danger.

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*An account of a dwarf kept in the  
palace of the late King of Poland.  
Translated from the last vol. of  
Buffon's Natural History, just  
published.*

**T**HE parents of this dwarf  
were healthy strong pea-  
sants; who affirmed, that at the  
time of his birth, he scarcely  
weighed a pound and a quarter.  
It is not known what were then  
his dimensions, but one may judge  
they were very small, as he was  
presented upon a plate to be bap-  
tized, and for a long time had a  
wooden shoe for his bed. His  
mouth, though well proportioned  
to the rest of his body, was not  
large enough to receive the nipple  
of the mother; he was suckled  
therefore by a goat, and she per-  
formed the part of a nurse admi-  
rably well. When six months old  
he had the small-pox, and reco-  
vered without any other assistance  
than the care of the mother and  
the milk of the goat. At the age  
of eighteen months he could ar-  
ticulate some words. At two  
years, he could support himself  
upon his legs, and walk almost  
without assistance; a pair of shoes  
were then made for him, which  
were no more than an inch and a  
half

half in length. He was attacked by several diseases; but there were no marks of any other disease on the skin besides the small-pox.—He was now six years of age: hitherto his food had been garden-stuff, bacon, and potatoes; his height was about fifteen inches, and he did not weigh more than thirteen pounds; his person was agreeable and well proportioned; he was in perfect health, but there was little appearance of intellect.—At this time the King of Poland ordered him to Lunéville, gave him the name of Bébé, and kept him in his palace.

Bébé thus exchanged the condition of a peasant for the luxuries of a court; but he experienced no change either in his body or his mind. He had no sense of religion; was incapable of reasoning; could learn neither music or dancing; was susceptible however of passions, particularly anger, jealousy, *et le desir ardent*.—When sixteen years old, he was only twenty-one inches in height; he was still healthy and well proportioned; but at this time, *la puberté produisit sur les organes de la génération un trop grand effet*; his strength began to decrease, the spine became crooked, the head fell forwards, the legs were enfeebled, one shoulder-blade projected, the nose was greatly enlarged; Bébé lost his gaiety, and became a valetudinarian; and yet his stature was increased four inches in the four succeeding years.—M. le Comte de Tressan, foretold that this dwarf would die of old age before he was thirty; and in effect so it was, for at twenty-one, he was shrunk and decrepit; and at twenty-two, it was with diffi-

culty he could make an hundred steps successively.—In his twenty-third year, he was attacked with a slight fever, and fell into a kind of lethargy; he had some intervals, but spoke with great difficulty: For the five last days, his ideas seemed to be more clear than when he was in health. This disease soon proved fatal.—At the time of his death, he measured thirty-three inches.

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*New experiments concerning the putrefaction of the juices and humours of animal bodies. By M. Jean Baptiste Gaber. Translated from the Memoirs of the Academy of Turin.*

THE great Lord Chancellor Bacon, who may be considered as the restorer of philosophy, was well apprised of the great advantages which medical and natural knowledge would derive from a judicious history of putrefaction founded upon experiment. I shall not, however, attempt such a work in its utmost extent, nor even to furnish materials for such a work, with respect to all subjects, for fear my attention should be too much divided among a great variety of facts to be properly employed upon any. I shall confine myself to the animal juices; and, indeed, my experiments have been made only on the most considerable of them, or such, at least, as appeared to me to be the most proper to throw light upon the internal causes of many diseases, upon their effects or symptoms, and the indications of cure.

1. A man aged about fifty years died of an inveterate jaundice with-

out

out a fever; and his body having lain about 24 hours in a cold place in winter, was then opened. The large intestines were found infarcted with ash-coloured excrements; and the small ones contained here and there a kind of yellow mucus; the gall bladder was distended with a great excess of bile, nearly black. Some of this bile I received in a glass, from an aperture which I made in the vesicle, and found it not very fetid, but something glewy and tenacious. I put a small part of it into another vessel, and poured upon it a drop or two of aqua-fortis; the mixture immediately effervesced, and several air bubbles rose to the surface, with a hissing which was audible when I brought my ear close to the vessel, and the mixture became sensibly warm.

2. I divided the remainder of the bile into three parts, which I placed in open glasses, where they were exposed to different degrees of heat, which answered to the 35th, 25th, and 10th degrees of Reaumur's thermometer. At the end of twenty-four hours I mixed them with acids: The bile which had been placed in a degree of heat answering to 35, was most diluted, and gave very slight indications of effervescence; that which had stood in 25, was also diluted, and the acid produced a more sensible effervescence, but still very slight; and the bile, which having been exposed only to the temperament of the air, which might perhaps vary from seven to ten, preserved its tenacity, and fermented as forcibly as in Experm. 1. This experiment was repeated a few hours afterwards, in the presence of several

eminent persons, and the effect was the same.

3. Some blood which was taken from a vein of the dead body at the same time, appeared to be of a yellowish red. Some of this blood being immediately mixed with spirit of nitre, effervesced, but much less than the bile. This mixture being left to digest for some hours, a yellow serum separated from the blood, and covered its whole surface; this blood being subjected to the same heat as the bile, and for the same time in the stove, appeared more disposed to effervescence than the bile; but this disposition afterwards gradually diminished.

4. From these experiments the following observations may be drawn.

1. That in diseased bodies the humours may become so alkalescent as to effervesce with acids; for it is not probable, that the humours, on which these experiments were made, effervesced in consequence of any alteration they had suffered after the body was dead; it having been kept only 24 hours in a cold place, and in cold weather, where the same humours taken from a healthy body would scarce have acquired such a degree of alkalescence in many days.

2. That a very slight degree of putrefaction and feter, which is not sufficient to produce alkalescence out of the body, as appears by experiments related in the sequel, will produce alkalescence in the body.

3. That alkali formed in the body, and contained in the bile, is extremely volatile, since a heat of 25 degrees made the greatest part of it evaporate; and that the same  
alkali



alkali contained in the blood, being a little more entangled with other elements, is, consequently less volatile; since the same degree of heat, continued for the same time, dissipated but a very inconsiderable part of it.

4. This observation inclines me to suspect, that, in other experiments upon putrefaction, in which some operators affirm, that they have seen indubitable proofs of the presence of an alkali; and others say, they have scarce discovered any indications at all; the difference is the effect of different degrees of heat, the staleness of the substance exposed to the heat, or the different volatility of the alkali, arising from its cohesion with other principles.

5. The same experiments that I made upon morbid bile, I made also upon healthy bile, upon blood, and upon serum. I divided each of these liquors into three parts, which I separately exposed to the three different degrees of heat mentioned above; and having submitted them severally to the action of mineral acids, I found the bile most disposed to effervesce; and Baglivi has observed, that it corrupts sooner than any other humour. I found that human bile was more disposed to effervesce than the bile of an ox; that corrupt blood ferments with acids still slower, and that serum ferments slower than blood. In all these

experiments, the effervescence was attended with the same phenomena that are related, (*Par. 1.*) Putrescent humours not only effervesce with mineral acids, but with very weak distilled vinegar. The several portions of these humours that have been exposed to artificial heat, become fetid, and effervesce soonest, and soonest arrive at the last stage of fermentation. When this happens, the fermentation ceases\*, though the heat is continued; and the smell, which till then is intolerably fetid, becomes herbaceous, and is not disagreeable†. The fetor manifests itself sooner, and lasts longer, than the alkalescence.

6. To put the effervescence of putrescent humours with mineral acids beyond a doubt, I must now observe, that the aqua-fortis which I used in my experiments was very weak, and such as produced no motion in common water; and this effervescence is so far from being the effect of centering the acids‡, that, in my opinion, the acids may be so centered as to render the effervescence less, principally because the animal humours resist effervescence, in proportion as they unite with acids speedily and intimately; for when I made use of distilled vinegar, not strong enough to coagulate the putrescent humours, I observed that the effervescence was equally violent, and I have seen distilled vinegar ope-

\* It has sometimes happened, that serum, exposed to an heat equal to 35, has not effervesced; which gives cause to suspect that the alkali contained in it dissipates in proportion to the force and continuance of the heat.

† This always happens in the process of vegetation. All putrescent humours deposited in a warm place soon become rancid, and contract a strong smell, which, after a long time, resembles that of amber.

‡ Which is the case with bile not in a putrescent state.

rate so powerfully upon a putrid serum, as wholly to convert it into froth.

7. When I was reading Dr. Pringle's experiments upon this subject, I observed that he sometimes exposed putrescent substances to an heat equal to the 100th degree of Farenheit's thermometer\*, which is nearly the same with the 30th degree of Reaumur's.—Now, it is certain, that at this degree of heat, animal humours very soon become putrid; but then they lose as soon the alkalescence which they derive from putrefaction, if this degree of heat is continued; so that as the corrupting humours manifest their alkalescent quality for a very short time only, it might easily happen that no sign of alkalescence appeared in this experiment, if it was not made in the critical moment: I mean, if he examined the putrescent humours a little before the alkali was formed, or a little after it had evaporated. And supposing the experiment to have been critically made, still, as the ambient heat would have caused the alkali to evaporate almost intirely as soon as it was formed, Dr. Pringle would have perceived very slight tokens of effervescence, though with a less degree of heat they would have been considerable: consequently, if that ingenious and accurate observer had made his experiments with a degree of heat just equal to that with which I made mine, the result, *cæteris paribus*, would have been the same.

8. I received some blood as it issued from the arm in a vial; and having dissolved it, or broken its

texture, by continual agitation, I left it to putrify. I observed that its fine florid red colour insensibly faded to a blackish brown; but this change did not take place in the whole mass at the same time; it began at the surface, and gradually descended.

9. Blood in this state does not putrify so soon, nor so soon give signs of alkalescence, as the red part separated from the serum, because the serum putrifies more slowly than any other animal humour.

10. After having discovered, by the foregoing experiments, that the alkali flies off with a slight degree of heat, I was desirous to try if I could recover and retain it. I therefore put into an alembic of glass some serum which had separated from blood taken a few hours before from a feverish patient, and I placed it in a degree of heat between 25 and 28 of Reaumur's scale: I passed the neck of the alembic through a hole which was made for that purpose, in the wooden covering of the stove, that the head of it might be in the same temperament with the air of the chamber, which was equal to about the 10th degree of the same scale, and that the exhaling vapour might condense there into liquor; to the spout of the head of the alembic, I luted a bottle as a receiver, and at the end of every two days I had about two drachms of this distilled liquor, upon which I poured acids, with different effects. That part which came over first, had the smell and taste of serum; it was clear and transparent,

\* The freezing point in Farenheit's is 32, the boiling 212. On Reaumur's the first is marked 0, the latter 80.

and did not effervesce either with acids or alkali's. The next portion was slightly fetid, but nearly of the same taste and transparency as the first; the third differed little from the second; but the fourth was extremely fetid, foul, opaque; and of a pale colour; it did not, however, effervesce, but acids slightly tinged it with red; the fifth, which came over after the tenth day, and was clear, effervesced with acids, and produced a hissing which became sensible when the ear was brought close to the vessel; it also produced bubbles and froth: the sixth portion was equally limpid, but effervesced more slightly, and when I perceived that nothing more would come over with this degree of heat, I broke the alembic to examine the residuum: I found it a viscous crust, resembling wax, of a reddish colour, and extremely fetid, but the affusion of acids produced not the least signs of effervescence. This experiment, I thought, proved to demonstration, that alkali evaporates with a degree of heat from 25 to 28; that being collected in a receiver, it will effervesce, and that the residuum is a mass extremely fetid, wholly destitute of alkali; and, consequently, no effervescence is to be expected by pouring acids upon it.

11. Some blood which I kept in a glass vessel close stopped, retained its alkalescence a long time, though it was exposed to a degree of heat equal to 25; but upon unstopping the vessel, it flew off with great violence, in a vapour extremely fetid. The explosion was probably caused by the expansion of the air, in consequence of the putrefaction; and this experiment shews why the

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humours that are contained in the vessels of a human body, become alkalescent while they are yet scarce fetid, at the same time that drawn from the body, and kept in open vessels, they become fetid before they give signs of alkalescence. As soon as they begin to form alkali in the vessels, the alkali is retained; but as it exhales from a vessel exposed to the air, a greater quantity must be formed than exhales, before it can become sensible.

12. As serum subjected to the experiment in a sound state did not give up its alkali in less than ten days, it may be fairly inferred that it does not in less time become corrupt; it being certain, in the first place, that humours corrupt slowly in a closed vessel; and, in the second place, that of all humours, the serum continues longest uncorrupt.

I did not doubt, but that serum, already corrupt, would, in distillation, give up its alkali immediately, I therefore made the same experiments upon corrupt serum, that I had made upon sound: My principal view was to determine, exactly, the time when the alkali would begin to fly off, and after having collected the distilled liquor, to try whether it would change the blue vegetable colour of violets to a green, which the slowness of the preceding experiment had prevented me from attempting. I took for this purpose some blood in such a state of putrescence as to effervesce with acids, and having put it into a glass alembic, I exposed it to the same degree of heat with the same precautions and apparatus as in the preceding experiments. The first day I collected two drachms of the  
I dis-

distilled liquor, which I exposed to the action of various acids, and a violent effervescence ensued: I then poured some of the same liquor upon syrup of violets, and it produced as fine a green as spirit of hartshorn; this tincture having been changed to a red, by the affusion of a few drops of aqua-fortis, became again blue, upon pouring into it some more of the distilled liquor. The liquor that distilled the five following days, gave the same indications of an alkali. As the distillation entirely ceased after this time, I broke the alembic, and found just such a residuum as before, but under it there was a small portion of liquor, reduced to the consistence of syrup, which retained somewhat of an alkaline quality, but so weak that having exposed it about twelve hours in a window where the heat of the air was equal to about ten degrees of Reaumur's scale, the alkali totally disappeared.

13. This effervescence, and power of changing syrup of violets green, proves that putrescent humours form a true alkali, which exhales with a very slight heat. I would have made the experiment upon the syrup of violets with the putrid humours themselves, but the opacity of the serum, the red colour of the blood, and the yellowness of the bile, would have rendered it doubtful.

14. As the residuum left in the alembic after distillation, though not alkalescent, is extremely fetid, it is evident that though the alkali may disengage and exalt this fetor, and render it more penetrating, it is not the productive cause of it, because the fetor remains when the alkali is departed.

15. But as both the alkalescence and fetor disappear in the same degree of heat, if long continued (*Par. 5.*) it appears that this fetor is produced by the effluvia of parts extremely volatile, but different from volatile alkali, which, though sooner produced, are more slowly dissipated, since the fetor generally continues longer than the alkalescence. Alkalescence may, however, be sometimes connected with a slight fetor; and, on the contrary, extreme fetor may subsist without alkalescence. This is a confirmation of the difference between the fetid and alkaline particles, which the ingenious Dr. Pringle has demonstrated by another argument; he observes, that the exhalations of fresh urine are not pernicious, though they contain more alkali than any substance in a state of putrefaction, the odour of which is pernicious in the highest degree. Putrid effluvia, therefore, are of a different nature from alkaline salt.

16. This being the fact, it follows that a volatile alkali is not a necessary product of putrefaction, and that the degree of alkalescence is not equal to that of putrefaction; but that, with respect to vegetable substances, neutral salts, if mixed with oil, become volatile by means of putrescence, though in animal bodies alkali commences by the action of the bowels, where enveloped with other principles, it becomes perfect, or manifests itself by putrefaction; and that for this reason, putrefaction engenders a quantity of alkali more considerable in proportion as it finds in putrescent bodies more salts, and other elements, capable, by mixing with salts, of communicating to them an alkalescent volatility. Upon the

the whole, if it is considered, 1st, That acescent plants, plants that yield an acid in distillation, yield very little of it when they are converted into blood or humours by the actions of the solids in an animal body; that they putrify almost immediately, and yield in distillation, instead of an acid, an alkali in a great quantity; 2dly, That an alkali is sooner brought off by distillation from putrid substances than others. 3dly, That almost all salts are destroyed by the action of the bowels, and putrescence, and that no alkali is found in the ashes of bodies consumed by fire; and, 4thly, that the humours which abound with salts, particularly the urine, afford the greatest quantity of alkali, after putrefaction; I shall be justified in adopting the opinion of the chymists, who suppose that volatile salts owe their origin to other salts, which are thus changed, by the action of the bowels in animal bodies, by putrefaction, and by fire, and that, totally losing their original form, they become alkalies. Upon this supposition it will be easy to conceive how volatile salts resist putrefaction, as well as salts of other kinds, although putrefaction produces them. The quantity of alkaline salts produced by putrefaction, is indeed in proportion to the quantity of natural salts pre-existing in the putresying substances; but as these salts are not sufficient to prevent putrefaction, it is not surprising that the alkali which results, cannot arrest its progress. If the natural salts had been still more abundant, there is reason to think that they might have retarded its effects; for urine, which contains the greatest quantity of

salts, is least subject to putrefaction, and when it is become putrid, its effluvia is less hurtful than the effluvia of any other humour, which can be attributed only to the abundance of the pre-existing salts, and the strength of the alkali that is formed out of them.

17. The urine of a person in health will not become putrid in less than three days, so as to overflow with acids; but the urine of a person sick of a putrid fever, will become so putrid as to produce that effect in four and twenty hours. The blood of a person diseased will also show signs of alkalescence much sooner than the blood of a person in a pleurisy. These particulars, however, belong to another class of experiments, which I reserve till a future opportunity, and in which, after an examination of the morbid humours, and a comparison of the phenomena which they exhibit, with each other, I shall endeavour to deduce such consequences as may facilitate the discovery of the causes of diseases, explain their nature, and direct the method of cure.

*Experiment on the heat which may be caused by the rays of the sun reflected from the moon. By M. de la Hire, the son. From the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.*

It is well known, that a great number of persons apprehend the moon several qualities, without producing reasons founded on good experiments. I shall not enter into a detail of those qualities, having remarked, that most of them

who attributed them to the moon were of different sentiments. The quality, it seems, which might be attributed to her with most reason, is heat; because her light is that of the sun reflected, which should cause heat, as all know. Yet as no experiment, that I know of, has been made to invalidate, or support, the reasons one might have to attribute this quality to her, I made the following, as exactly as I could; to know what should be believed hereint.

In the month of October last, the moon being in the day of her opposition, and the sky very serene, I exposed the burning mirror of thirty-five inches diameter, which is kept in the observatory, and towards the focus I laid the bowl of an air-thermometer of M. Amanton's, which is the most sensible we have; so that the bowl, which is of two inches diamer, received exactly, throughout its whole surface, all the rays that assembled in the focus; having examined the height of the mercury in the tube, after leaving it there for some time, I did not find it different from what it was before, though the rays were assembled in a space 306 times less than their natural state, and consequently, should have augmented the apparent heat of the moon 306 times.

It seems that if such an experiment as this (wherein not only are assembled the rays of the moon in a space 306 times less than their natural state, but wherein also they are obliged to cross each other as they assemble, which increases the effect of those united rays, and is evident by exposing the mirror to the sun) shews no apparent heat, we should believe,

that it cannot make any impression of sensible heat in our bodies.

*On a singular bone, found in the lower belly.—From the history of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1760.*

A Bavarian soldier, who died at the age of 51, in the Military Hospital at Brussels, and who had served 28, enjoyed a good state of health till he was 50 years old; at that age he began to complain of a hardness in the belly, and to be subject from time to time to a retention of urine, which he could ease himself from by turning on the right side, and inclining a little on his belly. None knew what this ailment could be attributed to; but, having been opened after his death, occasioned by an inflammatory disease, it afforded no small astonishment to discover what had been the cause of it. In the pelvis was found a kind of bone weighing 20 ounces, which was lodged towards the right side, between the bladder and the os pubis. It was only connected with the mesentery, and had no adhesion with the neighbouring parts: It was inclosed by a very thin membrane fastened to the mesentery, by a thick and glandular body, having the form of a cone; the point of this cone was inserted in a cavity at the upper part of the bone; having drawn upwards this fastening which was more membranous than cartilaginous, the bone followed without requiring to cut any thing, or even to make any effort: By the weight and position of the bone it appears, why



the soldier eased himself of his retention of urine by placing himself on his right side, and inclining a little forward.

A remarkable particular in this bone was, that it was marbled, and more heavy and hard than bones usually are.

It would have been perhaps difficult to guess, that it was such a cause that produced the sensation of hardness which this soldier had in his belly, and the retention of urine to which he was subject; and it would have been not less difficult to explain how this bone could have been formed; but it is always of great importance to collect facts of this kind; they exhibit to us the deviations of nature, and may serve skilful men for knowing a like case, and perhaps delivering the patient of his ailment, in ridding him, by a bold operation, of this foreign body.

The academy had this observation from M. Terence Brady, physician to his royal highness prince Charles of Lorraine, who sent with it a drawing of the bone, wherein is seen the manner of its being marbled, which is something very singular. It were to be wished that this able physician had made a more accurate examination of this bony mass, in order to see whether its substance was really of the same nature with that of bones; for there are substantial reasons to doubt it is.

*Account of a petrified beehive, discovered on the mountains of Siout in the Upper Egypt, by Mr. Lippi, Licentiate in physic of the faculty of Paris.*

**M.** Lippi found, on the mountains, at the

entrance of a vast cavern, a body of real stone, of an irregular figure, but quite porous, which he had the curiosity to open. He was very much surprised to see the whole divided into oval cells of three lines in breadth, and four lines in length, placed all manner of ways about each other, but no where communicating. All of them lined with a very thin membrane, and what was most wonderful, each inclosing a maggot, or a fly perfectly like a bee. The maggots were very hard and very solid, and might pass for petrified; but the flies were only dried up, and well preserved as ancient mummies; and small oval grains, which appeared to be eggs, were often found under them. There was at the bottom of many of the cells a thick juice, blackish, very hard, appearing red when exposed to the light, very sticky, making the saliva yellow, and inflammable as resin. It was, in short, real honey; but who should ever think of finding honey in the bosom of a stone.

M. Lippi conceives that this was a natural hive, which at first had been formed in a loose, light, and sandy earth, and afterwards was petrified by some particular accident. The animals that inhabited it, were surprised by the petrification, and, as it were, fixed in the state they were then found. Their dried up mucosity had formed the membrane that lined the cells. At the time when the hive was yet soft, the bees went out of it to seek their food, and make their honey in it.

Still seeking in the same place other particulars to clear up this fact, M. Lippi found, in several

parts, the beginnings of a like hive. It was, as it were, the first bed, formed of a number of little cells for the most part open, and containing the animal in all its different states, but dried up and very hard as well as the hives. He saw besides on one of the first beds a second composed of a heap of little hillocks of about five lines in height, and an inch diameter at their base. They were grumelous, easily reducible into dust, and nearly resemble the hills thrown up by moles. M. Lippi opened them by striking gently against them, and found in every one of them two or three oval cells, filled with a yellow maggot, and full of juice, which occupied them intirely.

It is easy to conceive that on a first bed once formed several others are also formed, which constitute the whole hive. But how are these beds formed? Whence comes the earth they are constructed of? Does the animal carry it thither; and how does he carry it, and in so great a quantity? This is not yet known; time alone can make us acquainted with this branch of knowledge.

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*An extract from Ambrose Reurer's dissertation on the osteocolla.*

**T**HE stone osteocolla has several names given it, but the most common is osteocolla from the Greek word *ὀστέον*, bone, and *κόλλα*, glue; it is also called lapis ostites, ollostecos, ossina, ossiana, ossifraga, lapis Asiaticus, pierre de monti, lapis Morochius, flores arenæ, fossile arborescens, lapis sabilis, lapis arenosus, [to which

the author subjoins ten German names.]

The ancients were unacquainted with the nature of this stone; some supposing it to be petrified bones, others a species of gypsum or plaster.

The osteocolla grows in the dutchy of Crossen, in Silesia, Pomerania, Hesse, Saxony, Poland, at Darmstadt, Heidelberg, Spire, Pena in Mecklenburgh, in the marquise of Brandenburg, near Belskau, Sonneberg, and Drossen. The soil in which it grows is always sandy and barren, and the only trees under which it is found are poplars.

Kreuterman met with one representing the figure of a house or castle, but it seems rather to have been a tophus than an osteocolla. And Mercatus was certainly mistaken, when he gave that name to petrefactions and calcaræous tophuses, Hermanus pronouncing these last to be rather bolaria or cisti.

As to its production, it grows, as has been said, in sandy ground, some feet deep, and has the figure of a root. The largest can hardly be grasped with both hands, but they vary in size, like other roots.

The osteocolla, while it remains under ground, is always soft like clay, and when rubbed with the hand, grows quite talloish; but, when exposed to the air, it hardens like chalk, and assumes the same colour. In its original state it appears like a mixture of grey, yellow, and white clay, and sand sticks plentifully to its outside; and it is with infinite labour and care that it can be taken up entire; for at first, a small

small part only must be uncovered, cleansed, and exposed to the action of the air to harden; and then the part so managed, must be again carefully covered with boards to prevent the rain or moisture coming to it, which will effectually defeat all endeavours to preserve it; and this method of uncovering, cleansing, and covering again, must be repeated till the whole is cleared and dried; which in variable seasons will take up several months.

Authors differ in classing the osteocolla among the vegetable or mineral substances. Most of the ancients, as has been already observed, have mistaken it for bones that have undergone some accidental change; which others again deny, as no traces of animal parts have ever been discovered in it by chemical processes; nor any fragments of bones been found near where it grows. Erasmus has written the best upon it.

Those who will not admit the osteocolla among the animal, have ranged it among the mineral substances; in which they are certainly right. Professor Teichmeyer indeed calls it a marle; but M. Henckel of the board of mines, classes it among the minerals, yet says nothing of its production. Professor Juncker says, it is generated in the sand, but he likewise leaves the manner undecided. My opinion is, that it is a root, to which the sand adheres, and by degrees produces the osteocolla; and I am the more confirmed in this opinion, as upon enquiry, I found near Terne, in the marquise of Brandenburg, a withered twig, and a green shoot from a rotten stump, the uppermost part

of which was wood still, but the root or lowermost part was wholly transformed into pure osteocolla; and this stump I had reason to believe was the remains of a tree which the people of the country call a species of poplar.

Its origin, therefore, is to be sought for in the remains of the black poplar, the timber of which being first cut down, and the stem or stump rotted, the osteocolla grows by degrees from the remaining root; for in all the parts of the osteocolla, something of woodiness is discoverable, which, when thoroughly rotted, crumbles away and leaves those innumerable perforations which give it the appearance of bone; and that it is peculiar to this tree may be presumed from this, that though osteocolla has been diligently sought for in the roots of other trees growing on the same ground with the poplar in which it is found, yet nothing like it has ever been discovered. From all which, these conclusions, I think, may be fairly deduced.

I. That the soil in which it is found is not the efficient cause of its growth.

II. That wherever osteocolla is found, there is or has been poplar.

III. That whoever finds osteocolla will plainly perceive it has been a root, And,

IV. That wherever osteocolla abounds, there will be seen a bony-like substance projecting from the ground, which has given rise to the vulgar notion, that it grows and blossoms.

Be this however as it may, wherever, these bony-like excrescences appear, by digging a span deeper,

deeper, osteocolla will certainly be found; and though the parts that are above ground be hard, those underneath are always soft.

M. Beurer tried the osteocolla in various menstrums, to discover the quantity dissolvable in each, and for this purpose infused half a dram of the osteocolla in half an ounce of each menstruum: The oil of vitriol dissolved four grains of it; the solution was yellow; and the sediment a cream colour. The spirit of vitriol reduced the whole to a salt. The spirit of nitre dissolved one scruple and four grains of it; and the acid of common salt, one scruple and six grains; aqua-fortis dissolved one scruple and four grains, and distilled vinegar one scruple and a half.

By distillation on an open fire, the osteocolla yields a urinous spirit; a fixed alkali being poured upon it, produces an immediate effervescence; the sediment converted to a lixivium with pure water is quite tasteless, though oil of vitriol poured upon the osteocolla in a retort over a gentle fire, will separate from it an acid of common salt.

M. Beurer endeavoured to reduce part of the sediment to a calx; but without effect.

Its use in medicine is absorbent; and it is by some applied in the cure of the fluor albus.

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*An uncommon instance of a catalepsis (a kind of apoplexy) in a lady. From the last vol. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris.*

**A** Lady about 41, came to Besançon to solicit a law-

suit of the last consequence to her; she went only among her lawyers, or to church, to endeavour to interest heaven in her cause; here she was observed to prostrate herself before every altar. She eat little, and slept less; tho' she had been told, that the court seemed favourable to her cause, yet the evening before the day of hearing she fell into what was believed to be an apoplexy. The physician and surgeon being called, found her sitting motionless in a chair, with her eyes open and fixed upward; her arms raised, and hands joined, as one in an ecstasy; her countenance, which before was both pale and sorrowful, was now both florid and gay; her breathing was free; her pulse was like that of one asleep, full, and slow; her limbs were supple, and would move as one would have them, without offering any resistance, and would remain in what posture they were left in; when her chin was pulled down, her mouth remained open; when her arms were raised they remained so; and let them be put into the most uneasy posture one could think off, they always remained in the situation they were put into; she all this time seemed insensible; they tormented her several ways; put live coals to her feet; bawled into her ears that she had gained her cause, she gave no signs of life; Messrs. Aetalin and Charles, both professors of physic, had her blooded in the foot, and when they came to visit her after supper, they found her recovered out of her cataleptic fit; which had held her three or four hours. She here entertained them with all the circumstances of her law-suit, interspersed with such

moral

moral reflections, as naturally arose from her story; those present did every thing to assure her she would gain her cause; she was asked whether she had any notion of what happened unto her; she said she had seen nothing, but could distinguish the voice of some about her; yet she never felt the chafing-dish of coals under her feet, nor the bleeding in the foot; though she had been tormented all manner of ways, yet she never complained of any pain or lassitude; while she thus entertained the company, she was observed to interrupt her discourse, to draw a deep sigh, and then her eyes became fixed; every thing was done to prevent those little fits by reminding her where she left off; but she could never recover the thread of her discourse, but would begin some other story; in about an hour after she fell into another cataleptic fit, which was as strong as the first; after it was over, she, sitting in her chair, talked of her affairs as before, for an hour and a half good, and after this, she began to speak wildly, she likewise screamed frightfully, and was soon after seized with a violent fever. She was treated by the above physicians for three or four days: she still remained at Besançon, but without any visible relief; whereupon they advised to have her carried back to Vesoul, her native place, where, to the surprise of every body, she perfectly recovered, and is still living.

*A similar case, still more extraordinary, 1762.*

A servant maid at Montpellier, about twenty, of a pale complexion,

and ever complaining of cold in her extremities, of a timorous though fretful disposition, after some grief she took in March, was seized with a cataleptic fit; whatever attitude she was in at the time of seizure, she remained it till the fit was over. These fits increasing obliged her to be carried into the hospital; where she was attended by Messrs. Sauvage and Lazerme; these fits were various as to their duration, being from half a quarter to three quarters of an hour; in the months of April and May, 1757, this catalepsy was accompanied with very extraordinary appearances, distinguishable into three visible periods, the beginning and ending cataleptic, and middle, lasted a whole day, or from morning till night; when her cataleptic fit, which often used to hold her five or six minutes, was over, as was always known by her beginning to yawn, she then sat up in her bed, began to talk very fast, and more sensibly than she was known to do in her full health; she would now often change her discourse, and that pertinently enough, and appear as if she directed her discourse to some friends present; this was always observed to have some connection with that she held in a fit the day before, or it turned on some moral reflection, which she shrewdly would apply to some of the attendants of the hospital. All this time her eyes were fully open, and yet she was in a most profound sleep, without either motion or feeling, as M. Sauvage confirmed by many experiments he made. At, By approaching the flame of a bougie so near her eye as to burn her eye-

brows ; she however did not even wink at this. 2dly, He got one to bawl loud into her ear, thump hard at the head of the bed, which at any other time would terrify her greatly ; he besides had some brandy and even spirit of sal-ammoniac put into her eyes, he also thrust his finger into them, had Havanna snuff blown into her nose, pins thrust into her flesh, and her fingers twisted, yet all to no purpose, she never gave the least sign of feeling.

While these experiments were making, her discourse (for she all the time continued talking) all of a sudden became more lively ; this was a prelude to a new scene ; she now began to sing and jump, and burst out after into a fit of laughter, endeavouring at the same time to get out of bed, which she at last effected with seemingly great joy ; she now ranged the whole ward, carefully avoiding the beds, chairs, &c. and returned without any difficulty to her own bed, lay down after, and covered herself, where in a short time she was seized with a cataleptic fit, which in less than one quarter of an hour left her ; she then awoke as out of a profound sleep : upon seeing so many about her, she appeared confused, and cried for the remainder of the day, though she had no knowledge of what she did in her fit.

About the end of May all the foregoing symptoms left her, tho' it could not be attributed to any effect from medicines ; she was blooded once in the arm, often in the foot, and seven times in the jugulars ; she was purged five or six times after some aperitive apozems she took ; she took a sto-

machic electuary made of the bark, cinnabar, pulvis ad guttetam, and when the weather was mild, she was bathed twenty times in a bath rather cold than warm ; she had after some preparations of Mars ordered for her, was seemingly restored to her health, but she was far from being so, having returns of her disorder every winter, to 1759, with this difference, that it was not now preceded by a cataleptic fit, nor was her want of feeling so great ; she was one day seized with a fit on the bridge, where she was observed to speak, as to her own shadow or image she saw in the water ; at a fit she had last christmas holy-days, she had some notion of those about her.

This young woman is now so accustomed to her disorder, that all the concern it gives her, is some little confusion ; however, she is not of so pale a complexion, but she still feels the same heat and weight on her head, and on the decline of the fit, complains of a Cardialgia, which awakes her.

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*On a fish of the river of Surinam, which produces very singular effects. From the same.*

WE daily discover new wonders in nature, and, if the fact we are going to give an account of after M. Muschenbroek, is exactly such as it is related, it is one of the most extraordinary that occurs in the history of animals.

This able naturalist says, in a letter to the Abbé Nollet, that a fish or kind of eel is found in a river of Surinam, which has the singular property of striking you,



as the shock or commotion of Leyden, when you put your hands into the water near the place where it is. If, for instance, fishermen or seamen come near in a boat, within the distance of eight or ten feet, and dip their hands in the water, they immediately feel themselves struck, says M. Muschenbroek, as in my experiment (it is the same as the commotion of Leyden) by the electricity of the fish; if they push it with a stick, they feel a smarter stroke, and if with an iron rod, they are struck as with a mighty force; in short no one dares to lay hold of it with the hand, and with an electrical shock it kills the fishes that in swimming pass near it; yet, the most remarkable thing is, that if the seamen, instead of an iron rod, dip down by the side of the fish a stick of sealing-wax, or even touch it with that stick, they feel no stroke; whence M. Muschenbroek concludes, that, in the different circumstances here related, the men are struck by the electricity only of the fish.

Here are very singular effects, and there are others which are more extraordinary, since M. Muschenbroek finishes his recital, by saying that some others are not less certain than the foregoing, but which he dares not give an account of.

None can be better disposed than we are to adopt the opinions of so learned a gentleman; yet, in admitting all those marvellous effects, we cannot believe, with him, that they ought to be attributed to electricity: It seems he was induced to think so after the experiment of the sealing-wax,

but it appears incompatible with the facts we know of. It is indeed well known that every real electrical body, being made wet, transmits electricity as metals and other non-electrical substances. Thus the stick of sealing-wax wetted ought to produce the same effect as the iron bar, &c. unless it be supposed that the small part of this stick out of the water is enough to prevent it, which is not very probable. Besides, a stick of wood, or iron rod, might transmit certain concussions, or certain motions, communicated by the fish to the parts of the water, which the sealing-wax might not. Many things may be still said to shew that electricity has no share in the singular effects attributed to this fish, and perhaps none of the facts do really exist. Let us not forget all the wonders that have been related of the torpedo. Though this fish is an inhabitant of our seas, and it was easy for every one to ascertain what is said of it, yet none before M. Reaumur, in our days, had shewn what all those stories amounted to. There are two thousand leagues from hence to Surinam; and what an alteration may arise in facts through the course of such a passage! Yet all the above-related circumstances give us reason to regret that one of those singular fishes which was brought from that country to M. Muschenbroek, died in the passage. If it had lived, this wise naturalist would have soon discovered and made known all the certainty in the facts related of it.

The fish here spoken of is called by naturalists *gymnotus*, and by the

the Dutch, *Beef-zal*, in French *Anguille de bœuf*, i. e. *Beef-eel*: It is four feet in length, and nearly about the thickness of a man's arm; and it is found particularly in places where there are rocks.

M. Richer speaks, in the account of his voyage to Cayenne, of a fish that seems quite like this in bigness and its effects: He says that when it is touched with the finger, or even with a stick, it so benumbs the arm, and the part of the body nearest to it, that one remains for a quarter of an hour without being able to stir it; that himself had felt this effect; and he adds, that the fishermen say, that by striking other fishes with its tail, it sets them asleep: This is not unlike what M. Muschenbroeck relates of the *gymnotus*, but it is much less extraordinary.

*Of different bones which have been discovered within a rock near Aix. From the same.*

WE cannot be too reserved in points of natural history, when we are to decide concerning the resemblance between some fossil bodies and others primitively organized, especially if these are of so delicate a substance, as to make it rare, after a certain time, to find them well preserved, or at least to discover the parts that have not undergone notable alterations.

When one in fact has believed there is found some decisive relation in those sorts of researches, all the observations come to terminate in the idea first conceived; so that the observation of what-

ever does not agree therewith is only attended to, far from finding a reason to bring things to a closer examination, and to return to the first impressions received.

The several bones discovered near Aix, and which at first sight have been held to be human bones, confirm what we say, and prove how much, in comparing one body with another, it is necessary to know perfectly what is most proper to characterize them.

Springs of mineral waters are very near the place which these bones were taken out of; several chains of mountains separate it from the sea, which is five leagues distant from it. A rock, which is there level with the surface of the ground, was sapped by gunpowder; it formed a very hard mass, and no strata were observable in it; the part of this rock, which lay buried in the earth to a certain depth, was covered with a bed of clay, over which was vegetable earth: The interior of the rock was of the nature of the hardest marble, and mingled with jaspered and transparent veins. It was after penetrating into it five feet in depth, that a great quantity of bones were discovered to be lodged in it: They were held as having belonged to different parts of the human body; jaw-bones, teeth, arm and thigh bones, all were considered as such: They had not, in appearance, changed their nature; their cavity was filled with a crystalline substance, or a stony matter like to that which inclosed them.

At the depth of four feet and a half, were discovered bodies of a pretty regular figure, and resembling human heads; the occiputs of

of some of them have been preserved: They were incrustated in the stone, and their internal part was full of it: The face of one of those heads was preserved without alteration; it is in the natural proportions; the eyes, the nose well formed, though flatted, the cheeks, the mouth, the chin, are therein distinguished, and the muscles of the whole very well articulated: This head is of the same substance with the stone it was taken out of.

In the same place was found a great number of pointed teeth, whose analogies are unknown; one in particular was remarked which was round, much bent, and sharp as that of fishes; it was not intire, but it was judged from its remains, that its length might have been three inches; its enamel was of the finest polish: Some other teeth were also discovered, which were of a greater or smaller dimension than that here mentioned, and whose interior substance bore a great likeness to that of the teeth of fishes.

There was likewise observed, on the surface of a fragment of the stone, a kind of square horn, somewhat bent and laid horizontally; it was covered with a substance resembling that of harts horns; the remains of it is three inches in length; and three longitudinal canals make it suspected that it belonged to some fish.

The quarry, out of which these bones were taken, is situated on a rising ground, where neither springs, nor rivulets, nor waters are seen to filtrate into it; and though, in digging into the earth about, several broken bricks and the remains of houses are found,

yet none of those vestiges are perceived in the quarry itself; which gives room to presume that it was never opened by the first Romans who established themselves in the environs of Aix; and those bones are of a date greatly anterior to them.

M. Guettard, among some other of our academicians, is not disposed to believe that the greater part of those bones have the origin that is attributed to them; and that the heads, especially, have belonged to human bodies. How, indeed, can it be conceived, that the flesh and muscles of those heads have been preserved in such perfection that a mask of stone should mould itself over them with regularity, and catch exactly the delicate features of the face? A stony juice should, in consequence of this idea, have bedewed those well-formed masks, and, after being indurated thereon, should have given in relief the figure of the heads on which the masks had been at first moulded. Besides, it is seen, by the account, that the quarry is formed of ruins; that all things are there heaped upon one another without order; and that the sediments of stony matter being performed by succession, it should be likewise supposed, that those heads were preserved without alteration during a considerable time, to serve as a nucleus to the matter which had inclosed them. M. Guettard's opinion, in refusing to hold as human bones those of the quarry of Aix, seems also the better grounded, from the discovering of several teeth of sea-fishes; it being very probable, that whatever has been taken for human heads is only the produce of a stony

a stony substance, which had taken its regular form from some heads of fishes. Teeth like those of the environs of Aix have been found at Dax; and they were still fixed in a jaw-bone which is preserved in M. de Reaumur's cabinet of natural history, and which could belong only to some large sea-fish. M. Guettard has besides observed, that the stones mixed with the bones of the quarry of Aix are filled with gravel and roundish pebbles, which indicate sediments formed by the sea: The greater part also of the bones, which have been taken for arms and legs, seems to be portions of the ribs of fishes.

M. Guettard does not deny but that human bones may be found inclosed in stone; but he pretends that, when this happens, the place they are in retains the marks of earth that has been stirred or worked, and shews, by some vestiges, that men had dwelt there. It appears on the contrary, according to the description made of the quarry of Aix, that it is still in its primitive state, and belongs to old nature: The gravel and pebbles found there are like those thrown up by the sea; and it is very probable, that the bones it contains have their origin from fishes, whatever relation might have been observed between them and human bones.

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*Observation on cures performed by burning. Extracted from the acts of the academy of Upsal in Sweden.*

**T**HERE have been violent pains and aches of the head, whose cure has been sudden and

unforeseen. A lady thirty-five years old, and of a good constitution, had continual pains, with exacerbations which seized her once regularly in eight or ten days; and lasted ten or twelve hours with so much violence, that she was sometimes as senseless and sometimes as mad. The seat of the pain was principally in the forehead, and in the eyes which then became very red and sparkling. The great fits were accompanied by nausea, and always ended by vomiting a quantity of a white, slimy, frothy, and insipid matter, and a green and very bitter water which did not come till last. While these fits continued, she could take no nourishment; when they ceased, she had a good appetite, and no waste of flesh was visible, notwithstanding the long duration of so distressed a condition.

Her physicians to no purpose administered all sorts of remedies to her for three years together. Opium alone suspended for some hours the ordinary pains of her head, but had no effect upon the exacerbations.

One evening perceiving the approach of a fit, and going to bed, she had a mind first to examine if her eyes were very red. She beheld herself in a little pocket looking-glass, and the fire of a wax taper which stood near her, caught her night cap, which was of thick cloth. At first she did not perceive it, and she chanced to be alone. The fire burnt all her forehead, and a part of the crown of her head, before she could make any one come to extinguish it. Her physician, who was sent for, had her let blood immediately, and he treated the burn according

to the common method, the pain of which ceased in a few hours. But the great fit that was expected did not come; even the ordinary head-ach disappeared almost that moment without the help of any other remedy than burning; and now, these four years since this happy accident fell out, the lady has enjoyed perfect health.

Another good effect of accidental burning appears from the following case: A woman, who for several years past had her legs and thighs swelled, in an extraordinary manner and very painful, found relief in rubbing them before the fire with brandy every morning and evening. One evening the fire chanced to catch the brandy she had rubbed herself with, and slightly burnt her. She applied some unguent to her burn; and in the night all the water her legs and thighs were swelled with, was intirely discharged by urine, and the swelling did not return. It is a pity that chance does not oftener act the physician.

It has undoubtedly taught several barbarous people this sort of remedy who successfully practise it, and perhaps the more voluntarily from being more cruel, as it gives them an opportunity of shewing their courage. M. Homberg, the French academician, who was born in the island of Java, relates that when the Javans have a certain colic, or a looseness attended with pain, which is generally mortal, they cure themselves of it by burning the soles of their feet

with a hot iron. If they have a whitlow on the finger they dip it several times into boiling water an instant each time; and M. Homberg himself, to follow in some measure the customs of his country, cured himself of a whitlow in this manner. We find in the relations of travellers several other distempers, which the savages cure by burning; and without going so far ourselves, on several occasions we apply this remedy to horses, hounds, birds of prey, &c. but it is true our delicacy does not permit us to make use of it for ourselves, and it perhaps makes us prefer longer pains to shorter. It has not likewise suffered our long use in Europe of the Chinese moxa or down, brought also by the Spaniards from America, and which cured the gout when burnt on the afflicted part. A recent instance has appeared in a burgher of Hamburgh, who by this remedy in seven or eight days was freed from his fits of the gout, which before lasted two or three months, and at the same time it made them more unfrequent.

In short, it may be supposed with good reason, that burning may cure three different ways, by putting the noxious humours in a great motion, which makes them turn into new channels; or by making them fluid from a state of viscosity, which comes to the same; or by destroying a part of the ducts that conveyed them in too great abundance.

## ANTIQUITIES.

*A Letter from Edward Wortley Montagu, Esq; F. R. S. to William Watson, M D. F. R. S. containing an account of his journey from Cairo, in Egypt, to the written mountains in the desert of Sinai. Received January the 3d; and read before the Royal Society, March 13, 1766.*

**I**T is with a good deal of difficulty that I have prevailed upon myself to write to you, for, as coming now to Italy was quite unforeseen, and I am immediately going back to the east, I have not my journal with me, but luckily have the famous inscriptions. I am sensible every paper I send to the royal society exposes more and more my incapacity. However, as these inscriptions are much wanted, I cannot avoid sending them. I shall only speak to some of the points the bishop of Clogher mentions; but cannot avoid being now and then a little prolix.

I set out from Cairo, by the road known by the name of Tauriche Beni Israel, road of the children of Israel. After twenty hours travelling, at about three miles an hour, we passed, by an opening in the mountains on our right hand, the mountains Maxattee. There are two more roads, one to the northward of this, which the Mecca pilgrims go, and one to the south, between the mountains, but

never travelled (as it does not lead to Suez, to which it is thirty hours march from Cairo.) Through this breach the children of Israel are said to have entered the mountains, and not to have taken the most southern road, which I think most probable: for those valleys, to judge by what one now sees, could not be passable for Pharaoh's chariots. This breach, the inhabitants told me, leads directly to a plain called Badeah, which in Arabic signifies something new and extraordinary, and also the beginning, as the beginning of every thing is new, i. e. was not before known.

At Suez I found an opportunity of going to Tor by sea, which I gladly embraced, that, by going nearer the place, at which the Israelites are supposed to have entered the gulf, and having a view from the sea, as well of that as of the opposite shore, I might be a little better able to form a judgment about it. Besides, I was willing to have the views, bearings, and soundings, which I took, and they will appear some time or other; but this paper would scarce be their place, if I had them with me.

When we were opposite to Badeah, it seemed to me (for I was not on shore) a plain, capable of containing the Israelites, with a small elevation in the middle of it. I saw something too like ruins.



The captain and pilots told me, that this was the place where the Israelites entered the sea; and the ruins were those of a convent (I suppose built on the spot in commemoration of the fact); they added that there was good water there. There is here a strong current, which sets to the opposite shore, about south east; it forms by its strength a whirlpool, where sailors said ships were lost, if forced into it, for want of wind, by the current. This pool is about six miles northward of Cape Karondel; and just below this pool there is a sand, a flat island at low water, which runs east and west about three miles. This sand, I suppose, is thrown up by the force of the current; and the same current, by the resistance it meets with from this bank, being forced back into the cavity made by this excavation, forms the whirlpool. This pool is called Birque Pharaone, the well or pool of Pharaoh; and here they affirm his host was destroyed. I shall say more of this as I travel back by land. We came to an anchor in fifteen fathom water, within a mile and a half of the shore, to the southward of this sand, and in the Birque Karondel, to the northward of the cape; here the eastern shore is already mountainous, which, near this place, was a sandy beach: the Egyptian shore, from Suez to Badeah, is likewise rocky and steep; so no entering upon the gulf from that shore, but at Badeah or Suez.

It is high water always when the moon is at her meridian height, and it ebbs six hours. At Suez, it flows six foot; the spring tides are nine, and in the variable

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months; from the beginning of November to the end of April, sometimes twelve. From the beginning of May to the beginning of October, a northerly wind generally rises and goes down with the sun; it is often very strong. This wind never fails in these months, unless there be some violent storm; the rest of the year the winds are variable, and when they blow hard at S. and S. S. E. these winds set up the sea through the narrow streight of Babel Mandel, and up this gulf through its mouth, between Gebel El Zait, on the west side of this sea, and the southermost point of the bay of Tor, on the east side of this western branch of this sea, where it is not above twelve or fourteen miles over. I suppose such a wind, hindering the water from going out, causes this extraordinary encrease in the spring tides. We see the same thing happen with the same winds at Venice, both gulfs running nearly in the same direction.

The Egyptian, western, or Thebaic shore, from Badeah southward to opposite Tor, on the eastern shore, is all mountainous and steep; and at Elim, the northermost point of the bay of Tor, ends the ridge of mountains, which begin on the eastern shore of this western branch at Karondel. I say nothing of Elim, or Tor, or the marine productions of this gulf, as this paper is intended to give an account of Sharmè, Moenah El Dzahab, Kadesh Barnea, the stone which Moses struck twice, and the inscriptions. I, however, must say, that, from this place, mount Sinai, properly called, cannot be seen; but only the ridge or group of mountains, in which it is, and

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which altogether form that part of this tongue of land called in general mount Sinai. The garden of the monks of mount Sinai at Elim renders in dates, &c. 20,000 piaſtres per ann. or £2,500.

We from thence crossed the plain, in about eight hours, and entered the mountains of Sinai. They are of granite of different colours. At the entrance of the narrow breach, through which we passed, I ſaw, on a large loose granite ſtone, an inſcription in unknown characters, given, I think, by Dr. Pocock, biſhop of Oſſory; however, as the Iſraelites had no writing, that we know of, when they paſſed here, I did not think it of conſequence enough to ſtop for; the Arabs told me, it was relative to a battle fought here between Arabs, and indeed I do not ſee what point of hiſtory it can illuſtrate; beſides, there are not above five or ſix words. We arrived at the convent of Mount Sinai, after the uſual difficulties mentioned by other travellers, were received as uſual, and ſaw the uſual places, of which, however, I ſhall give the plans as well as elevations, which I took. I muſt ſay, that the monks were far from owning to me, that they had ever meddled with the print of the foot of Mahomet's camel. I examined it narrowly, and no chifſel has abſolutely ever touched it, for the coat of the granite is entire and unbroke in every part; and every body knows, that if the coat of leſs hard ſtones than granite is once deſtroyed, it never returns. It is a moſt curious luſus naturæ, and the Mahometans turn it to their uſe.

Meribah is indeed ſurpriſingly

ſtriking. I examined the lips of its mouths, and found that no chifſel had ever worked there; the channel is plainly worn by only the courſe of water, and the bare inſpection of it is ſufficient to convince any one it is not the work of man. Amongſt the innumerable cracks in rocks, which I have ſeen in this, as well as other parts of the world, I never met with any like this, except that at Jeruſalem, and the two which are in the rock Moſes ſtruck twice, of which hereafter.

I had enquired of the captain and the two pilots of our ſhip, about Sharne and Dzahab, on the weſtern ſhore of the eaſtern branch of the Red-ſea; they told me that they were often forced up the Elanitic gulf, the eaſtern branch of the Red-ſea, and generally went to Sharne, and ſometimes as high as Dzahab; that they generally ran from Cape Mahomet, the ſouthermoſt part of the peninſula between theſe two gulfs, to Sharne, in ſix hours, becauſe they always made as much more way, as they commonly do, they very ſeldom going there but in a ſtorm: They generally run four knots, ſo this makes forty-eight miles, which brings it to the northward of Tor, Tor is in lat. 27. 55. Cape Mahomet thirty miles ſouthward, lat. 27. 25. Sharne forty-eight miles nearly N. lat. 28. 13. conſequently about E. N. of Sinai. The port is pretty large, ſurrounded with high mountains, the entrance very narrow, and the water deep quite to the rocks, which are ſo very ſteep, that a ſtone dropt from the ſummit falls into the baſon. No wind can be felt here; they don't caſt anchor, but ſaſſen their cables to

to the rocks. There is good water; some habitations are found on the sides of the mountains, and a pretty large village at top: This seems to answer the idea of Nest-Ken. Dzahab lies as high again up the golf, so forty-eight miles more, or in lat. 29. This port is considerably larger than the former, and very good, but not so closely surrounded with mountains; it is, however, very safe. There is a well of great antiquity with very good water; very considerable ruins are found, and they say, there was a great city formerly; but no inhabitants now, except an Arabian camp of 2000 men. There is a road from it to Jerusalem, formerly much frequented. Thus far the captain and pilots. I enquired from the monks, as well as Arabs, about these places, as well as about the ruins, supposed by my learned friend, the bishop of Ossory, to be Kadesh Barnea: the former could only tell me, they had not received any fish from thence in many years, that it was two easy days journey off, but the road was mountainous; so one may suppose the distance less than forty miles. The Arabs agreed as to the road; but they said, it was once a large place, where their prince lived, whose daughter Moses married, that Moses was afterwards their prince, and the greatest of all prophets. These Arabs place Moses the first, Salomon the second, Mahomet the third, Christ the fourth, and then the prophets of the bible. As to Dzahab, the monks only knew the distance to be four days journey, and that there was a road from it to Jerusalem: The Arabs told me the

same, so the distance is about eighty miles. I enquired of them all about the ruins; they told me there were considerable ones about half way to Dzahab, about forty miles from Sinai; but I should think Kadesh must have been much nearer to Jerusalem. I would willingly have gone to these places; but as the four clans of Arabs, which inhabit this promontory, were then at war one with the other, I could get no conductor. In another journey I hope to be more lucky, for this is all hearsay; however, combining the whole together, and comparing it with what we collect from scripture, I think we may well conclude, Sharme to be Midian, and Meenah El Dzahab to be Eziongeber: what the interjacent ruins are I cannot conjecture; but I believe I have found Kadesh Barnea to be elsewhere. I think it cannot be here, for the Israelites were on the borders of the Holy Land, or Land of Promise, when they were ordered back; and when they were stopped by the Moabites, they are said to have been brought up from Kadesh Barnea; and I meet with no place in sacred writing, or any antient geographer, neither Strabo nor any other, that draw the line of division between this promontory and the Land of Promise so low down; nor could they do it, as these ruins are within almost seventy miles of the extremity of it. There are two roads from mount Sinai to Jerusalem, the one through Pharan, the other by the way of Dzahab: That through Pharan is eleven days journey; two to Pharan, three to a station of the Mecca pilgrims called Scheich Ali, one and an half to

some considerable ruins; all this to the northward: from thence four and something more to Jerusalem, by way of Hebron, leaving the Asphaltic lake on the right hand to the southeastward. The other way is longer, on account of the road being more mountainous; that too passes the same ruins, and also Scheich Ali. I enquired about this, when I was at Jerusalem, and received the very same account, with this addition, that such Mahometans, as went from Jerusalem to Mecca, went that way, to join the Cairo caravan at Scheich Ali. This seems to be a situation opposite to Kadesh Barnea; at the line drawn by all the geographers; it is without mount Sinai (taken for this whole tract); and just before the Moabites, as the children of Israel passed by mount Hor, now Acaba, leaving the Asphaltic lake on their left hand, to the northwest. The tradition too of the Arabs is, that they passed this way; therefore, I think, Kadesh Barnea must be near this spot. There are here considerable ruins; and I know of no city that ever was here, for Petra lay more to the east, between the Asphaltic lake and the Elanitic gulf. To leave no enquiry wanting, I asked the Rabbins of Jerusalem, where they placed Kadesh Barnea; and they said, these ruins.

We set out from mount Sinai by the way of Scheich Salem; and, after we had passed Mahomet's stone, came to the beautiful valley, mentioned in the journal. I lay there (and hope I have discovered the manna, but that will be the subject of another paper) and did not set out before day-light, that I might not pass the rock which

Moses struck twice. I searched, and enquired of my Arabs, but could neither hear nor see any thing of it. I saw several short inscriptions stained on some parts of the mountains, the characters being the same with those on mount Sinai, Meribah, &c. given by the bishop of Ossory. About four miles before we arrived at Pharan, we passed through a remarkable breach in a rock; each side of it is perpendicular as a wall, about eighty feet high, and the breach is about forty broad. It is at this breach, I imagine, the Horites were smote, four miles beyond the present ruins of Pharan; for having passed this breach they could make a stand, nor could they well be pursued. Here, on the tops of the mountains to our right hand, were ruins of buildings, and one seemed a castle. From Meribah to near this place, we had always rather descended; in most places there is the bed of a stream and after rain the water runs; but a little before we came to this breach, it winded off towards the west, for the waters fall into that part of the desert we crossed from Tor. Between this breach and Pharan, there are several springs, and one at Pharan where we encamped; there is the bed of the river mentioned by the journal, the traditional account of which agrees with what is said by St. Paul. Waters seem to have run from Meribah to within about six miles of this place; the bed of a stream is here again very plain and a spring at the upper end of it, which does not yield water enough to make a stream, the bed then is dry; four valleys terminate here, and form a large area. I enquired about

about the road to Jerusalem; the people agreed in the distance and ruins. We travelled in the bed of the river through the valley to the north; and in about half an hour, the sight and appearance of a large stone, not unlike Meribah, which lay at some distance from the mountain on our right hand, struck me; and I also observed, it had many small stones upon it. The Arabs, when they have any stone or spot in veneration, as Mahomet's stone, and the like, after their devotion, lay some smooth stone upon it. I asked what it was, they told me Hagar Moufa, the stone of Moses. I told them that could not be, for that lay in Rephidim, they said that was true, but this was Hagar el Chotatain, the stone of the two strokes; that he struck it twice, and more water came from it than from Meribah; witness the river. The bed of the river winds to the eastward, about E. S. E. I asked how far it went; they said this bed ran by Sheich Ali to those ruins, and quite away to the sea; so the river must have begun here, and not at Pharan, and the bed from Pharan here is only formed (I suppose) by winter torrents. If this is the bed of the river mentioned by St. Paul, as I dare say it is, we have the second rock: if it runs to the ruins as is said, and there is no reason to doubt it, they will be pretty plainly those of Kadesh Barnea; and if this bed continues in the same course to the sea, as it probably does, this probably is the river at Rinocolura, supposed, by Eratosthenes, to be formed by the Arabian lakes; because he did not know its miraculous head.

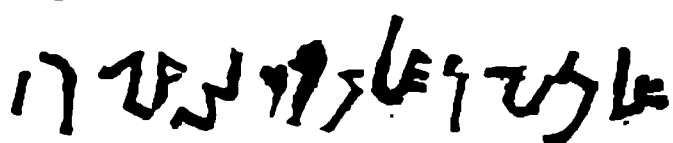
This river is doubted of by Strabo, because dried up to the source, from the time the Israelites entered the Land of Promise, and the tradition was then lost. You may see Strabo's *Affyria*, edit. Casaubon, p. 5. 16. towards the bottom. Pardon this bold conjecture; but it coincides and conciliates sacred history with antient geography. This too seems a proof, that this is really the second struck rock. As to the springs between the breach and Pharan, they certainly did not exist in the time of Moses; or, if they did, they would have been as nothing to so many people.

We went down a large valley to the west towards the sea, and passed the head of a valley, a part of the desert of Sin, which separates the mountains of Pharan from those which run along the coast, and the same plain which we had passed from Tor. We had scarce entered these mountains, and travelled an hour, when after passing a mountain, where there were visible marks of an extinguished subterraneous fire, we saw, on our left hand, a small rock, with some unknown characters cut on it, not stained upon it, as those hitherto met with; and, in ten minutes, we entered a valley six miles broad, running nearly north and south, with all the rocks which enclose it on the west side, covered with characters. These are what are called Gebel El Macaatab, the written mountains. On examining these characters, I was greatly disappointed, in finding them every where interspersed with figures of men and beasts, which convinced me they were not written

by the Israelites; for if they had been after the publication of the law, Moses would not have permitted them to engrave images, so immediately after he had received the second commandment: if they went this way, and not along the coast, they had then no characters, that we know of, unless some of them were skilled in hieroglyphics, and these have no connection with them. It will be difficult to guess what these inscriptions are; and, I fear, if ever it is discovered, they will be scarce worth the pains. If conjecture be permitted, I will give my very weak thoughts. They cannot have been written by Israelites, or Mahometans, for the above reason; and if by Mahometans, they would have some resemblance to some sort of Cuphic characters, which were the characters used in the Arabic language, before the introduction of the present Arabic letters. The first MSS. of the alcoran were in Cuphic: there is a very fine one at Cairo, which I could not purchase, for it is in the principal mosque; and the Imam would not sell it for me, under four hundred sequins, £200. These have not the least resemblance to them: Saracen characters are very unlike; besides, I should place them higher than the Hegira. I think it then not unprobable that they were written in the first ages of christianity, and perhaps the very first; when, I suppose, pilgrimages from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai were fashionable, consequently frequent and numerous, by the new Christian Jews, who believed in Christ; therefore, I should be-

lieve them Hebrew characters, used vulgarly by the Jews about the time of Christ. I shewed them when at Jerusalem to the Rabbins; they were of the same opi-

nion, and thought , which is frequent, was שלם; and to that



which is just before with a small cross שלב שד ישוע, by changing the *shin* into *sin*, and adding *je*, it would be an Arabic word ساسين a cross, and might be explained, the cross borne or carried by Jesus. The Hebrew would be Jesus brought safety, or salvation. But, Sir, more able than me will judge better. These are all conjectures; and it seems much easier to say what these inscriptions are not, than what they are. They can scarce be of St. Helen's time; for they would have some analogy with Greek characters, and they have none. Perhaps some gentlemen will think them antient Egyptian, written by the colony which they suppose went to inhabit China. That is a matter I won't meddle with; but, amongst many others, it will be liable to one great objection, which is, that such colony, if there ever was one, probably went the straight road, from the head of one gulf to the head of the other, from Hierapolis to Eloth, the way the Mecca pilgrims now go. This place would have been far out of their way, being at least sixty miles to the southward of the pilgrims road, unless they were supposed to have had



had transports at Dzahab, or Sharne. I, for the first reason given, did not think them written by the Israelites, and could not conceive that they were of any great consequence. I only took these few as a specimen. Here are on other parts of this rock, some Greek, and Arabic, as well as some Saracen inscriptions, and an Hebrew one, which is **תנחומי**. The Saracens and Arabic only say, "such an one was here at such a time"; the same say the Greek ones, except one, which says, as I remember, for I have it not with me, "The evil genius of the army wrote this," which can only prove, that some body of Greeks was worsted here, after the characters were written; and that they attributed their defeat to some magic power in these characters: as we are now fruitful in conjecture, perhaps some gentlemen will bring Xenophon here. The characters seem to be of the very same kind with those stained on different parts of Mount Sinai, Meribah, &c. which my learned and accurate friend the bishop of Ossory has given.

The third day from this place, travelling westward, we encamped at Sarondou, as the journal calls it; but it is Korondel, where are the bitter waters, Marah. I tried if the branches of any of the trees had any effect on the waters; but found none: so the effect mentioned in scripture must have been miraculous. These waters at the spring are somewhat bitter and brackish, but as every foot they run over the sand is covered with bituminous salts, grown up by the excessive heat of the sun, they acquire much

saltiness and bitterness, and very soon become not potable. This place, off which the ships cast anchor, is below the sand, which I mentioned before, near the Birque Korondel. After nine hours and a half march we arrived and encamped at the desert of Shur, or Sour. The constant tradition is, that the Israelites ascended from the sea here; this is opposite to the plain Badeah, to which the above-mentioned pass in the mountains lead. From this place the openings in the mountains appear a great crack, and may be called a mouth, taking Hiroth for an appellative. However, I should rather adopt the signification of liberty. It would hardly have been necessary for the Israelites to pass the sea, if they were within two or three miles of the northern extremity of the gulf; the space of at most two miles, the breadth of the gulf at Suez, and at most three foot deep at low water, for it is then constantly waded over, could not have contained so many people, or drowned Pharaoh's army. There would have been little necessity for his cavalry and chariots to precipitate themselves after a number of people on foot, incumbered with their wives, children and baggage; when they could soon have overtaken them with going so little about. These reasons, added to the significant names of the places, Tamariche Beni Israel, road of the children of Israel; Attacah, Deliverance, Pihahiroth, whether an appellative or significative; Badeah, new thing, or miracle; Bachorel Polsum, sea of destruction; convince me that the Isra-

Israelites entered the sea at Bادهah, and no where else. Besides, all the rest of the coast from Suez, and below Bادهah, is steep rocks, so there must have been another miracle for them to descend: the current too sets from this place where we encamped, toward the opposite shore into the pool Birque Pharaone, Pool of Pharaoh, where, the tradition is, his host was drowned; a current, formed, I suppose, by the falling and rushing of one watery wall on the other, and driving it down; a current, perhaps, by God permitted to remain ever since, in memoriam rei: the distance to the bitter waters is about thirty miles. I omitted to mention in its place, that, between this and Korondel, we were not so lucky as the author of the journal, who met with a charming rivulet of sweet water; we met with none, good or bad. The Ain Moufa, which the Israelites would have met with, if they had passed at Suez, and the coast from hence southward, about a mile to Tor, being all rock and steep too, induce me to believe, that they entered the sea at Bادهah, and ascended from it here, and not at any other place. But I am too sensible of my own inability to decide, and leave that to better judges than I am. I only throw out what occurs to me, from the inspection of the country, an inspection as accurate as I am capable of. If any thing I have said can in the least support that revelation, to which I dare declare myself a friend, even in this enlightened age, I shall be very happy; or if this trip of mine can be of any use whatever, as I had great pleasure in it, I may

truly say with Horace.—*Omne tulit punctum, &c.*

The denomination of *Ḥayot*, I believe, only regards the Hierapolic branch, as the marine productions, Madrepores, &c. which form admirable forests in the bottom of it, are not in the Elanitic branch, or the gulf; I mean the broad part below Cape Mahomet. No more than that western branch was known to the Israelites at the time of their passage, if it was to the Egyptians: but the name descended to the whole, as their knowledge of it. The Red Sea seems to regard the broad part alone; for though there are not the above mentioned sea productions, yet there is so great a quantity of the tube coral (not found in the western branch of the Hierapolic golf) and such rocks, as one may say of them, that the Gedda ships fasten themselves to them instead of casting anchor. It is of a deep red, so that possibly, the first navigators entering at the strait of Babel Mandel, from the red they saw, called it the Red Sea, and that name descended to the whole with their navigation. This sea is tempestuous and full of shoals; there is no harbour on the Arabian coast after Tor, except one, I mean between Suez and Gidda or Mecca, which is a day and a half from Gidda. Gidda is its port; and there is only one on the other coast, Cossire; but it is a very bad one; however, ships sometimes go thither, and caravans cross the country to Morsbout. The ships are, as the bishop of Ofsory has described them; the helm is on the outside, as I suppose with his lordship, that of St. Paul was.

They

They make use of but four sails, and no compass, nor do they ever cast the lead. They sail only by day-light, from anchoring place to anchoring place, and are not above two days out of sight of land, from Cape Mahomet to the Arabian main: if a gale happen, they are often lost; about one in ten every year. I shall be glad to be honoured with the society's commands, and in communicating this, you will oblige,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Ed. Wortley Montagu.

Pisa, Dec.

2, 1765.

P. S. I am a very bad draughtsman; but I assure you the sketches contained in plate III. are rather better than the originals. They are about six inches long, the marble is whitish, in some places reddish, of a flesh colour; they are engraved with a pointed instrument, for one sees in the bottom of them, round marks of the point of the instrument. I have met with much basalto, but not one piece of that soft stone of which is the bust at Turin, nor any of the characters upon it, except some are found amongst these, I have neither seen any head, bust, or statue, in the character of that.

The second rock struck by Moses is, I think, 43 feet long, 16 broad, 13 high; it has two cracks, oblique ones; in them are some mouths, like those of Meribah: it is of a hard stone, not granite or marble.

I have the exact dimensions and

elevation of the second Rock, as well as of Meribah.

*Some account of the ruins of Paestum, or Pessidonia, an ancient city of Magna Græcia, in the kingdom of Naples, which have been lately discovered. Extracted from a work newly published, that contains a description and views of the remaining antiquities, the inscriptions that have been discovered in or near that city, together with its antient and modern history, &c.*

HOW astonishing soever it may seem, that such very considerable remains of ancient magnificence should have continued totally undiscovered during so many centuries, it is nevertheless most certain that the author of this book is the first traveller who has given us any account of the ruins of Paestum. If indeed this city, like Herculaneum, had been buried under ground by an earthquake or the eruption of a volcano, its concealment would not be at all miraculous. This miracle, however, is to be accounted for from its remote situation, in a part of Italy entirely unfrequented by travellers. The manner in which it was discovered is related by our author in the following words; 'In the year 1755, an apprentice to a painter at Naples, who was on a visit to his friends at Capaccio, by accident took a walk to the mountains which surround the territory of Paestum. The only habitation he perceived was the cottage of a farmer, who cultivated the best part of the ground,

ground, and reserved the rest for pasture. The ruins of the ancient city made a part of this view, and particularly struck the eyes of the young painter; who, approaching nearer, saw with astonishment, walls, towers, gates, and temples. Upon his return to Capaccio, he consulted the neighbouring people about the origin of these monuments of antiquity. He could only learn, that this part of the country had been uncultivated and abandoned during their memory; that about ten years before, the farmer, whose habitation he had noticed, established himself there; and that having dug in many places, and searched among the ruins that lay round him, he had found treasures sufficient to enable him to purchase the whole. At the painter's return to Naples, he informed his master of these particulars, whose curiosity was so greatly excited by the description, that he took a journey to the place, and made drawings of the principal views. These were shewn to the king of Naples, who ordered the ruins to be cleared, and Poestum arose from the obscurity in which it had remained for upwards of seven hundred years, as little known to the neighbouring inhabitants as to travellers.'

Our learned author, who has certainly been upon the spot, gives the following description of Poestum, in its present state. It is, says he, of an oblong figure, about two miles and a half in circumference. It has four gates which are opposite to each other. On the key-stone of the arch of the north gate, on the outside, is the figure of Neptune in basso relievo,

and within a hippocampus. The walls which still remain are composed of very large cubical stones, and are extremely thick, in some parts eighteen feet. That the walls have remained unto this time, is owing to the very exact manner in which the stones are fitted to one another (a circumstance observed universally in the masonry of the antients); and perhaps in some measure to a stalactical concretion which has grown over them. On the walls here and there are placed towers of different heights, those near the gates being much higher and larger than the others, and are evidently of modern workmanship. He observes that, from its situation among marshes, bituminous and sulphurous springs, Poestum must have been unwholesome; a circumstance mentioned by Strabo, *morbosam eam facit fluvius in paludes diffusus*. In such a situation the water must have been bad. Hence the inhabitants were obliged to convey that necessary of life from purer springs by means of aqueducts, of which many vestiges still remain.

The principal monuments of antiquity are a theatre, an amphitheatre, and three temples. The theatre and amphitheatre are much ruined. The first temple is hexastylus, and amphiprostylus. At one end the pilastres and two columns which divided the cella from the pronaos are still remaining. Within the cella are two rows of smaller columns, with an architrave, which support the second order. This temple he takes to be of that kind called by Vitruvius *Hyphæthros*, and supports his opinion by a quotation from

from that author. The second temple is also amphiprostylos: it has nine columns in front and eighteen in flank, and seems to be of that kind called by Vitruvius Pseudodipteros. The third is likewise amphiprostylos. It has six columns in front and thirteen in flank. Vitruvius calls this kind of temple Peripteros. 'The columns of these temples, says our author, are of that kind of Doric order which we find employed in works of the greatest antiquity. They are hardly five diameters in height. They are without bases, which also has been urged as a proof of their antiquity; but we do not find that the antients ever used bases to this order, at least till very late. Vitruvius makes no mention of bases for this order; and the only instance we have of it, is in the first order of the coliseum at Rome, which was built by Vespasian. The pillars of these temples are fluted with very shallow flutings in the manner described by Vitruvius. The columns diminish from the bottom, which was the most ancient method almost universally in all the orders. The columns have astragals of a very singular form; which shews the error of those who imagine that this member was first invented with the Ionic order, to which the Greeks gave an astragal, and that the Romans were the first who applied it to the Doric. The echinus of the capital is of the same form with that of the temple of Corinth described by Le Roy.'

Our author mentions many other particulars which sufficiently prove the great antiquity of these temples, and concludes with saying, that 'about the time when the temples at Poestum were built,

architecture seems to have received that degree of improvement which the elegant taste of the Greeks had struck out from the rude masses of the Egyptians; the first inventors of this as of many other arts.'

To this account of Poestum are subjoined four very fine prints, engraved by Miller, which will be a lasting monument of the abilities of that artist in works of this nature. In the first we are presented with a view of Poestum in its present state. The second exhibits an oblique view of the three Grecian temples. In the third we have an inside prospect of the temple Amphiprostylos; and the fourth represents the temple Peripteros. The keeping, and in short the entire execution of these four plates, is altogether admirable.

Among the inscriptions is the following, which shews that a man's having 28 children and 83 grand-children was deemed by the antients a sufficient reason for preserving his name from oblivion.

TVLI. OLERII. POESTANI.  
QVI. VIX. A. LXXXV. D. XI.  
FF. XXVIII. NN. LXXXIII.  
C. L. PP.

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*A short account of the Sedmy Palaty, or Seven Palaces; a remarkable building and vestige of antiquity still remaining on the banks of the river Irtysh, in the country of the Kalmucks, being in the wilds of the great or eastern Tartary. From the travels of Mr. Bell of Antermory.*

**I**T is very surprising to find such a regular edifice in the middle of

of a desert. Some of the Tartars say it was built by Tamerlane, called by the Tartars Temyr-ack-sack or Lane-temyr; others by Gingeez-chan. The building, according to the best information I could obtain, is of brick or stone, well finished, and continues still entire. It consists of seven apartments under one roof, from whence it has the name of the Seven Palaces. Several of these rooms are filled with scrolls of glazed paper, fairly wrote, and many of them in gilt characters. Some of the scrolls are black, but the greatest part white. The language in which they are written is that of the Tonguts, or Kalmucks. While I was at Tobolsky, I met with a soldier in the street with a bundle of these papers in his hand. He asked me to buy them; which I did for a small sum. I kept them till my arrival in England, when I distributed them among my friends; particularly to that learned antiquarian Sir Hans Sloane, who valued them at a high rate, and gave them a place in his celebrated museum.

Two of these scrolls were sent, by order of the emperor Peter the first, to the royal academy at Paris. The academy returned a translation, which I saw in the rarity chamber at St. Petersburg. One of them contained a commission to a lama or priest; and the other a form of prayer to the deity. Whether this interpretation may be depended on I shall not determine.

The Tartars esteem them all sacred writings, as appears from the care they take to preserve them. Perhaps they may contain some curious pieces of antiquity, particularly of antient history.

Above the Sedmy Palaty, towards the source of the Irtysh, upon the hills and valleys, grows the best rhubarb in the world, without the least culture.

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*Of some antient monuments in the same country. From the same.*

**A**BOUT eight or ten days journey from Tomsky, in this plain, are found many tombs and burying places of ancient heroes; who, in all probability, fell in battle. These tombs are easily distinguished by the mounds of earth and stones raised upon them. When, or by whom, these battles were fought, so far to the northward, is uncertain. I was informed by the Tartars in the Baraba, that Tamerlane, or Timyr-ack-sack, as they call him, had many engagements in that country with the Kalmucks; whom he in vain endeavoured to conquer. Many persons go from Tomsky, and other parts, every summer, to these graves; which they dig up, and find among the ashes of the dead, considerable quantities of gold, silver, brass, and some precious stones, but particularly hilts of swords and armour. They find also ornaments of saddles and bridles, and other trappings for horses; and even the bones of horses, and sometimes those of elephants. Whence it appears, that when any general, or person of distinction was interred, all his arms, his favourite horse and servant were buried with him in the same grave; this custom prevails to this day among the Kalmucks and other Tartars, and seems to be of great antiquity.



It appears from the number of graves, that many thousands must have fallen on these plains; for the people have continued to dig for such treasure many years, and still find it unexhausted. They are, sometimes indeed, interrupted, and robbed of all their booty, by parties of the Kalmucks, who abhor the disturbing the ashes of the dead.

I have seen several pieces of armour, and other curiosities, that were dug out of these tombs; particularly an armed man on horse-back, cast in brass, of no mean design nor workmanship; also figures of deer, cast in pure gold, which were split through the middle, and had some small holes in them, as intended for ornaments to a quiver, or the furniture of a horse.

While we were at Tomsky, one of these grave-diggers told me, that once they lighted on an arched vault; where they found the remains of a man, with his bow, arrows, lance, and other arms, lying together on a silver table. On touching the body it fell to dust. The value of the table and arms was very considerable.

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*Some account of a remarkable monument in the Isle of Purbeck; known by the names of Aggleston, Stone Barrow, the Devil's Night-cap, &c.*

**T**HIS prodigious stone, hardly equalled by any in England, and the greatest piece of antiquity in this county, stands in the N. E. extremity of the isle of Purbeck, in an heath on the east side of Studland bay, in that parish,

on the estate of John Bankes, of Kingston-hall, Esq; about a mile N. W. from Studland, and six leagues from the isle of Wight. It is surrounded on all sides by several little hills, or rising grounds, which form a theatre, except on the east, where they open, and give an agreeable view of part of Pool and Studland bays, and the isle of Wight.

The name Aggleston seems to be derived from the Saxon *balig*, or *hælig*, *boly*; and *stan*, a *stone*; which is expressive of its ancient superstitious use, for it was, no doubt, a rock-idol \* or deity in the British age. The country people call it the *devil's night-cap*, and have a romantic tradition that the devil, out of envy, threw it from the isle of Wight, with a design to have demolished Corf castle, but it fell short, and dropt here.

It is a red heath, sand, or moor-stone, which, though very common over all the heath, does not abound hereabouts, or at least of any bigness. It stands on an high barrow, or tumulus; its present form is that of a pyramid inverted; or an irregular triangle, one of whose sides is placed uppermost, though it is probable it was originally quadrilateral. On the east front it is convex or gibbous, on the west nearly flat. On the top, a ridge or bulge runs its whole length from north to south, whence it slopes away to the east six feet, to the west five. There is a considerable cleft crosses it in the middle from east to west. On the surface are three hollows or cavities, no doubt † rock basins, in which ravens have bred. The surface is overgrown with heath, and turves have been cut there.

\* See Dr. Borlace's *Antiq. of Cornwall*, lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 161.

† Borlace, *ib.* l. 3, c. 2, p. 225, plate 17.

All the stone is rough, full of cracks, fissures, and inequalities, and parts into horizontal layers, or lamina, especially on the east side, and at the ends.

The dimensions are as follow : The girt or circumference at bottom is 60 feet, in the middle 80, at or near the top 90. But these measurements, by reason of the inequality of the surface, cannot be very exact. The quarriers compute it contains 407 tuns.

On the top of the barrow lie several stones, one of which contains 16, another 9 tuns. On the sides and bottom a multitude of others, of various sizes, mostly covered with heath, furze, and fern. Some tuns have been broken off, and carried to Pool and Studland, for building. If we consider this, and the detached stones before mentioned, which were certainly fragments of the great one, separated from it by violence, time, and weather, it must have been a prodigious one indeed, not inferior to the Tolmen at Constantine in Cornwall, the measurements of which, in Dr. Borlace, fall short of this, though he makes it contain more tuns.

There is little doubt but that the ancient Britons had skill to lift great weights, and spared no pains to erect such vast rude monuments, many of which are extant at Stone Henge, Abury in Cornwall, and other parts of the three kingdoms. Yet the enormous bulk of this stone, in its primitive state, may incline one to imagine it to be a natural rock, and that the barrow was formed, by a collection of earth thrown up round it; or if the barrow be thought too large to be artificial, perhaps the stone might grow here, on a natural hil-

lock, and the earth at top might be removed, and the stone laid bare, to a depth suitable to the use it was designed for, and then the block might be shaped into its present regular form.

Yet Silbury hill in Wiltshire, and many other vast barrows allowed to be artificial, mentioned by Dr. Borlace, lib. 3, c. 8, p. 205—207, are much larger than this, and are strong evidences of the labour and time bestowed by the ancient Britons, and other nations, on such works.

The etymology of Aggleston, and the rock basons on it, determine it to be a rock idol, erected in the British age, and the object of their superstitious worship.

The barrow on which this stone stands is very large. Its diameter on top is 60 feet, at bottom it occupies half an acre, and 14 rood of ground. Its slope on the east side, where it is steepest, is 300 feet, the perpendicular height 90 feet. On the north and south, it is nearly of an equal height. On the west it is much less steep. It is all covered with heath, furze, and fern. On the top it is concave, worn down by sheep lying there, or by attempts to break off stone. Round the bottom appear traces of a shallow ditch, almost filled up, and covered by heath, &c. About it are several other barrows of different forms and sizes. On one, a little north from it, called Puck-stone, is a stone thrown down ten feet by eight.

This monument standing in an unfrequented part of the country, and hid by the hills that almost environ it, was scarce known or observed till it lately drew the attention of James Frampton, of  
More-

Morëton, Esq; who recommended it to the notice of the public, as it deserved.

The Tolmen at Constantine is of an oval form; its long diameter, which points due north and south, is 33 feet, its short one 14—6. Its breadth in the middle of the surface, where it is deepest, from east to west, 18—6. Its circumference 97 feet, and about 60 croses in the middle, and contains 750 tons. — Dr. Borlace, *ibid.* l. 3, c. 8, p. 168, plate II.

Silbury hill is a large barrow, without any stone on it. Its diameter at top is 105 feet, at the bottom above 503, its perpendicular height is 170.—See Dr. Borlace, l. 3, c. 8, p. 206; and Dr. Stukeley on Stone Henge.

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*A charter of King Henry the Third, in the old English of that time; with a translation of it into modern English, by Mr. Somner. From the Appendix to Lord Lyttelton's History.*

Rot. Pat. 43. H. III. m. 15. n° 40.

**H**ENRY thurg Godes fultome King on Engleneloande Lhoauerd on Yrloand Duk on Normand. on Aquitain and Eorl on Anjou. send I, greting to alle hise holde ilærde and ilewede on Huntindonnsciere; thæt witen ge wel, alle thæt we willen and unnen, thæt ure rædesmen alle other the moare del of heom, thæt beoth ichosen thurg us and thurg thæt *Loandes Folk*, on ure Kuneriche habbeth idon, and schullen don in the worthness of Gode, and ure treowthe for the freme of the Loande, thurg the besigte of than to foren iseide rædesmen beo stede-

fæst and ilestinde in alle thinge abutan ænde, and the heaten alle ure treowe in the treowthe thet heo us ogen, thæt heo stede-festliche healden and weren to healden and to fwerien the isetnesses thæt beon makede and beon to makien thurg than to foren iseide rædesmen, other thurg the moare dæl of heom alswa; alse hit is beforen iseid. And thæt æthcother helpe thæt for to done bitham ilche other agenes alle men [*paucula quedam hic descripte videntur, hæc scilicet aut similia*: in alle thinge thæt] ogt for to done and to soangen. And noan ne mine of Loande ne of egetewher thurg this besigte muge beon ilet other iwerfed on onicwise. And gif oni ether onic cumen her ongenes we willen and heaten, thæt alle ure treowe heom healden deadlichistan. And for thæt we willen thet this beo stedefæst and lestinde, we senden gew this Writ open iseined with ure Seel to halden amanges gew ine Hord. Witne/s us seluen æt Lundænthane egtetenth day on the Monthe of Octobr, in the two and fowertigthe geare of ure crunninge. And thir wes idon ætforen ure isworen redesmen, Bonifac. Archebischop on Kanterbur. Walter of Cantelop, Bischop of Wirechester, Sim. of Montfort Eorle of Leichestre, Rich. of Clare Eorl on Glochester and on Hartford; Roger Bigod Eorl of Northfolk and Marescal on Engleloand, Perres of Sauueye, Will. of Fort Eorl on Aubem, John de Plesse Eorl on Warwick, Joh. Geffereesune, Perres of Muntfort, Rich. of Grey, Rog. of Mortemer, Iames of Aldithel, and ætforen othre moge.

AND all on tho ilche worden is isend in to aurlichte othre Schire ouer

ouer al thare Kumeriche on Eng-  
leneloande and ek inter Irelande.

*Translation.*

**H**ENRY, by God's help, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, and of Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, Greeting to all his faithful Clerks and Laics of Huntingdonshire: This know ye all well, that we Will and Grant that which our Counsellors all or the most part of them that be chosen by us, and the People (or Commons) of our Land, have done, and shall do, for the Honour of God, and of their Allegiance to us, for the Benefit (or Amendment) of the Land, by the Advice or Consideration of our foresaid Counsellors, be stedfast and performed in every thing for ever. And we Command all our Liege People in the Fealty that they owe us, that they stedfastly hold, and swear to hold [or keep] and to defend [or maintain] the Statutes [or Provisions] which be made, and shall be made, by those foresaid Counsellors, or by the more part of them, also as it is before said; and that they each other assist the same to perform, according to that same Oath, against all Men, both for to do, and cause to be done: And none neither of my Land, neither from elsewhere, may for this be hindered, or damnified in any wise: and if any man or woman oppose them against, we Will and Command that all our Liege People them hold for deadly Enemies; and because we will, that this be stedfast and lasting, we send you this Writ open, signed with your Seal to be kept amongst you in Store; witness our self at London the 18th day of the Month October,

in the two and fortieth Year of our Coronation; and this was done before our sworn Counsellors, Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter of Cantelow Bishop of Worcester, Simon Montfort Earl of Leicester, Richard of Clare Earl of Gloucester and of Hartford, Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, Peter of Savoy, William of Fort Earl of Aubemarle, John of Plesseiz Earl of Warwick, John Gefferison, Peter of Montfort, Richard of Grey, Roger of Mortimer, James of Aldithly, and before others more.

AND all in these same Words is sent into every other Shire over the Kingdom of England, and also into Ireland.

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*Historical remarks on ancient architecture. From the Greville Orders of Architecture; by Stephen Rivz, Esq.*

**I**T must be an effectual check to the vanity of man, when he considers that by the decrees and dispositions of supreme wisdom, neither the corporeal nor the mental faculties are ever all united in one person; but that for the maintenance and good order of society, the gifts of nature, combined in a continually varied proportion, are with a marvellous economy divided and distributed amongst the several individuals of our species; so that, how extensive soever his capacity may be, how prompt his apprehension, how mighty his strength, with the most exalted ambition, man will nevertheless stand in need of man. From the powers of the human being thus limited it is, that when we survey

the progress of genius either in the practices of art or the speculations of science, we find they never received their perfection from the same man who gave them birth; new inventions, however valuable, have for the most part been produced in a rude and defective state, and have in process of time, little by little, received from the skill and industry of others, such additions and improvements as were necessary to give them all the perfection of which they are capable.

On the other hand, it has not unfrequently happened that the arts, instead of making any due advancement, even lose the advantages which only a long series of years, and the unremitting assiduity of true genius could obtain; for during an age of turbulence and distress no attention is bestowed on them, abuses creep unnoticed into the practice, and with the decline and ruin of empire, the arts themselves decay and perish: neither is this the only misfortune to which they are exposed, for such is the weakness of human nature, that in less calamitous times than those we have supposed, the imagination may be vitiated, all sound judgment perverted, and our pursuits led out of their proper track by the presumption of the ignorant, the plausible arguments of false reasoners, or that propensity with which the inconsiderate are determined to follow the ungovernable and unrestrained career of a fancy animated with the rage of novelty, though fertile only in trifles and absurdities.

Such vicissitudes have happened to the art of which we are about to treat, as will appear from

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a view of what will be briefly offered on this subject.

The origin of art is the same in all nations that have cultivated it; and it is without foundation that the honour thereof be ascribed to one particular country preferably to all others; in all places necessity has proved to be the mother of invention, and every people had in themselves the seeds of contrivance in their various wants. The inventions of art were only more or less ancient as the nations themselves were so, and as the adoration of the gods was introduced amongst them sooner or later: The Chaldeans and Egyptians, for example, had made much earlier than the Greeks, idols and other external forms of these imaginary beings, in order to worship them. It is the same of this as of other arts and inventions: the purple dye, not to speak of others, was known and practised in the east, long before the Greeks were acquainted with that secret. What is mentioned in Holy Writ, about carved or molten images, is likewise far more ancient than what we know of Greece. The carved images in wood of the first ages, and those of cast metal of later times, have different names in the Hebrew tongue.

They who, to judge of the origin of a custom or of an art, and of its passage from one people to another, adhere to the mere contemplation of any detached fragments which may offer certain appearances of likeness; and thus from some particular equivocal forms draw their conclusions about the generality of an art, are grossly deceived. In this manner Diony-

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sius

sius of Halicarnassus was in the wrong to pretend, that the art of wrestling among the Romans was derived from the Greeks, because the drapery or scarf, worn by the Roman wrestlers round their bodies, resembled that worn by the wrestlers of Greece. Art flourished in Egypt from the earliest account of time; the greatest obelisks now at Rome are due to the Egyptians, and are dated as far back as the time of Sesostris, who lived near CCCC years before the Trojan war; they were the works of that king, and the city of Thebes was adorned with the most magnificent buildings, while art was yet unborn in Greece.

The arts, though produced later in Greece than among the nations of the east, nevertheless arose from the most simple elements; this simplicity may suggest that the Grecians took nothing from others, but were truly original; they scarcely had the opportunity of becoming plagiarists of the Egyptians; for before the reign of Psammitichus, the entrance into Egypt was denied to every stranger, and the arts had then already been cultivated by the Grecians. The voyages of their philosophers and sages were chiefly undertaken to inspect into the literature, religion, and government of that famous kingdom. The conjectures of those who derive the arts from the east, seem better grounded, especially if they make them pass from Phœnicia into Greece, the people of both these territories having had very ancient connections together; the latter having received the knowledge and use of letters by Cadmus. Before the time of Cyrus, the Etruscans, powerful by

sea, were also allied for a considerable time with the Phœnicians; of this there needs no other proof than the fleet which they equipped in common against the Phocæans.

What Villalpandus has furnished concerning the temple of Solomon, that thence the Grecians borrowed their richest designs of the Corinthian order, though supported with great parade of learning, and many specious subtilties, only leads into a maze of uncertainties; in rearing of this stately building, heated by a luxuriant fancy, he rather acted the panegyrist than the historian. Let us follow the surer traces of fact and uncontroverted history, as we can discover them in the pages of a writer worthy of our attention, who after having judiciously explained the several particulars relating to the temple, thus concludes; "But though in points like this I have been upon, it be most lawful to err, yet these are more excusable, who keep a constant regard to the sacred original above all things, than those who manifestly depart from it to follow their own fancies, or the fabulous accounts of the Jews; now as I have drawn the greatest part of my light from the former, I am sensible that those who have been conversant with all the pompous descriptions we have extant, will be surprised to find this of mine come so vastly short of the boasted magnificence of this sacred building. But here I desire it may be remembered, that as this was designed to contain no more than could be met with, or fairly deduced from the sacred writings, so the reader will at least reap this benefit from it, that he will be better able to judge what is or is not authentic in



in other plans of this structure than he could have been without it. The following observations from others upon the subject are in the same strain. The vision of Ezekiel, c. xl. and seq. is taken for a description of a prophetic or mystical temple, that never existed but in the revelation that was made to him, and the representation he has set down in his prophecy. As for ancient authors, we have none to produce but Josephus, and other Jews rather of a later date than he. Now all that we learn from them, that has no foundation in holy writ, to us is no evidence at all. Much they knew or pretended to know from tradition, but that we presume is not to be depended upon. We know no monuments they had beside those we have ourselves: And the Hebrew tongue, properly so called; being a sort of dead language at the time these authors writ, it may well be doubted without sinning against modesty, whether they who had no other books to learn it by, than those now in use, could understand it better than those who study it at present.

The Grecians, during the prosperous times of their commonwealths, were a nation of all others at that time in the world the most ingenious and the most cultivated. They seem to have been endowed with the greatest propensity to the arts, and to have felt the strongest natural aversion to whatever favoured of inelegance and barbarism; their country was styled the mother and nurse of art and science. It is this nation which challengeth to itself the system of those three modes of architecture afterwards named the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian orders, thus deno-

minated from the places where they were either invented, or first received into use; during the practice of some ages, they acquired all the improvements the Grecian genius in its greatest vigour could bestow; the imitations of such examples, it may be presumed, will ever excell all other inventions.

When the Roman state had attained to the highest pitch of its glory, and the most cultivated as well as the most powerful nations were subdued, and were considered only as provinces of that mighty empire, the inhabitants of Italy distinguished themselves as well by their love and study of the fine arts as by their skill in arms; in both of which they must be allowed to stand next after the Grecians; it is then first to Athens, and afterwards to Rome, that the modern world owes the method of culture for every refinement; but at the same time, it is proper to observe, that the Romans, either through ignorance or pride, not content with the orders and dispositions of Athenian architecture, ventured at several licentious alterations; they tacked two spurious orders, the Tuscan and the Composite, the last called also Latin and Roman, to the three genuine ones, which alone are sufficient to answer all the purposes in building, and which can never fail of obtaining the preference whenever they are examined by an attentive and intelligent spectator. It is matter of great regret to the investigators of this art, that among the writers of antiquity we find little on which to fix our ideas, or form our taste. The writings of Vitruvius Pollio have been transmitted down to us; this classic author flourished about the

DCC year of Rome, in the reigns of Julius Cæsar, and of his successor Augustus; to the latter he dedicated his ten books of architecture, and to these, next to the vestiges of ancient edifices, posterity remains indebted for many successful attempts to restore architecture in its original simplicity and beauty: nor besides Vitruvius were wanting other ingenious men, who in their writings had probably given many illustrations and maxims of their art; several of their names have descended down to us, but their writings have perished; yet what sort of artists they were, if their books have not remained to inform us, their works in many noble edifices, still remaining, give faithful testimony to their merit, and chiefly in Greece and Italy, where this profession was better preserved, and maintained its reputation, that for the course of about two centuries from the days of Augustus, the manner and style of building remained unaltered, although the false taste for internal decorations was prevailing even in the time of Vitruvius. Tacitus informs us in general, that there were no persons of great genius after the battle of Actium, but in the decline of the Roman empire, such a decline and change seemed also to affect the intellects of individuals, whence learning and all the fine arts, which had flourished to admiration and for so long a period, fell into disrepute, and were absorbed by the barbarisms which overwhelmed the land. Architecture soon saw itself miserably transformed, every good mode thereof was overthrown and spoiled, every true practice corrupted; its antique graces and majesty lost, and a manner alto-

gether confused and irregular introduced, wherein none of its former features were discernible.

*The Goths prevailed!*

At last came the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the christian æra, so glorious for the restoration of literature and of arts; then it was that many happy minds, shaking off the rust of ignorance, and freeing themselves from the chains of indolency which had fettered the preceding generations, recalled again into life all the fine arts and all the finest faculties and rules, so that it seemed as if the taste of old Greece and Rome was revived in its true splendor and dignity: however, to keep within due limits, it sufficeth to say, that architecture in Italy very soon appeared with the expected advantages; and the writings, as well as the works of the several great masters of that time, remain the undeniable proofs of their abilities.

————Having already mentioned the Goths, it may not appear altogether improper to say something of their architecture. The name of Gothic was given to all such buildings as were not designed according to the rules of Grecian or Roman architecture. There are two sorts of Gothic, the ancient and the modern, (but improperly so called;) in England and the northern parts of Europe, the ancient Gothic includes the Saxon and Danish, in which indeed we may observe some traces of elegance and strength. It appears that their artists were not entirely ignorant of proportions, though they did not confine themselves strictly to such as were beautiful; solely attentive to render their works solid and durable, they

were

were more studious to produce the marvellous by the enormous size of their fabrics, than by any regularity of structure, or propriety of ornaments. These are the marks that characterize the Goths, a rough unpolished people, of huge stature and of dreadful looks, that issuing out from the northern parts of our hemisphere, where necessity taught them to guard against the violence of storms and the fury of torrents, increased by the inundations of melted snow, carried into milder climates their monstrous taste of heavy architecture, and only in a small degree corrected their encumbered notions by the sight of Roman edifices; but the models they had to contemplate were not without their faults, for from the reign of Alexander Severus, architecture had greatly degenerated. Thus a want of natural genius, a want of models, and every thing contributed to hinder the Goths from acquiring any good mode of building. This is the summary of the ancient or heavy Gothic architecture; some of the cathedrals and other public edifices, not only in this country, but in many others of the continent, still remain as models of this sort. Modern Gothic, as it is called, is deduced from a different quarter; it is distinguished by the lightness of its works, by the excessive boldness of its elevations and of its sections, by the delicacy, profusion, and extravagant fancy of its ornaments: the pillars of this kind are as slender as those of the ancient Gothic are massive. Such productions, so airy, cannot admit the heavy Goths for their authors; how can be attributed to them a style of architecture which was only introduced

in the X century of our æra, several years after the destruction of all those kingdoms which the Goths had raised upon the ruins of the Roman empire, and at a time when the very name of Goth was entirely forgotten? From all the marks of this new architecture, it can only be attributed to the Moors, or what is the same thing, to the Arabians or Saracens, who have expressed in their architecture the same taste as in their poetry, both the one and the other falsely delicate, crowded with superfluous ornaments, and often very unnatural. The imagination is highly worked up in both, but it is an extravagant imagination; and this has rendered the edifices of the Arabians (we may include the other orientals) as extraordinary as their thoughts; if any one doubts of this assertion, let us appeal to those who have seen the Mosques, and the palaces of Fez, or some of the cathedrals in Spain, built by the Moors; one model of this sort is the church at Burgos; and even in this island, there are not wanting several examples of the same. Such buildings have been vulgarly called modern Gothic, but their true appellation is Arabesque, Saracenic, or Moreque.

This manner was introduced into Europe through Spain. Learning flourished among the Arabians all the time that their dominion was in full power; they studied philosophy, mathematics, physics, and poetry: the love of learning was at once excited in all places that were not at too great a distance from Spain; these authors were read, and such of the Greek authors as they had translated into Arabic were from thence turned

into Latin. The physics and philosophy of the Arabians spread themselves in Europe, and with these their architecture; many churches were built after the Saracenic mode, and others, with a mixture of heavy and light proportions; the alteration that the difference of climate might require, was little if at all considered. In the most southern parts of Europe, and in Africa, the windows (before the use of glass) made with narrow apertures, and placed very high in the walls of the buildings, occasioned a shade and darkness within-side, and were well contrived to guard against the fiercest rays of the sun, yet were ill suited to those latitudes where that glorious luminary sheds its feebler influences, and is rarely seen but through a watery cloud. The heavy Gothic by Sir C. Wren, is distinguished as Anglo-Saxonic, the lighter as Saracenic; of this last the following account may be added to what has just now been delivered on the same subject. The holy war gave the Christians, who had been there, an idea of the Saracens works, which were afterwards imitated by them in the west; and they refined upon it every day, as they proceeded in building churches. The Italians (among which were yet some Greek refugees) and with them the French, Germans, and Flemings, joined into a fraternity, procuring papal bulls for their encouragement and particular privileges. They styled themselves *Free-Masons*, and ranged from nation to nation, as they found churches to be built, (for very many in those days were every where in building) through the piety of multitudes. Their government was regular, and where they fixed

near the building they made a camp of hills. A surveyor governed in chief, and every tenth man was called a warden, and overlooked each nine. The gentlemen of the neighbourhood, either out of charity or commutation of penance, gave the materials and carriage, and hence were called *accepted Masons*. It is admirable with what economy and how soon they erected such considerable structures. But as all modes, when once the old rational ways are despised, turn at last into unbounded fancies, the tracery of these architects who affected towers and steeples, though the Saracens affected cupolas, introduced too much mincing of the stone into open battlements, spindling pinnacles, and little carvings without proportion of distance, so that the essential rules of good perspective and duration were forgot.

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*An account of the cruel sacrifices of the Canaanites, Phenicians, and other nations. From Observations and Inquiries relating to various parts of ancient History; by Jacob Bryant.*

ONE would think it scarce possible, that so unnatural a custom, as that of human sacrifices, should have existed in the world: but it is very certain, that it did not only exist, but almost universally prevail. I have before taken notice, that the Egyptians of old brought no victims to their temples, nor shed any blood at their altars: But human victims and the blood of men must be here excepted; which at one period they most certainly offered to their gods. The Cretans had the same custom; and adhered to it a much longer time. The nations of Arabia did

did the same. The people of Dumah in particular sacrificed every year a child ; and buried it underneath an altar, which they made use of instead of an idol : For they did not admit of images. The Persians buried people alive. Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, entombed twelve persons quick under ground for the good of her soul. It would be endless to enumerate every city, or every province, where these sad practices obtained. The Cyprians, the Rhodians, the Phœceans, the Ionians, those of Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos, all had human sacrifices. The natives of the Tauric Chersonesus offered up to Diana every stranger whom chance threw upon their coast. Hence arose that just expostulation in Euripides, upon the inconsistency of the proceeding ; wherein much good reasoning is implied. Iphigenia wonders, as the goddess delighted in the blood of men, that every villain and murderer should be privileged to escape ; nay, be driven from the threshold of the temple : Whereas, if an honest and virtuous man chanced to stray thither, he only was seized upon, and put to death. The Pelasgi in a time of scarcity vowed the tenth of all that should be born to them, for a sacrifice in order to procure plenty. Aristomenes the Messenian slew three hundred noble Lacedæmonians, among whom was Theopompus the king of Sparta, at the altar of Jupiter at Ithome. Without doubt the Lacedæmonians did not fail to make ample returns : For they were a severe and revengeful people, and offered the like victims to Mars. Their festival of the Diamastigosis is well known ; when the Spartan boys

were whipped in the sight of their parents with such severity before the altar of Diana Orthia, that they often expired under the torture. Phylarchus affirms, as he is quoted by Porphyry, that of old every Grecian state made it a rule, before they marched towards an enemy, to solicit a blessing on their undertakings by human victims.

The Romans were accustomed to the like sacrifices. They both devoted themselves to the infernal gods, and constrained others to submit to the same horrid doom. Hence we read in Titus Livius, that in the consulate of Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varrô, two Gauls, a man and a woman, and two in like manner of Greece, were buried alive at Rome in the Ox-Market : where was a place underground, walled round to receive them ; which had before been made use of for such cruel purposes. He says, it was a sacrifice not properly Roman ; that is, not originally of Roman institution : Yet it was frequently practised there, and that too by public authority. Plutarch makes mention of a like instance a few years before, in the consulship of Flaminius and Furius. There is reason to think, that all the principal captives, who graced the triumphs of the Romans, were at the close of that cruel pageantry put to death at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Caius Marius offered up his own daughter for a victim to the Dii Averrunci, to procure success in a battle against the Cimbri ; as we are informed by Dorotheus, quoted by Clemens. It is likewise attested by Plutarch, who says that her name was Calpurnia. Marius was a man of a

fer and bloody disposition; and had probably heard of such sacrifices being offered in the enemies camp, among whom they were very common: or he might have beheld them exhibited at a distance; and therefore murdered what was nearest, and should have been dearest, to him; to counteract their fearful spells, and outdo them in their wicked machinery. Cicero making mention of this custom being common in Gaul, adds, that it prevailed among that people, even at the time when he was speaking: From whence we may be led to infer, that it was then discontinued among the Romans. And we are told by Pliny, that it had then, and not very long, been discouraged. For there was a law enacted, when Lentulus and Crassus were consuls, so late as the 657th year of Rome, that there should be no more human sacrifices: for till that time those horrid rites had been celebrated in broad day without any mask, or controul: which, had we not the best evidence for the fact, would appear scarce credible. And however discontinued they may have been for a time, we find, that they were again renewed; though they became not so public, nor so general. For not very long after this, it is reported of Augustus Cæsar, when Perusia surrendered in the time of the second Triumvirate, that besides multitudes executed in a military manner, he offered up upon the Ides of March three hundred chosen persons, both of the Equestrian and Senatorian order, at an altar dedicated to the manes of his uncle Julius. Even at Rome itself this custom was revived: And Porphyry assures us, that in his time a man

was every year sacrificed at the shrine of Jupiter Latiaris. Helio-gabalus offered the like victims to the Syrian deity, which he introduced among the Romans. The same is said of Aurelian.

The Gauls and the Germans were so devoted to this shocking custom, that no business of any moment was transacted among them, without being prefaced with the blood of men. They were offered up to various gods; but particularly to Hesus, Taranis, and Thautates. These deities are mentioned by Lucan, where he enumerates the various nations who followed the fortunes of Cæsar.

*Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine  
airo*

*Thautates; berrenique feris altari-  
bus Hesus;*

*Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior  
ura Dianæ.*

The altars of these gods were far removed from the common resort of men: being generally situated in the depth of woods; that the gloom might add to the horror of the operation, and give a reverence to the place and proceeding. The persons devoted were led thither by the Druids, who presided at the solemnity, and performed the cruel offices of the sacrifice. Tacitus takes notice of the cruelty of the Hermunduri, in a war with the Catti, wherein they had greatly the advantage: At the close of which they made one general sacrifice of all that was taken in battle. *Victor diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacraverat: quo voto, equi, viri, cuncta viæa occidioni dantur.* The poor remains of the legions under





lots, and it fell to king Domalder to be the people's victim: and he was accordingly put to death. Olau Tretelger, another prince, was burnt alive to Woden. They did not spare their own children. Harald the son of Gunild, the first of that name, slew two of his children to obtain a storm of wind. "He did not let," says Verstegan, "to sacrifice two of his sons unto his idols, to the end he might obtain of them such a tempest at sea, as should break and disperse the shipping of Harald king of Denmark." Saxo Grammaticus mentions a like fact. He calls the king Haquin; and speaks of the persons put to death, as two very hopeful young princes: *Dux præstantissima indolis filius, hostiarum more, aris admotus, potiunda victoria causâ, nefaria litatione massavit.* Another king slew nine sons, in order to prolong his own life; in hopes, I suppose, that, what they were abridged of, would in great measure be added to himself. Such instances however occur not often: but the common victims were without end. Adam Bremensis, speaking of the awful grove at Upsal, where these horrid rites were celebrated, says, that there was not a single tree, but what was revered, as if it were gifted with some portion of divinity: And all this, because they were stained with gore, and foul with human putrefaction. *Lucus tam sacer est gentilibus, ut singula arbores ejus ex morte vel tabe immolatorum divinæ videantur.* The same is observed by Scheiffer in his account of this place. *Deorum sacer ille lucus erat: in arboribus singuli: Dix ipsi habitare credebantur: ergo ad earum ramos corpora illa, veluti*

*manera quædam Dei gratissima, suspendebant.*

The manner, in which the victims were slaughtered, was diverse in different places. Some of the Gaulish nations chined them with a stroke of an ax. The Celts placed the man, who was to be offered for a sacrifice, upon a block, or an altar, with his breast upwards; and with a sword struck him forcibly across the *sternum*: then tumbling him to the ground, from his agonies and convulsions, as well as from the effusion of blood, they formed a judgment of future events. The Cimbri ripped open the bowels; and from them they pretended to divine. In Norway they beat mens brains out with an ox-yoke. The same operation was performed in Iceland, by dashing them against an altar of stone. In many places they transfixed them with arrows. After they were dead, they suspended them upon the trees, and left them to putrefy. One of the writers, above quoted, mentions, that in his time, seventy carcases of this sort were found in a wood of the Suevi. Dithmar of Mersburgh, an author of nearly the same age, speaks of a place called Ledur in Zeeland, where there were every year ninety and nine persons sacrificed to the god Swantowite. During these bloody festivals a general joy prevailed; and banquets were most royally served. They fed; they caroused; and gave a loose to indulgence, which at other times was not permitted. *Dum sacrificia hæc peragebantur, variis adhibiti sunt ritus, et litationis modi: convivium celebratum magnificum: pars sanguinis postibus illita: pars adstantibus propinata:* They imagined, that there was something

mysterious in the number nine : for which reason these feasts were in some places celebrated every ninth year ; in others every ninth month ; and continued for nine days. When all was ended, they washed the image of the deity in a pool ; on account, I suppose, of its being stained with blood ; and then dismissed the assembly. Their servants were numerous, who attended during the term of their feasting, and partook of the banquet. At the close of all, they were smothered in the same pool, or otherwise made away with. On which Tacitus remarks, how great an awe this circumstance must necessarily infuse into those who were not admitted to these mysteries : *Arcanus hinc terror, sacra ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri videbant.*

These accounts are handed down from a variety of authors in different ages : many of whom were natives of the countries, which they describe ; and to which they seem strongly attached. They would not therefore have brought so foul an imputation on the part of the world, in favour of which they were each writing ; nor could there be that concurrence of testimony, were not the history in general true.

The like custom prevailed to a great degree at Mexico, and even under the mild government of the Peruvians ; and in most parts of America. In Africa it is still kept up ; where, in the inland parts they sacrifice some of the captives taken in war to their Fetiches, in order to secure their favour. Snelgrave was in the king of Dahome's camp, after his inroad into the countries of Ardra and Whidaw ;

and says, that he was a witness to the cruelty of this prince, whom he saw sacrifice multitudes to the deity of his nation.

The sacrifices, of which I have been treating, if we except some few instances, consisted of persons doomed by the chance of war, or assigned by lot to be offered. But among the nations of Canaan, of whom I first spoke, the victims were peculiarly chosen. Their own children, and whatever was nearest and dearest to them, were deemed the most worthy offering to their god. The Carthaginians, who were a colony from Tyre, carried with them the religion of their mother country, and instituted the same worship in the parts where they settled. It consisted in the adoration of several deities, but particularly of Kronus ; to whom they offered human sacrifices ; and especially the blood of children. If the parents were not at hand to make an immediate offer, the magistrates did not fail to make choice of what was most fair and promising ; that the god might not be defrauded of his dues. Upon a check being received in Sicily, and some other alarming circumstances happening, Himilcar without any hesitation laid hold of a boy, and offered him on the spot to Kronus ; and at the same time drowned a number of priests, to appease the deity of the sea. The Carthaginians another time, upon a great defeat of their army by Agathocles, imputed their miscarriages to the anger of this god, whose services had been neglected. Touched with this, and seeing the enemy at their gates, they seized at once two hundred children of the prime nobility, and

and offered them in public for a sacrifice. Three hundred more, being persons who were some how obnoxious, yielded themselves voluntarily, and were put to death with the others. The neglect, of which they accused themselves, consisted in sacrificing children, purchased of parents among the poorer sort, who reared them for that purpose; and not selecting the most promising, and the most honourable, as had been the custom of old. In short, there were particular children brought up for the altar, as sheep are fattened for the shambles; and they were bought, and butchered in the same manner. But this indiscriminate way of proceeding was thought to have given offence. It is remarkable, that the Egyptians looked out for the most specious and handsome person to be sacrificed. The Albanians pitched upon the best man of the community, and made him pay for the wickedness of the rest. The Carthaginians chose what they thought the most excellent, and at the same time the most dear to them; which made the lot fall heavy upon their children. This is taken notice of by Silius Italicus in his fourth book:

*Mors erat in populis, quos candidit  
arsena Dædæ,*

*Pœnem tunc Dædæ texiit, et præ-  
cipit utis,*

*Infamem tunc partes imponere  
causæ.*

Kronus, to whom these sacrifices were exhibited, was an oriental deity, the god of light and fire; and therefore always worshipped with some reference to that element. The Carthaginians, as I

have observed, first introduced him into Africa. He was the same as the Orus of the Egyptians, and the Alorus of the eastern nations. That the name given him originally by the Greeks was Koronus, is manifest from a place in Crete, which was sacred to him, and is mentioned by the name Coronis. It is said, that both the chief city, and the adjacent country, were thus denominated; and that these sacrifices were there offered, which we know were peculiar to Kronus. *Εν δὲ τῇ νῦν Σαλαμνί, προτέρῳ Κορωνίδι ονομαζομένη, μὴν κατὰ Κυπρίους Ἀφροδίτην, εἴθετο ἀνδρῶντες Ἀγχαυλῶν, τῇ Κερκετός καὶ ἱμερῆς Ἀγχαυλίδος.* If this place, which was consecrated to him (as is apparent by these offerings), was called Koronis; it is plain, that his name must have been rendered by the Greeks Koronus: and both are a transposition for Kon-Orus, or Chon-Orus, "the lord Orus," or ὉΡΟΣ. He was universally adored in Cyprus; but particularly in this part, which Porphyry supposes to have been Salamis. This is evident from Diodorus Siculus, who mentions a city Ouranie here. He makes it indeed distinct from Salamis; but places it hard by, between that city and Carpasia; where the river Chour (the Our of the Phenicians, and the Courium, Κούριον, of the Greeks) runs at this day. The Greeks thought Kronus was the same as Χρόνος: but it was an oriental name; and the etymology was to be looked for among people of those parts.

*Εὐλας ἔτ' Εὐφύπτεα, Λέβας καὶ Λαλαμῶν  
Ἀμύμων*

*Ἀπὸ τῆς Νιλαῆς, ἄστυ Κρόνος,  
Ἀστυκῆς Ζεφ*

The

The Greeks, we find, called the deity, to whom these offerings were made, Agraulos; and feigned that she was a woman, and the daughter of Cecrops. But how came Cecrops to have any connection with Cyprus? Agraulos is a corruption, and transposition of the original name, which should have been rendered *Uk El Aur*, or *Uk El Aurns*; but has, like many other oriental titles and names, been strangely sophisticated; and is here changed to Agraulos. It was in reality the god of light; the Orus and Alorus, of whom I have said so much, who was always worshipped with fire. This deity was the Moloch of the Tyrians and Canaanites, and the Melech of the east; that is, the great and principal god, the god of light, of whom fire was esteemed a symbol; and at whose shrine, instead of viler victims, they offered the blood of men.

Such was the Kronus of the Greeks, and the Moloch of the Phenicians: and nothing can appear more shocking, than the sacrifices of the Tyrians, and Carthaginians, which they performed to this idol. In all emergencies of state, and times of general calamity, they devoted what was most necessary and valuable to them, for an offering to the gods, and particularly to Moloch. But besides these undetermined times of bloodshed, they had particular and prescribed seasons every year, when children were chosen out of the most noble and reputable families, as I have before mentioned. If a person had an only child, it was the more liable to be put to death, as being esteemed more acceptable to the deity, and more

efficacious of the general good. Those, who were sacrificed to Kronus, were thrown into the arms of a molten idol, which stood in the midst of a large fire, and was red with heat. The arms of it were stretched out, with the hands turned upwards, as it were to receive them; yet sloping downwards, so that they dropt from thence into a glowing furnace below. To other gods they were otherwise slaughtered; and, as it is implied, by the very hands of their parents. What can be more horrid to the imagination, than to suppose a father leading the dearest of all his sons to such an infernal shrine? or a mother, the most engaging and affectionate of her daughters, just rising to maturity, to be slaughtered at the altar of Ahteroth or Baal? Justin describes this unnatural custom very pathetically. *Quippe homines, ut victimas immolabant; et impuberes (quæ ætas hostium misericordiam provocat) aris admovebant: pacem sanguine eorum exposcentes, pro quorum vitâ Dii rogari maxime solent.* Such was their blind zeal, that this was continually practised; and so much of natural affection still left unextinguished, as to render the scene ten times more shocking, from the tenderness which they seemed to express. They embraced their children with great fondness; and encouraged them in the gentlest terms, that they might not be appaled at the sight of the hellish process: begging of them to submit with cheerfulness to this fearful operation. If there was any appearance of a tear rising, or a cry unawares escaping; the mother smothered it with her kisses: that there might not be any show of back-

backwardness, or constraint; but the whole be a free-will offering. *Blanditiis, et osculo comprimente vagitum, ne flebilis hostia immoletur.*

These cruel endearments over, they stabbed them to the heart, or otherwise opened the sluices of life; and with the blood warm, as it ran, besmeared the altar, and the grim visage of the idol. These were the customs, which the Israelites learned of the people of Canaan; and for which they are upbraided by the Psalmist. "They did not destroy the nations, concerning whom the Lord commanded them: but were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works. Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils, and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan: and the land was polluted with blood. Thus were they defiled with their own works, and went a whoring with their own inventions."

These cruel rites, practised in so many nations, made Plutarch debate with himself, "whether it would not have been better for the Galatæ, or for the Scythians, to have had no tradition or conception of any superior beings, than to have formed to themselves notions of gods, who delighted in the blood of men; of gods, who esteemed human victims the most acceptable and perfect sacrifice? Would it not," says he, "have been more eligible for the Carthaginians to have had the atheist Critias, or Diagoras, their law-giver at the commencement of their polity, and to have been taught, that there was neither

god, nor dæmon, than to have sacrificed, in the manner they were wont, to the god which they adored? Wherein they acted, not as the person did, whom Empedocles describes in some poetry, where he exposes this unnatural custom. The sire there with many idle vows offers up unwittingly his son for a sacrifice; but the youth was so changed in feature and figure, that his father did not know him. These people used, knowingly and wilfully, to go through this bloody work, and slaughter their own offspring. Even they, who were childless, would not be exempted from this cursed tribute; but purchased children at a price of the poorer sort, and put them to death with as little remorse as one would kill a lamb, or a chicken. The mother, who sacrificed her child, stood by without any seeming sense of what she was losing, and without uttering a groan. If a sigh did by chance escape, she lost all the honour which she proposed to herself in the offering; and the child was notwithstanding slain. All the time of this celebrity, while the children were murdering, there was a noise of clarions and tabors sounding before the idol; that the cries and shrieks of the victims might not be heard. Tell me now," says Plutarch, "if the monsters of old, the Typhons, and the giants were to expel the gods, and to rule the world in their stead; could they require a service more horrid, than these infernal rites and sacrifices?"



*Of the Chaldeans, and their original. From the same.*

I Have shewn, that the distinction made by Africanus, Eusebius, and others, between Chaldean and Arabian kings, is void of all foundation: and, were the list, that they produce, genuine, it would determine the point against them. All that can be esteemed true in the series they produce, is the names of those who are foremost in the list. And, however mistaken they may have been in those that follow; yet, setting them aside, we may learn, in respect to the Chaldeans, what was the opinion of these writers, and what tradition had taught them; that Ham, Chus, and Nimrod were the heads of this nation. And as the Chaldeans were the most antient inhabitants of the country called by their name; there are no other principals, to whom we may refer their original. They seem to have been the most early constituted, and settled, of any people upon earth: And from their situation it appears, and from every other circumstance, that Chus was the head of their family, and Nimrod their first king. They seem to have been the only people, that did not migrate at the general dispersion: and the center of their province was at Ur, not far from the conflux of the Tigris and Euphrates. From hence they extended themselves under the names of Cuscans and Arabians, as far as Egypt west, and eastward to the Ganges; occupying to the south all the Asiatic sea-coast, and the whole of the large continent of Arabia: And from thence they passed the

Erythrean gulf, and penetrated into Ethiopia. They were continually incroaching upon those that were nearest to them; and even trespassed upon their own brotherhood. In process of time they got full possession of Egypt, and the whole coast of Africa upon the Mediterranean even to the Atlantic ocean, as far as Fez and Taffilet: and are to be found within the tropics almost as low as the Gold coast. Upon the Gambia is the king of Barsally, of Arabian extraction, as are all the Phooley nations; who retain their original language, and are of the religion of Mahomet. One of these, Job Ben Solomon by name, was not many years since in England. He had been unjustly seized on by a prince, his neighbour, and carried to America, where he was sold for a slave: but writing an affecting account of his misfortune in his native tongue, it raised the curiosity, as well as pity, of some persons of consequence in these parts; who redeemed him, and sent for him over; and having shewn him singular marks of favour, at his request dispatched him to his own country.

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*Memoirs of Richard Plantagenet, (a natural son of king Richard III.) who died 22 Dec. 1550. (4 Edw. VI.) In a letter from Dr. Thomas Brett, to Dr. William Warren, president of Trinity-hall.*

Dear Will,

\*\*\* **N**OW for the story of Richard Plantagenet. In the year 1720, (I have forgot the particular day, only remember it

it was about Michaelmas) I waited on the late lord Heneage, earl of Winchelsea, at Eastwell-house, and found him sitting with the register of the parish of Eastwell lying open before him. He told me, that he had been looking there to see who of his own family was mentioned in it. But, says he, I have a curiosity here to show you. And then shewed me, and I immediately transcribed it into my almanack, "Richard Plantagenet was buried the 22d daye of December, anno ut supra. Ex Registro de Eastwell, sub anno, 1550." This is all the register mentions of him; so that we cannot say, whether he was buried in the church or church-yard; nor is there now any other memorial of him, except the tradition in the family, and some little marks where his house stood. The story my lord told me was this:

When Sir Thomas Moyle built that house, (Eastwell-place) he observed his chief bricklayer, whenever he left off work, retired with a book. Sir Thomas had curiosity to know what book the man read; but was some time before he could discover it; he still putting the book up if any one came toward him. However, at last, Sir Thomas surpris'd him, and snatched the book from him; and looking into it, found it to be Latin. Hereupon, he examined him, and finding he pretty well understood that language, he enquired, how he came by his learning? Hereupon, the man told him, as he had been a good master to him, he would venture to trust him with a secret he had never before revealed to any one. He then informed him, That he was boarded with a Latin school-

master, without knowing who his parents were, till he was fifteen or sixteen years old; only a gentleman (who took occasion to acquaint him he was no relation to him) came once a quarter, and paid for his board, and took care to see that he wanted nothing. And, one day, this gentleman took him, and carried him to a fine great house, where he passed through several stately rooms, in one of which he left him, bidding him stay there.

Then a man, finely dress'd, with a star and garter, came to him; asked him some questions, talked kindly to him, and gave him some money. Then the fore-mentioned gentleman returned, and conducted him back to his school.

Some time after, the same gentleman came to him again, with a horse and proper accoutrements, and told him, he must take a journey with him into the country. They went into Leicestershire, and came to Bosworth field; and he was carried to king Richard III's tent. The king embraced him, and told him he was his son. "But child," says he, "to-morrow I must fight for my crown. And, assure yourself, if I lose that, I will lose my life too: but I hope to preserve both. Do you stand in such a place, (directing him to a particular place) where you may see the battle, out of danger. And when I have gained the victory, come to me; I will then own you to be mine, and take care of you. But, if I should be so unfortunate as to lose the battle, then shift as well as you can, and take care to let nobody know that I am your father; for no mercy will be shew'd to any one so nearly related to me."

me." Then the king gave him a purse of gold, and dismissed him.

He followed the king's directions. And, when he saw the battle was lost, and the king killed, he hasted to London, sold his horse and fine cloaths; and the better to conceal himself from all suspicion of being son to a king, and that he might have means to live by his honest labour, he put himself apprentice to a bricklayer. But, having a competent skill in the Latin tongue, he was unwilling to lose it; and having an inclination also to reading, and no delight in the conversation of those he was obliged to work with, he generally spent all the time he had to spare in reading by himself.

Sir Thomas said, "You are now old, and almost past your labour; I will give you the running of my kitchen as long as you live." He answered, "Sir, you have a numerous family; I have been used to live retired; give me leave to build a house of one room for myself, in such a field, and there, with your good leave, I will live and die." Sir Thomas granted his request; he built his house, and there continued to his death.

I suppose (tho' my lord did not mention it) that he went to eat in the family, and then retired to his hut. My lord said, that there was no park at that time; but when the park was made, that house was taken into it, and continued standing till his (my lord's) father pulled it down. "But," said my lord, "I would as soon have pulled down this house;" meaning Eastwell-place.

I have been computing the age of this Richard Plantagenet when

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he died, and find it to be about 81. For Richard III. was killed August 23, 1485, (which subtracted from 1550, there remains 65) to which add 16, (for the age of Richard Plantagenet at that time) and it makes 81. But, though he lived to that age, he could scarce enjoy his retirement in his little house above two or three years, or a little more. For I find by Philpot, that Sir Thomas Moyle did not purchase the estate of Eastwell, till about the year 1543, or 4. We may therefore reasonably suppose, that, upon his building a new house on his purchase, he could not come to live in it till 1546, but that his workmen were continued to build the walls about his gardens, and other conveniences off from the house. And till he came to live in the house, he could not well have an opportunity of observing how Richard Plantagenet retired with his book. So that it was probably towards the latter end of the year 1546, when Richard and Sir Thomas had the fore-mentioned dialogue together. Consequently, Richard could not build his house, and have it dry enough for him to live in, till the year 1547. So that he must be 77 or 78 years of age before he had his writ of ease. \* \* \* I am,

Dear Brother Wil!,

Your humble servant,

THO. EASTT,

Spring-Grove,  
Sept. 1, 1733.

M

*The testimony of Clement Maydestone, that the body of king Henry IV. was thrown into the Thames, and not buried at Canterbury. Translated from a Latin manuscript in the library of Benet college, Cambridge, M.XIV.XCVIII.*

**T**HIRTY days after the death of Henry IV, one of his domestics came to the house of the Holy Trinity, in Hounslow, and dined there. And as the bystanders were talking at dinner-time of that king's irreproachable morals, this man said to a certain esquire, named Thomas Maydestone, then sitting at table, "Whether he was a good man or not, God knows; but of this I am certain, that when his corpse was carried from Westminster towards Canterbury, in a small vessel, in order to be buried there, I and two more, threw his corpse into the sea, between Berkengum and Gravesend. And (he added with an oath) we were overtaken by such a storm of winds and waves, that many of the nobility, who followed us in eight ships, were dispersed, so as with difficulty to escape being lost. But we, who were with the body, despairing of our lives, with one consent threw it into the sea; and a great calm ensued. The coffin in which it lay, covered with cloth of gold, we carried with great solemnity to Canterbury, and buried it. The monks of Canterbury therefore say, that the tomb [not the body] of Henry IV. is with us. As Peter said of holy David, Acts xi."

As God Almighty is my witness and judge, I saw this man, and heard him swear to my father,

Thomas Maydestone, that all the above was true.

CLEMENT MAYDESTONE.

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*Of musical sounds; and of the origin of the names of the days of the week. From the connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins. By William Clarke, M. A.*

**I**T was discovered by observation and experience, that there was in nature only seven different notes, or sounds, or, as the poet calls them, "septem discrimina vocum;" that every octave was a repetition of the same note, only higher or lower. This truth, mysterious as it truly is, could not be suffered to pass (such is the vanity of human nature) without some explication; and therefore was soon resolved into another mystery, viz. that these seven musical notes were the expressions of the same tones, which the seven planets made in the different spheres or revolutions. Pythagoras introduced this new principle into the old Greek philosophy. Macrobius thinks he was the author of it; but Quintilian does not scruple to affirm, that it was taken from the tradition of more antient times. However this was, it was a prevailing opinion among the old philosophers, especially the Pythagoreans. Among them, a man would have been thought to have had no music in his soul, who had disputed this fundamental principle. Macrobius speaks of it, as rising almost to demonstration. "Ex his inexpugnabili ratione collectum est, musicos sonos de sphaerarum coelestium conversione procedere."

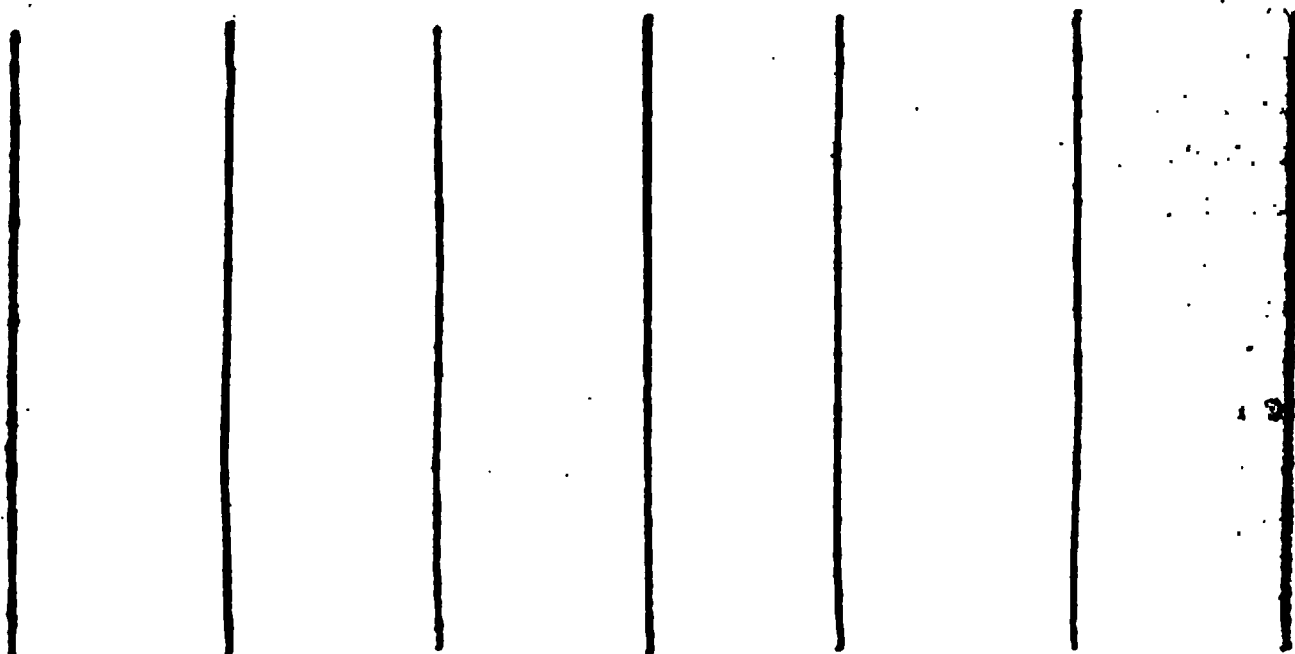
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The ancient planetary system was an unsettled thing: It differed often, as the dark conjectures of their philosophers furnished a variety of opinions without fixing upon one. But it appears from great authorities, that one of the most popular and prevailing opinions was that which was afterwards called the Ptolemaic. The earth was in the centre, and then the rest of the planets in this order; first the Moon, then Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. As there were seven planets, the lyre had for this reason seven strings: It was formed upon this plan to express the harmony of the heavens. Varro calls the planetary system "mobilem divum lyram:" And Quintilian takes it for granted, that the world was the great original from which the lyre was taken. "mundum ipsum ejus ratione compositum esse, quam postea fit lyra imitata." One of the ancient musicians says, that Mer-

cury, the inventor of the old seven-stringed lyre, fitted it up and tuned it in imitation of those spheres, which the planets moved in.

Let us now come to Dion Cassius: What he says upon the subject amounts to this: That calling the days of the week by the names of the seven planets was a custom taken from the Egyptians; and, though not of very ancient date, was then become familiar among the Romans, and received among all nations: That this distribution of the days was owing to the music of the ancients. One of their most celebrated tunes was the Diatessaron; and striking the strings of the lyre, as that tune directed, would assign the days of the week to each planet, just in that order, in which they are now ranged. There is no explaining this well, without giving a scheme of it. The planets in the order of the old Ptolemaic system stood thus:

Saturn. Jupiter. Mars. Sol. Venus. Mercury. Luna.



Saturday. Thursday. Tuesday. Sunday. Friday. Wednesday. Monday.

The planets distributed by the Diatessaron thus:

7 5 3 1 6 4 2  
or, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday.  
just as we place the days of the week.

In playing this tune upon the lyre, Dion indeed says, that you struck the outermost string, or Saturn first; then every fourth string inclusive in their order. But it appears by the old musicians, that there were several ways of beginning this tune, and that you might set off from different strings. In reckoning the days of the week, they plainly began with the fourth: and it is allowed by the judges of music that striking the first string last would make the composition more harmonious.

Dion's observation about the antiquity of this custom seems to be as well grounded. He says, that the ancient Greeks knew nothing of it. It is certain, that the universal reception of it among the Greeks and Romans could not be long before his time. Ovid would scarce have lost an opportunity of embellishing his *Fasti* with the story of some of these hebdomadary deities, if this had been the

usual practice in that age. Reckoning the month, and consequently the year, by weeks was very ancient. Philo and Josephus assure us, that this distribution of time was universally received among all nations.

The practice of assigning each day of the week to a particular deity was, as Herodotus informs us, an invention of the Egyptians: From thence it came by slow advances into Italy and Rome. Most of the Egyptian customs had been long held in great contempt by the Romans; but after Vespasian had assumed the purple, and established himself in the empire, they began to be more fashionable at court. This invention, whenever it was received there, came from thence to our ancestors the Saxons; and is one instance, among many others, of their great disposition to imitate the Roman customs.



## E S S A Y S.

*Thoughts on the Causes and Consequences of the present high Price of Provisions.*

Privatus illis census erat brevis  
Commune magnum.

**T**HE high price of provisions, and all the necessities of life, is an evil so inconvenient to all conditions of men, and so intolerable to some, that it is not surprising that all should suffer it with much discontent, and many be drove by it into despair, or into riots, rapine, and all kinds of disorders. The latter, indeed, we cannot but expect, if we consider, that the enemies of all government and subordination, so numerous in this country, will not fail to avail themselves of this favourable opportunity, to spread universal dissatisfaction, and inflame the minds of the people to seek redress by such infamous and dangerous methods. This they endeavour, too successfully, to effect, by daily representing in the public papers, that this calamity arises from the artifices of monopolizers, regraters, forestallers, and engrossers, encouraged, or at least connived at, by ministers desirous of oppressing the people, and parliaments unattentive to their complaints. It is hard to say, whether the ignorance of these

writers, or their malevolence, is superior; or, whether the absurdity of their principles, or the mischief of them, is the greatest. But one may venture to affirm, that our people, notwithstanding the present scarcity, are still better fed than taught. This undoubtedly makes it necessary, at this time, that the true causes of this evil should be explained to them; which, if it lessens not their wants, may in some measure abate their ill-founded indignation.

To this end I shall endeavour to shew, as concisely as possible, that the present high price of provisions arises principally from two sources; the increase of our national debts, and the increase of our riches; that is, from the poverty of the public, and the wealth of private individuals. From what causes these have been increased, and what have been the effects of that increase, shall be the subject of the few following pages.

It will surely be unnecessary to inquire into the causes of the late immense increase of our national debt; whoever remembers the many millions annually borrowed, funded, and expended, during the last war, can be under no difficulty to account for its increase. To pay interest for these new funds, new taxes were every year im-

posed, and additional burthens laid on every comfort, and almost every necessary of life, by former taxes, occasioned by former wars, before sufficiently loaded. These must unavoidably increase the prices of them, and that in a much greater proportion than is usually understood: for a duty laid on any commodity does not only add the value of that duty to the price of that commodity, but the dealer in it must advance the price double or treble times that sum; for he must not only repay himself the original tax, but must have compensation for his losses in trade by bad debts, and loss of interest by his increased capital. Besides this, every new tax does not only affect the price of the commodity on which it is laid, but that of all others, whether taxed or not, and with which, at first sight, it seems to have no manner of connection. Thus, for instance, a tax on candles must raise the price of a coat, or a pair of breeches; because, out of these, all the taxes on the candles of the wool-comber, weaver, and the tailor, must be paid: A duty upon ale must raise the price of shoes; because from them all the taxes upon ale drank by the tanner, leather-dresser, and shoemaker, which is not a little, must be refunded. No tax is immediately laid upon corn, but the price of it must necessarily be advanced; because, out of that, all the innumerable taxes paid by the farmer on windows, soap, candles, malt, hops, leather, salt, and a thousand others, must be repaid: so that corn is as effectually taxed, as if a duty by the bushel had been primarily laid upon it; for taxes,

like the various streams which form a general inundation, by whatever channels they separately find admission, unite at last, and overwhelm the whole. The man, therefore, who sold sand upon an ass, and raised the price of it during the late war, though abused for an imposition, most certainly acted upon right reasons; for, though there were no new taxes then imposed either on sand or asses, yet he found by experience, that, from the taxes laid on almost all other things, he could neither maintain himself, his wife, or his ass, as cheap as formerly; he was therefore under a necessity of advancing the price of his sand, out of which alone all the taxes which he paid must be refunded. Thus I think, it is evident beyond all doubt, that the increase of taxes must increase the price of every thing; whether taxed or not; and that this is one principal cause of the present extraordinary advance of provisions, and all the necessities of life.

The other great source, from whence this calamity arises, is certainly our vast increase of riches; the causes and consequences of which, I will now briefly consider. That our riches are in fact amazingly increased within a few years, no one, who is in the least acquainted with this country, can entertain a doubt: whoever will cast his eyes on our public works, our roads, our bridges, our pavements, and our hospitals, the prodigious extension of our capital, and in some proportion that of every considerable town in Great Britain; whoever will look into the possessions and expences of individuals, their houses, furniture,

tables, equipages, parks, gardens, cloaths, plate, and jewels, will find every where round him sufficient marks to testify to the truth of this proposition. This great increase of private opulence is undoubtedly owing to the very same cause which increased our national debt; that is, to the enormous expences and unparalleled success of the late war; and indeed very much arises from that very debt itself. Every million funded is in fact a new creation of so much wealth to individuals, both of principal and interest; for the principal being easily transferable, operates exactly as so much cash; and the interest, by enabling so many to consume the commodities on which taxes are laid for the payment of it, in a great measure produces annually an income to discharge itself. Of all the enormous sums then expended, little besides the subsidies granted to German princes, was lost to the individuals of this country, though the whole was irrecoverably alienated from the public; all the rest annually returning into the pockets of the merchants, contractors, brokers, and stock-jobbers, enabled them to lend it again to the public on a new mortgage the following year. Every emission of paper-credit by bank-notes, exchequer and navy bills, so long as they circulate, answers all the purposes of so much additional gold and silver, as their value amounts to: If we add to these the immense riches daily flowing in since that period from our commerce, extended over every quarter of the globe, from the new channels of trade opened with America, and the amazing

sums imported from the East Indies, it will not sure be difficult to account for the opulence of the present times, which has enabled men to increase their expences, and carry luxury to a pitch unknown to all former ages.

The effects of this vast and sudden increase of riches are no less evident than their cause: the first, and most obvious effect of the increase of money, is the decrease of its value, like that of all other commodities; for money being but a commodity, its value must be relative, that is, dependant on the quantity of itself, and the quantity of the things to be purchased with it. In every country where there is great plenty of provisions, and but little money, these provisions must be cheap, that is, a great deal of them will be exchanged for a little money; on the contrary, where there are but little provisions in proportion to the number of consumers, and a great plenty of money, or what passes for money, there they will inevitably be dear; that is, a great deal of money must be given to purchase them. These effects must eternally follow their causes in all ages and in all countries; and that they have done so, the history of all countries in all ages sufficiently informs us. The value of money at the time of the Norman conquest was near twenty times greater than at present; and it has been gradually decreasing from that period, in proportion as our riches have increased: it has decreased not less than one third during the present century; and I believe one half at least of that third since the commencement of the last war, which I doubt not, could it be

exactly

exactly computed, would be found to be in due proportion to the increase of its quantity, either in real or fictitious cash; and that the price of provisions is advanced in the same proportion, during the same period.

The increase of money does not only operate on the price of provisions by the diminution of its own value, but by enabling more people to purchase, and consequently to consume them; which must unavoidably likewise increase their scarcity, and that must still add more to their price. Twenty rich families will consume ten times as much meat, bread, butter, soap, and candles, as twenty poor families consisting of the same number; and the prices of all these must certainly rise in proportion to the demand. This effect of the increase of wealth in many countries of Europe, is very visible at this day, and in none more than in the northern parts of this island, who having of late acquired riches by the introduction of trade, manufactures, and tillage, can now well afford to eat roast beef, and therefore consume much of those cattle, with which they were formerly glad to supply us; and will not part with the rest, but at prices greatly advanced. The consumption of every thing is also amazingly increased from the increase of wealth in our metropolis, and indeed in every corner of this kingdom; and the manner of living, throughout all ranks and conditions of men, is no less amazingly altered: the merchant who formerly thought himself fortunate, if in a course of thirty or forty years, by a large trade and strict economy, he amassed toge-

ther as many thousand pounds, now acquires in a quarter of that time double that sum; or breaks for a greater, and vies all the while with the first of our nobility, in his houses, table, furniture, and equipage: the shopkeeper, who used to be well contented with one dish of meat, one fire, and one maid, has now two or three times as many of each; his wife has her tea, her card-parties, and her dressing-room; and his apprentice has climbed from the kitchen-fire to the front-boxes at the play-house. The lowest manufacturer and meanest mechanic will touch nothing but the very best pieces of meat, and the finest white bread; and, if he cannot obtain double the wages for being idle, to what he formerly received for working hard, he thinks he has a right to seek for a redress of his grievances, by riot and rebellion. Since then the value of our money is decreased by its quantity, our consumption increased by universal luxury, and the supplies, which we used to receive from poorer countries, now also grown rich, greatly diminished, the present exorbitant price of all the necessities of life can be no wonder.

From what has been here offered, I think this may be readily accounted for, without having recourse to forestallers, regraters, engrossers, monopolizers, higglers, badgers, bounties, post-chaifes, turnpike-roads, enlarging of farms, and the extension of the metropolis, with all that ridiculous catalogue of causes, which have been assigned by essay-writers to this evil, and frequently adopted by the absurdity of their readers. How far all or any of these have

have accidentally, collaterally, or locally contributed to augment the price of provisions, I cannot determine, nor do I think it of much importance to inquire; because I am satisfied, whatever may have been their effects, they could have had none at all, had they not been assisted by the first and great cause, the increase of riches; for no artifices of traders can make their commodities dear in a poor country; that is, sell things for a great deal of money, where there is little to be found. It seems therefore to no purpose, to search out for causes of the present high price of provisions, from facts, whose operations are uncertain, and reasons at best but speculative, when it is sufficiently accounted for from these two great principles, the increase of taxes, and the increase of riches, principles as absolutely indisputable, and as demonstrable as any mathematical problem.

I shall now make some cursory observations and short conclusions on the principles here advanced, which, allowing these to be true, can admit of no doubt. First then, although the price of provisions is at present very high, they cannot with propriety be said to be dear. Nothing is properly dear, except some commodity, which either from real or fictitious scarcity, bears a higher price than other things in the same country at the same time. In the reign of Henry II. the value of money was about fifteen times greater than in the present age; a fowl then was sold for a penny, which cannot now be bought under fifteen pence; but fowls are not for that reason dearer now, than they were at that time; be-

cause one penny was then earned with as much labour, and what earned would fetch as much of every thing at market, as fifteen will in these days: was the value of money now as great, and the price of other things as small, as in these times, and provisions bore the same price as at present, they would then be dear indeed, and the pamphleteers would have good reason to impute their dearness to the frauds of engrossers and monopolizers; but as the price of every thing, besides, of houses, furniture, cloaths, horses, coaches, fees, perquisites, and votes, are all equally advanced, nay, as every pamphlet, which used to be sold for one shilling, has now inscribed on its title-page, price eighteen pence, their own works are a confutation of their arguments; for nonsense is a commodity in which there are too many dealers ever to suffer it to be monopolized or engrossed. It is certainly therefore improper to say, that provisions are dear, but we should rather affirm, what is the real fact, that money is cheap, and if the complainants would use this expression instead of the other, and at the same time consider, that this arises from the success of our arms, and the extension of our trade, I am persuaded, that if they were not less distressed, they would certainly be less dissatisfied, and would, perhaps, by degrees, comprehend, that, in a country engaged in expensive wars and successful commerce, there must be heavy taxes and great riches; and that where there are taxes and riches, there the prices of provisions, and all other things, must be high, in spite of all the efforts of ministers or parliaments, who

ought by no means to be blamed, for not effecting impossibilities, and counteracting the nature of things.

Secondly, this cheapness of money in its consequences affects different conditions of men in a very different manner: to some it operates exactly in the same manner as real dearth and scarcity, at the same time that to others it gives considerable advantages. All those who subsist on settled stipends must inevitably be ruined by it: merchants, and traders of all kinds, are greatly benefited; but the labourer and the land-owner are most grievously oppressed. Those who subsist on settled stipends must be ruined; because, if their incomes cannot be advanced in proportion to the decrease of the value of money, and the consequent increase of the prices of every thing, the same nominal sum which would afford affluence in one age, will not prevent starving in another; of which we have numerous examples in our schools, colleges, almshouses, and other charitable foundations. Merchants and traders are constantly gainers by it; because they can always raise the prices of whatever they deal in, faster than the value of money decreases: but the labourer, having nothing to subsist on but his daily work, must ever be behind-hand in advancing the price of his labour; because he is not able to wait till it acquires its due proportion of value, and therefore by it he must suffer extremely. The land-owner likewise cannot raise his rents in any proportion to the fall of the value of money; because the charges of cultivation, the family-expences of the occupiers, and the

maintenance of an increasing poor, all burthens inseparable from his land, must all rise in proportion to that fall; and these must perpetually retard his progress. The price of labour and of land must by degrees advance, as money decreases in value; but, as these are the last that will feel its effects, the labourer must, in the mean time, be miserably pinched, and the land-owner dreadfully impoverished by it. This is not speculation, but a fact which is too well verified by experience at this time, through every part of this kingdom, where the labourer, with his utmost industry, cannot now procure a belly-full for himself and his family; and, notwithstanding all the late improvements in agriculture, the very same estates in land which formerly maintained a large family in splendor and hospitality, can now scarce repair and pay window-tax for a spacious mansion-house, and supply the owner of it with the necessaries of life. When I hear a merchant, contractor, or broker, calling out for war, arguing for new loans and new taxes, I wonder not, because I know that they are enriched by them, and I know also that they have sagacity enough to know it too: but when I hear a landed gentleman talk the same language, when I see him eager for war, which must involve him in new distresses, encouraging loans, whose interest he must pay, pleading for taxes, which must lie an eternal mortgage upon his estate, exulting in acquisitions of territories and commerce, which must daily increase his expences, and diminish his income, and triumphing in victories which must undo him, I own I am surprised, but



but at the same time rejoice to find, that, in this enlightened age, there is ignorance still left amongst us, sufficient to produce so disinterested a patriot.

Lastly, from the foregoing premises one consequence evidently appears, which seems to have escaped the sagacity of our wisest politicians, which is, that a nation may, nay must inevitably be ruined, who every year increases her debts, notwithstanding her acquisitions by conquest or commerce bring in double or treble the sums which she is obliged to borrow; and this by a chain of causes and consequences, which the efforts of no human power or wisdom are able to disunite. New debts require new taxes; and new taxes must increase the price of provisions: new acquisitions of wealth, by decreasing the value of money, still aggravate this evil, and render them still dearer; this dearth of provisions must augment the price of labour; this must advance the price of all manufactures; and this must destroy trade; the destruction of trade must starve the poor, expel the manufactures, and introduce universal bankruptcy, riot, and confusion. Artificers of all kinds will, by degrees, migrate into cheaper countries: the number of clergy, whose education must grow more expensive, and incomes less valuable, will be insufficient for parochial duty: the pay of navies and armies must be augmented, or they will no longer defend a country which cannot maintain them; but rather themselves become her internal and most dangerous enemies.

From what has been here said, I

think it plainly appears, that the present exorbitant price of provisions, and all the necessities of life, chiefly arises from the increase of our taxes, and of our riches; that is, from public poverty and private opulence, the fatal disease which has put a period to all the greatest and most flourishing empires of the world: their destructive effects have been sufficiently known in all ages; but the remedy successfully to be applied to them, is yet a secret. No acquisition of foreign wealth can be effectual for this purpose: was our whole national debt to be at once paid off, by the introduction of all the treasures of the East, it would but accelerate our destruction; for such a vast and sudden influx of riches would so increase our expenses, and decrease the value of money, that we should at once be overwhelmed with luxury and want. The most concise method of cure would be to take superabundant wealth from individuals, and with it discharge the debts of the public; but here justice, liberty, and law, would obstruct our progress with insurmountable difficulties. Whoever therefore would attempt this salutary, but arduous undertaking, must not begin by extirpating engrossers and regraters, nor by destroying rats and sparrows, these great forestallers of the public markets; but by gradually paying off that debt, not only by economy, but by the most avaritious parsimony, and as far as possible, by narrowing those channels, through which riches have flowed in such torrents into the pockets of private men: He must be deaf to all mercantile application for opening new

inlets of commerce at the public expence : he must boldly resist all propositions for settling new colonies upon parliamentary estimates; and most carefully avoid entering into new wars : in short, he must obstinately refuse to add one hundred thousand pounds to the national debt, though by that means millions could be introduced thro' the hands of individuals. How far these measures are practicable, or consistent with the honour, dignity, or even advantage of this country in other respects, I cannot determine ; but this I will venture to affirm, that by no others this calamity, so loudly and so justly at this time complained of, can ever be redressed.

By what has been here thrown out, I would by no means be understood to mean to discourage the legislature from inquiring into abuses, of which I doubt not but there are many, and applying to them the most efficacious and speedy remedies ; much less to disapprove the salutary measures they have already taken to redress this evil, the wisest, and perhaps the only ones which are practicable for that end. I propose only to lessen the unreasonable expectations many have formed of their success, and the indignation consequent from their disappointment ; and to stem a little those torrents of absurdities, with which one is overwhelmed in all companies, both male and female. Every politician at a coffee-house has a nostrum for this disease, which he pronounces infallible ; and abuses administration for not immediately adopting it. Projectors every day hold forth schemes unintelligible

and impracticable ; for not executing which, government is arraigned ; the ignorant support them, the factious make use of them, and oppositions, knowing what it is to be hungry, pathetically bewail the miseries of the poor. The dowager at the quadrille-table inveighs loudly against the cruelty of parliament, for disregarding the voice of the people, and suffering provisions to continue at so exorbitant a price ; calls a king ; and if she happens to be beasted, grows more outrageous against the ministry ; while the silent old general, her unfortunate partner, in three sentences recommends military execution on all butchers, bakers, poulterers, and fishmongers, as the most equitable and most effectual remedy. Were these impertinences productive of no mischief, they would be only ridiculous, and unworthy of a serious confutation ; but as

*Hæ nuge seris dicuntur  
In mala ;*

as they tend to deceive, to disappoint, and to exasperate the minds of the vulgar, and to leave those of their betters discontented, and dissatisfied with government ; whatever shall explain the true and fundamental causes of this calamity to the people, and give some check to the nonsense, which is every where wrote, talked, and propagated on this subject, is an attempt which may render great and important service both to the social and the political world.

*An essay upon theatrical imitation; extracted from the dialogues of Plato, by J. J. Rousseau. (Translated from a vol. of Rousseau's works newly published.)*

**T**H E more I reflect upon the establishment of our imaginary republic, the more strongly it appears to me, that we have prescribed for it laws that are useful and appropriated to the nature of man. I find, in particular, that it was necessary to give, as we have done, some bounds to the licences of poets, and to forbid their using any part of their art that relates to imitation. We will now, if you please, resume this subject; and in the belief that you will not inform against me to those dangerous enemies, I will acknowledge, that I look upon all dramatic writers, as the corrupters of the people. For whoever letting themselves be amused by their images, are incapable of receiving them in their real point of light, or of giving these fables such correction as they require. Whatever respect I entertain for Homer, their model and first master, I do not think I owe more to him than I do to truth; and in order to begin by securing it to me, I shall endeavour to trace what is imitation.

To imitate a thing, an idea must be formed. This idea is abstract, absolute, sole, and independent of the number of copies of this thing which may exist in nature. This idea is always antecedent to its execution: so the architect who builds a palace, hath the idea of a palace before he sets about building it. He does not construct the model he follows, and this model was previously in his mind.

Confined by his art to this single subject, this artist is only capable of making this, or other palaces similar: but there are some that are much more universal, who produce all that can be executed by any workman whatever in the world; all that is produced by nature, all that can be rendered visible in heaven, upon earth, in hell, even the gods themselves. You comprehend that these marvellous artists are painters, and indeed, the most ignorant of men can do the same with a looking-glass. You will tell me that the painter does not make these things but only their images: the workman does no more who really fabricates them, as he copies a model that exists before him.

I there see three palaces very distinct. First, the original model, or idea, that existed in the mind of the architect, in nature, or at least in it's author, with all the possible ideas of which it is the spring. Secondly, the palace of the architect, which is the image of this model; and at length the palace of the painter, which is the image of that of the architect. Thus God, the architect, and the painter are the authors of these three palaces. The first palace is the original idea, existing by itself; the second is the image of this; the third is the image of the image, or what we properly call imitation. Hence it follows, that imitation, does not, as it is imagined, hold the second rank, but the third in the order of beings; and that no image being exact and perfect, imitation is always at a still more distant degree from truth, than it is believed.

The architect may construct several palaces upon the same model; the

the painter draw several pictures from the same palace : but as to the type, or original model, it is singular, for if there were two which resembled each other, they would be no longer original; they would have an original model common to both, and that alone would be the real type. All what I have said here of painting is applicable to theatrical imitation; but before we descend to this, let us examine a little closer the imitations of the painter.

He does not only confine his imitations in his pictures to the images of things, that is, the sensible productions of nature, and the works of art; but he does not even

endeavour to give an exact and true representation of the object, but the appearance. He paints it as it seems to be, and not as it really is; he paints it in one single point of view; and this point of view being the choice of his own will, he renders, according as he pleases, the same object agreeable, or deformed, to the eyes of the spectator. Wherefore it does not depend upon them to judge of the thing imitated, in itself; but they are compelled to judge of it upon certain appearances, and as it pleases the imitator; they often judge by mere habit, and there are arbiters even in imitation\*.

\* Experience evinces that the finest harmony does not flatter an ear that is not prepossessed in its favour; that nothing but custom renders concord agreeable, and makes us distinguish it from the most dissonant intervals. As to the simplicity of the connection, upon which it has been endeavoured to lay the basis of the pleasure of harmony, I have set forth in the *Encyclopædie*, under the word *Conformance*, that this principle is not to be maintained, and I think it is easy to prove all our harmony is a barbarous, gothic invention, which has, only by the extent of time, become an imitative art. A studious magistrate, who at his leisure hours, instead of going to hear music, amuses himself to fathom its systems; has discovered that the similitude of a fifth is only as two to three by approximation, and that this similitude is strictly incommensurable. No one at least can deny its being so upon our harpsichords, by virtue of the modifications which does not prevent these fifths, thus modified, to appear agreeable to us. Now, in such a case, where is the simplicity of the connection which should render them fifths? We are not yet certain whether our system of music is not founded upon mere conventions; neither do we know, whether or not, the principles are entirely arbitrary; or whether another system substituted in its place, would not by custom equally please us. This question is discussed in another place. By a pretty natural analogy, these reflections might excite others upon the subject of painting, as the style of a picture, the agreement of colours, certain parts of the design, which are more arbitrary than is generally believed, and where imitation itself must submit to the rules of convention. Why dare not painters attempt some new imitations, which have nothing against them but their novelty, and which, on the other hand, seem to spring from the art? for example, it is only a play for them to make a plain surface appear in relief; how comes it then that none amongst them have endeavoured to give the appearance of a plain surface to a relief? If they make a flat ceiling appear vaulted, why do not they make a vaulted one appear flat? shades, they will say, change appearances, at various points of view, which is not the case with plain surfaces. Let us remove this difficulty, and desire a painter to paint and colour a statue in such a manner as to appear flat, even, and of the same colour, without any design, in only one light, and a single point of view. These observations would not, perhaps, be unworthy the consideration of the enlightened virtuoso, who has reasoned so well upon the art.

The art of representing objects is very different from that of making them known. The first pleases without instructing; the latter instructs without pleasing. The artist who draws a plan and takes exact dimensions, does nothing that is very agreeable to the sight; wherefore his work is sought for only by artists; but he who traces a perspective, flatters the multitude and the ignorant, because he teaches them nothing, and offers them only the appearance of what they knew before. Add to this, that mensuration supplying us with successive dimensions, gradually teaches us the truth of things; whereas appearance presents us with all at once, and with the opinion of a greater extent of understanding, the senses are flattered by the seduction of self-love.

The representations of the painter, destitute of all reality, do not produce this appearance, but by the assistance of some trifling shades, and some slight resemblance, which he imposes for the thing itself. If there were any mixture of truth in his imitations, he should be acquainted with the object that he imitates; he should be a naturalist, a workman, a physician, before he were a painter. But, on the contrary, the extent of his art is founded only in his ignorance, and the only reason he paints, is, because he has no occasion for any knowledge. When he offers us a meditating philosopher, an astronomer studying the planets, a geometrician drawing sections; a turner at work; does he thereby know how to work, to calculate, to meditate, to observe the planets? not in the least; he only

knows how to paint. Incapable of giving a reason for any of the things that are in his picture, he doubly imposes upon us by his imitations, as well in offering us a vague and fictitious appearance, the fault of which, neither he nor we can distinguish, as by using false measures to produce this appearance; that is to say, by changing all the real dimensions according to the laws of perspective; so that if the senses of the spectator are not deceived, but view the picture as it really is, he will be imposed upon, as to the appearance of things represented, or else will find them all fictitious. The illusion will nevertheless be such, that fools and children will be imposed upon, and fancy they see objects which the painter himself is unacquainted with, and workmen whose art he knows nothing of.

Let us from this example suspect those people who are so universal, who are proficient in every art, adepts in every science, who know every thing, reason upon every thing, and seem to unite in themselves alone the talents of all mankind. If any one should tell us he is acquainted with such a wonderful man, assure him, without hesitation, that he is the dupe to the impositions of a quack, and that all the knowledge of this great philosopher, hath no other foundation than the ignorance of his admirers, who cannot distinguish error from truth, nor imitation from the thing imitated.

This leads us to an examination of tragic writers; and Homer, their chief. For several ages, that a tragic poet should know every thing; that he should have fathomed

ed the depths of virtue and vice, policy and morality, laws both divine and human, and that he should have a knowledge of every thing that he introduced, or else he will never produce any thing that is good. Let us then enquire whether those who raise poetry to this point of sublimity, are not themselves imposed upon by the imitative poets\*; whether their admiration for these immortal works do not prevent their seeing how distant they are from truth, and being sensible that they are colours without consistency, mere phantoms and shadows, and that to delineate such images, nothing is less necessary than the knowledge of truth; or if there be indeed any real utility in all this, or if the poets in effect know that multiplicity of things, of which the vulgar fancy they speak so well.

Tell me, my friends, if any one had this choice, to possess his mistress's picture or the original, which do you think he would prefer? if an artist could equally produce the thing imitated, or its likeness, would he chuse the latter, in objects of any price; and would he content himself with the picture of a house, when he could actually construct himself a real one? if then the tragic poet was really acquainted with those things he pretends to paint, if he had the qualities he describes, if he knew himself how to do what he makes the dramatic personæ perform, would he not exercise their talents? would he not practise their virtues? would he not sooner erect monu-

ments to his own glory than theirs? and would he not rather chuse to perform himself worthy actions, than to confine himself to the praise of others? certainly his merit in this case would be quite different; there is no reason to be assigned why having the power to do the most, he should do the least. But what must we think of him who would teach us, what he could not himself learn? and who would laugh to see a group of idiots go to admire all the springs of policy, and the human heart brought into play by a rattle twenty years of age, to whom the most sensible of the audience would not trust with the least part of their business?

Let us lay aside what relates to talents and arts. When Homer talks so well of the knowledge of Machaon, do not call him to account for his own about the same matters. Let us not desire to know the patients he has cured, the pupils he has trained to physic, his masterpieces of engraving and chasing, the workmen he has formed, or the monuments of his industry. Let us suffer him to teach us all this, without knowing whether he is himself instructed in it. But when he entertains us with wars, government, laws, sciences, which require the greatest length of study, and which are the most immediately connected with the happiness of man, dare we interrupt him a moment thus to interrogate him? oh divine Homer! we admire your lessons; and shall not hesitate to follow them, as soon as

\* It was the common opinion of the ancients, that all the tragic writers were only the copyists, and the imitators of Homer. Some one said of the tragedies of Euripides: these are the fragments of Homer's report, which are carried home by a guest.



we see how you yourself practised them; if you be really what you take so much pains to appear; if your imitations do not hold the third rank, but the second after truth, let us see in yourself the model which you depict in your works; shew us the captain, the legislator, the sage, whose portraits you so boldly display to us. Greece and all the world celebrate the good actions of great men who possessed those sublime arts, whose precepts cost you so little. Lycurgus gave laws to Sparta, Charondis to Sicily and Italy, Minos to Crete, Solon to us. Is the object the duties of life, the wise government of the house, the conduct of a citizen in every station. Thales of Miletta, and the Scythian Anacharsis furnished at once precepts and examples. Are these same duties to be taught to others, and philosophers and sages to be instituted who practise what they have been taught? this was the task of Zoroaster to the Magii, Pythagoras to his disciples, Lycurgus to his fellow-citizens. But you, Homer, if it be true, that you have excelled in so many parts; if it be true that you can instruct men and render them better; if it be true that you unite knowledge with imitation, and learning to words; let us see those works that evince your abilities, the states that you have instituted, the virtues which do you honour, the battles you have gained, the riches that you have acquired. How comes it that you have not secured crowds of friends, that you have

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not been beloved and honoured by all the world? how could it happen that you attracted none but the single Cleophilus? and even here you only nourished ingratitude. What! a Protagoras of Abdera, a Prodicus of Chio, without issuing from a private simple life, to convene their cotemporaries around them, to persuade them to learn from them alone the art of governing their country, their families, and themselves; and yet such wonderful men as a Hesiod, and a Homer, who knew every thing, who could teach every thing to men of their time, to be so neglected by them as to wander and beg throughout the universe, chanting their verses from city to city like vile ballad-singers! In those barbarous ages, when the pressure of ignorance began to be felt, when the want and avidity of knowledge concurred to render every man a little more enlightened than others, useful and respectable; if these had been as learned as they appeared to be, if they had possessed all the qualities which they so pompously blazoned, they would have passed for prodigies; they would have been sought for by every one; all would have eagerly pushed forward to have seen them, to possess, to keep them and display their hospitality towards them; and those who could not have fixed their residence with them, would rather have followed them all over the earth, than to have lost so scarce an opportunity to be instructed, and become such heroes as those they admired\*.

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\* Plato does not say that a man who is studious of his interest and versed in lucrative matters, cannot, by the sale of poetry or other means, obtain a great fortune.

Let us then agree that all poets, to begin by Homer, do not represent us in their pictures the model of virtuous talents, and the qualities of the soul, nor the other objects of the understanding and senses which they have not in themselves, but the images of all these objects drawn from foreign objects, and that they do not approach nearer to truth in this, when they offer us the features of a hero or a captain, than a painter who, depicting a geometrician or a workman, who does not consider the art, which he is entirely unacquainted with, but only the colours and figure. Thus are names and words illusive to those, who, sensible of rhyme and harmony, let themselves be charmed by the enchanting art of poetry, and yielding to seduction by the attraction of pleasure, insomuch that they take the images of objects that are unknown, both by them and their authors, for the objects themselves, and fearful of being disabused of an error which flatters them, either by imposing upon their ignorance, or by those agreeable sensations with which this error is accompanied.

In effect, divest the most brilliant of these pictures of the charms of verse and the foreign ornaments which embellish them; strip them of the colouring of poetry and style, and leave nothing but the design, and with difficulty you will remember it, or if it can be recollected, it will no longer please, resembling those children rather

pretty than handsome, who embellished with nothing but the flower of youth, lose with it all their graces, without having lost any of their features.

Not only the imitator or author of representation is unacquainted with any thing but the appearance of the thing imitated; but a real knowledge of this thing does not belong even to him who made it. I see in this picture those horses which drew Hector's car; these horses have harnesses, bits and reins; the silversmith, the blacksmith, the saddler produced these different things, the painter has represented them; but, neither the workman who is acquainted with them, nor the painter who delineates them, knows what they should be; it is the equestrian or char leader who determines their form by their use; it is he alone that can judge whether they are good or bad, and is able to correct their faults. Thus, in every possible instrument, there are three practical objects to be considered, namely the use, the construction, and the imitation. These two latter arts evidently depend upon the first, and there is nothing imitable in nature, to which the same distinctions are not applicable.

If the utility, goodness, and beauty of an instrument, an animal, or an action, relate to the use that may be derived from it; if it belong only to him who sets it in motion to give its model, and to judge if this model be faithfully executed; the imitator is so far

from fortune. But there is a great difference between enriching oneself and becoming illustrious by the trade of a poet, and the enriching oneself and being illustrious by the talents which the poet pretends to teach. It is true, that we might instance to Plato the example of Tirtus; but he acquitted himself with distinction, and was rather considered as an orator than a poet.

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from being capable of pronouncing upon the qualities of the things that he imitates, that this decision does not even belong to him who made them. The imitator follows the workman whose work he copies, the workman follows the artist who knew how to apply the object which he alone can appreciate as well as its imitation. This confirms, that the pictures of poets and painters hold only the third rank after the first model, or truth.

But the poet who has no other judges than an ignorant people whom he endeavours to please, how will he not disfigure the objects he represents to flatter them? He will imitate that which appears fine to the multitude, without being solicitous whether it is so in reality. If he despises valour, will he have an Achilles for his judge? If he paints artifice, will he have an Ulysses to reprehend him? Quite the contrary: Achilles and Ulysses will be his personages: Thersites and Dolon his spectators.

To this you will object, that the philosopher is himself equally ignorant of many of those arts upon which he speaks, and that he frequently extends his ideas as far as the poet doth his images. I agree: but the philosopher doth not pretend to be acquainted with truth, he is only in search of it: he examines, he discusses, he extends our views, he even instructs us whilst he deceives himself; he proposes his doubts as doubts, his conjectures as conjectures, and affirms nothing but what he knows. The philosopher who reasons, submits his reasons to our judgment; the poet, or imitator,

arrogates to himself the province of a judge. In offering us his images, he affirms that they are conformable to truth; he is, therefore obliged to be acquainted with it, if his art have any reality; in depicting every thing, he lays claim to a knowledge of every thing. The poet is the painter who displays the image; the philosopher is the architect who draws the plan: the one dare not even approach the object to delineate it, the other measures it before he chalks it out.

But, that we may not be deceived by analogical errors, let us endeavour more distinctly to discover with what part, what faculty of our soul poetical imitations have any affinity; and let us previously consider whence arises the illusion of those of the painter. The same bodies seen at various distances do not appear of the same size, nor their figures equally sensible, nor their colours glowing with the same vivacity. When seen in water they change their appearance: that which was straight appears to be broken; the object seems to flow as with the wave; all the conformity of parts is altered when seen through a spherical or hollow glass; with the assistance of light and shade, a plain surface is either rendered convex or concave at the will of the painter; his pencil penetrates as deep as the chisel of the sculptor; and in those reliefs which he knows how to delineate upon canvass, the touch, deceived by the sight, leaves us doubtful by which we are to determine. All these errors are, doubtless, in the precipitate judgments of the mind. It is the weakness of the

human understanding, ever urged to judge without knowledge, that lays us open to all those magical deceptions, whereby optics and mechanics abuse our senses. We conclude solely by appearance, from what we know, upon what we do not know; and our erroneous conclusions are the source of infinite illusions.

What means are there to obviate these errors? disquisition and analysis, suspension of judgment, the art of mensuration, weighing, calculating, are the aids furnished to man to verify the reports of the senses, that he may not judge of what is great or little, spherical or cubical, rare or compact, distant or near, by what appears so to be, but by what numbers, measure, and weight, ascertain to be such. Comparison, judgment, the affinity discovered by these various operations, incontestably belong to the reasoning faculty, and this judgment is often contradictory, with what the appearance of things would induce us to conclude. We have already seen that the same faculty of the soul cannot adduce contrary conclusions from the same things, considered in the same light. Hence it follows that it is not the most noble of our faculties, namely reason, but a different and inferior faculty, which judges according to appearance, and yields to the charm of imitation. This is what I meant before to express, by saying that painting, and in general the imitative arts, exerted their influence very distant from truth, and by uniting with a part of our soul, destitute of prudence and reason, and incapable of itself, of having any knowledge of realities

and truth. Thus the art of imitation, vile in its nature, and from the faculty of the soul upon which it actuates, must necessarily likewise be so by its productions; at least with regard to the material sense, which makes us judge of a painter's pictures. Let us now consider the same art directly applied by the imitations of the poet to the internal sense, that is, understanding.

The scene represents men acting voluntarily or by force, esteeming their actions good or bad, according to the advantage or evil they expect to derive from them, and who are variously affected through them, with pain or pleasure. Now, for the reasons which have been already assigned, it is impossible that the man thus represented should ever be consistent with himself; and as the appearance and reality of sensible objects excite in him contrary opinions, in the same manner he estimates variously the objects of his actions, as they are distant or near, conformable or opposite to his passions; and his judgment, equally mutable as them, incessantly renders his desires, his reason, his will, and all the powers of his soul, in a state of contradiction.

The scene then represents to us all men, and even those who are given to us as models, otherwise affected than they ought to be, to support themselves in a state of moderation that is agreeable to them. Let a wise and courageous man lose his son, his friend, his mistress, in a word, the object the dearest to his heart; we shall not see him give way to excessive and extravagant grief; and if hu-  
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man frailty will not allow him to surmount entirely his affliction, he will at least assuage it by perseverance; a just shame will make him conceal part of his affliction; and being compelled to appear in the world, he would blush to do and say in the presence of mankind many things which he says and does alone. Unable to be in himself what he desires, he endeavours at least to appear to others what he ought to be. The causes of his trouble and agitation are grief and passion; what curb and contain him, are reason and law; and in these opposite emotions, his will ever declares for the latter.

In effect, reason requires us to support adversity patiently; that its weight should not be aggravated by useless complaints; that human things should not be estimated beyond their value; that we should not by fears exhaust those powers, which should soften it; and, in a word, that we should sometimes consider it is impossible for a man to foresee the future, and to be sufficiently acquainted with himself, to know whether what happens to him is a good or an evil.

In this manner will a judicious prudent man behave, when he falls a prey to ill fortune. He will even endeavour to turn his crosses to account, as a cunning gamester endeavours to benefit by a bad hand that is dealt to him; and without lamenting like a fallen child who weeps upon the stone he fell against, he will know how to apply a salutary lancet to his wound, and by bleeding cure it. We must say therefore that constancy and perseverance in dis-

grace, are the works of reason; and that mourning, tears, despair, and groans, belong to a part of the soul opposite to the other; that this part is more debilitated, dastardly, and greatly inferior in dignity to the other.

Now it is from this sensible weak part that the affecting and variegated imitations, which we see upon the stage, are derived. The resolute, prudent, and consistent man is not so easily imitated; and if he were, the imitation being less variegated, it would not be so agreeable to the vulgar: they would be but little interested at an image, which did not resemble their own, wherein they could discover neither their manners nor passions: the human heart being never struck with objects that are entirely foreign to it. Wherefore the judicious poet, and the painter who has discovered the art of succeeding, by endeavouring to please the people and the vulgar part of mankind, takes care not to offer them the sublime image of a heart, which is entirely master of itself, which listens only to the voice of wisdom; but he charms the spectators by characters that are ever inconsistent, who will and will not, who make the theatre echo with cries and groans, who compel us to pity them, even when they do their duty, and think that virtue is a shocking thing, as it renders its votaries so miserable. By these means, easy and variegated imitations enable the poet to move and flatter still more the spectators.

This custom of rendering those persons, whom we are made to love, submit to their passions, alters and changes in such a man-

ner our judgment upon laudable things, that we habituate ourselves to honour a weakness of soul with the name of sensibility, and treat those as obdurate men devoid of sentiment in whom rigid duty constantly surmounts natural affections. On the contrary, we treat those as amiable characters, who are lively affected at every thing, and are the perpetual plaything of events: those who weep like women for the loss of what was dear to them; those who, through an inordinate friendship, are unjust to serve their friends; those who are ignorant of any other rule but the blind disposition of their heart; those who are always praising the sex who conquer them, and whom they imitate; those who possess no other virtues than their passions, nor any other merit than their weakness. Thus equanimity, strength, constancy, the love of justice, the empire of reason, insensibly become detestable qualities, vices which are decried; men make themselves honoured, for what renders them worthy of contempt; and this subversion of sound judgment is the inevitable consequence of those lessons which are received at the theatre.

It is therefore with reason that we blame the imitations of the poet, and place them in the same rank as those of the painter, as well on account of their being equally distant from truth, as because they both equally flatter the sensible part of the soul, and, neglecting the rational, pervert the order of our faculties, and make us keep the best in subordination to the worst. He who, in a republic, should endeavour to make the good submit to the wicked,

and the lawful chiefs to the rebels, would be an enemy to his country and a traitor to the state; yet the imitative poet introduces dissensions and death into the republic of the soul, by raising and nourishing the vilest faculties at the expence of the noblest; by exerting and exhausting his powers upon those things the least worthy of engaging them, by confounding in vague similitudes the beautiful truth with the trappings of falsehood which please the multitude, and apparent grandeur with that which is real. Who can imagine themselves possessed of sufficient virtue to withstand the poet's skill, which is exerted either to corrupt or discourage them? When Homer or some tragic author displays to us a hero overwhelmed with affliction, weeping, lamenting, beating his breast; an Achilles, for instance, the son of a goddess, at one time stretched upon the earth, and heaping the burning sand upon his head; at another, wandering like a madman upon the shore, and blending his dreadful outcries with the roaring of the waves; or a Priam, venerable for his dignity, for his great age, and his illustrious progeny, rolling in the mire, clotting his white hairs with dirt, the air echoing with his imprecations execrating alike gods and men; which among us can remain unmoved, or not feel a secret pleasure in the description? Is not the sentiment represented as it were kindled within us? And do we not seriously applaud the author's art, and consider him as a great poet, for the expressions he gives to his pictures, and the affections he communicates



cates to us? Nevertheless, when a domestic real calamity happens to us, we pride ourselves upon bearing it with moderation, without shedding tears: we consider the courage which we extort from ourselves as a manly virtue, and we should think ourselves as pusillanimous as women, to weep and groan like these heroes who affected us upon the stage. Are not these very useful spectacles, whose examples we admire, and yet blush to imitate; where we interest ourselves for weaknesses, from which we guard ourselves with so much difficulty in our own misfortunes? The most noble faculty of the soul, thus losing its use and empire, habituates itself to sink beneath the law of passions: no longer represses our tears and moans; it gives us up to our tenderness for objects that are foreign to us; and, under pretence of chimerical calamities, so far from being shocked at a virtuous man giving way to excessive grief, so far from suppressing our applause at his abject behaviour, we even applaud ourselves for the pity with which he inspires us: it is a pleasure we fancy we have obtained without weakness, and which we taste without remorse.

But in letting ourselves be thus conquered by the grief of others, how shall we resist the impulse of our own; and how shall we more courageously support our own ills, than those of which we have only a trifling representation? What, shall our own sensibility alone escape us? Who is he that will not in adversity adopt those emotions, to which he so readily yields for others? Is there any

one who can refuse his own misfortunes those tears, which he so beautifully shed for a stranger? As much may be said of comedy, of the indecent laughter which it forces from us, of the habit which we imbibe of turning every thing into ridicule, even the most serious and gravest objects; and of the almost unavoidable effect whereby it changes into theatrical buffoons and jesters the most respectable citizens. Equally may we censure the love, the rage, and all other passions, which becoming daily more familiar to us as amusement and pastime, deprive us at length of all power of resisting them when they really assail us. In fine, let us consider the stage and its imitations in whatever light we may; we constantly find that by animating and exciting in us those dispositions which we should repress, they make that govern which should obey; and so far from making us better or happier, they render us worse and still more unhappy, and make us purchase at our own expence, the attention we give to be pleased and flattered.

Wherefore, my friend Glaucus, when you meet with enthusiastic admirers of Homer; when they tell you that Homer is the institutor of Greece, and the master of all arts; that the government of states, civil discipline, the education of mankind, and all the oeconomy of human life, are taught in his writings; honour their zeal; love and support them like men endowed with excellent qualities; admire with them the marvellous flights of this great genius; grant them with pleasure that Homer is the most

excellent of all poets, the model and chief of all tragic writers. But let us still remember that hymns in honour of the Gods and the elogiums of great men, are the only kinds of poetry that should be allowed in the republic; and that if we once allow this imitative muse, who charms and deceives us by the softness of her accents, the actions of men will no longer have for their object, either law, or any of those things that are estimable, but grief and voluptuousness; the excited passions will prevail instead of reason; citizens will no longer remain virtuous and just men, ever in obedience to duty and equity, but sensual weak men, who will consider good and evil through no other medium than their own desires. In a word, always remember, that in banishing from our state dramatic and theatrical representations, we do not pursue a barbarous prejudice; but that we give the preference to those immortal beauties which result from the harmony of the soul, and the symmetry of the faculties.

Let us go still farther. To guard against all partiality, and no way yield to that ancient discord which reigns between philosophers and poets, let us take nothing from poetry and imitation that may be any way pleaded in their defence; nor from ourselves those innocent pleasures which they may afford us. Let us so far honour truth as to respect even its image, and leave every one at liberty to be heard, who proposes increasing his fame by her. In imposing silence upon the poets, let us allow their

friends the privilege of defending them, and to shew us if they can, that the art which we condemn as pernicious, is not only agreeable but useful to the republic and citizens. Let us listen to their reasons with an impartial ear, and heartily agree that we shall ourselves be great gainers, if they prove that we may, without any risk, yield to such soft impressions; otherwise, my dear Glaucus, like a wise man struck with the charms of his mistress, finding his virtue ready to desert him, break though with regret so soft a chain, sacrifice love to duty and to reason: thus freed from our infancy of the seducing attractions of poetry, and though perhaps too sensible of its beauties, we will, however, furnish ourselves with strength and reason against its delusive influence; if we dare yield in any degree to that taste which attracts us, we must at least fear to give way to her first affection: we will therefore say to ourselves that there is nothing serious or useful in dramatic pageantry, yet by listening sometimes to poetry, we shall secure our hearts against its illusions, as we will not suffer it to disturb order or liberty, either in the interior republic of the soul, or in that of human society. The alternative of becoming better or worse, is not a trivial consideration, for indeed it cannot be weighed with too much deliberation. Oh! my friends, it is, I must acknowledge, a delectable thing to yield to the charms of that bewitching talent which leads to riches, honours, power, and glory, but power, glory, riches, and even pleasures, are all eclipsed  
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and vanish like a shadow, before justice and virtue.

*The attention of the public having been greatly excited by the discovery said to have been made by the Dolphin and others of his majesty's ships, of a nation in south America, of a most extraordinary and gigantic size; and the government not having yet thought proper to admit an authentic publication of these discoveries; we imagine it may not be disagreeable to our readers, to lay before them what former travellers have related of these remarkable people.*

**T**H E S E people are first mentioned in the account of a voyage for new discoveries, undertaken by Magellan in the year 1519. The words in Harris's abridgment of this account are these: "When they had crossed the line, and the south pole appeared above the horizon, they held on their south course and came upon the Main of Brasil, about that part of it which lies in twenty-two degrees. They observed it to be all one continued tract of land, higher from the cape St. Augustine, which is in this part of the country. Having made two degrees and an half more south latitude, they fell in with a country inhabited by a wild sort of people: They were of a prodigious stature, fierce and barbarous, made a horrible roaring noise, more like bulls than human creatures; and yet with all that mighty bulk were so nimble and light of foot that none of the Spaniards or Portuguese could overtake them."

By this account giants appear to have been found in lat.  $24\frac{1}{2}$  south; but upon referring to the map, the account appears to be erroneous, for cape St. Augustine, which is said to be latitude 22, appears to be in latitude 10; so that it is doubtful whether the giants were found in latitude  $12\frac{1}{2}$ , or  $24\frac{1}{2}$ . If they were discovered after sailing two degrees and an half south from St. Augustine, they were found in  $12\frac{1}{2}$ , if after sailing two degrees and an half south, from that part of the Main of Brasil, which lies in 22, they were found in 24 and an half. Such is the accuracy of Harris. The account, however, goes on.

"The next advance was to 40 degrees and an half south latitude, here they were shut up by hard weather, and forced to take up their winter quarters for no less than five months. They for a long time believed the country to be uninhabited, but at length a savage of the neighbouring parts came up to give them a visit; he was a brisk jolly fellow, merrily disposed, singing and dancing all the way he came; being got to the haven, he stood there, and threw dust upon his head, upon which some people went ashore to him, who also throwing dust upon their head, he came with them to the ship without fear or suspicion. The head of one of Magellan's middle-sized men reached but to his waist, and he was proportionably big; his body was formidably painted all over, especially his face. A stag's horn was drawn upon each cheek, and great red circles round his eyes; his colours were otherwise mostly yellow, only his hair was white. For his apparel

apparel, he had the skin of a beast clumsily sewed together, but a beast as strange as that was that wore it; every way unaccountable, neither mule, horse, nor camel, but something of every one, the ears of the first, the tail of the second, and the shape and body of the last; it was one entire suit, all of one piece from head to foot; as his breast and back were covered with it above, so his legs and feet were wrapped up in it below. The arms that he brought with him were a stout bow and arrow: The strings of the bow was a gut or sinew of the beast whose skin covered him, and the arrows were tipped with sharp stones.

Magellan, the admiral, made him eat and drink, and he enjoyed himself very comfortably till he happened to peep into a looking-glass that was given him among other trifles: This put him into a fright from which he could not easily recover, so that starting back with violence, he threw two of the men who stood by high to the ground. This giant, however, saved so well, notwithstanding his fright by the looking-glass, that the Spaniards had quickly the company of more; one in particular made himself mighty familiar, and showed so much pleasantry and good humour that the Europeans were greatly pleased with his company.

Magellan was desirous of making some of these gigantic people prisoners, and with this view his crew filled their hands with toys and little things that pleased them; and in the mean time put iron shackles upon their legs; at first they thought them fine play-things

as well as the rest, and were pleased with their glingling sound; but, when they found themselves hampered and betrayed, they implored the aid of some superior and invisible being, by the name of Setebos; upon this occasion their strength appeared to be proportionable to their bulk, for one of them defeated the utmost efforts of nine men, and though they had him down, and tied his hands tightly, yet he freed himself from his bonds, and got loose, in spite of all their endeavours to detain him. Their appetite is also in proportion to their strength; the admiral gave them the name of Patagons, and took notice of the following words; bread, *capar*; water, *o*; black, *amel*; red, *cheiche*; red cloth, *cherocai*. They tie up their hair, though it is short, with a cotton lace. They have no fixed habitations, but certain moveable cottages, which they carry from place to place as their fancy leads them; these cottages are covered with the same skin that covers their bodies. A certain sweet root, which they call by the same they give to bread, *capar*, is a considerable part of their food; what flesh they eat is devoured raw.

They practise physick but in two articles, vomiting and phlebotomy, and both in a very extraordinary manner. To vomit they thrust an arrow a foot and half down the throat; and to bleed, they give the part affected, whether leg, arm, or face, a good chop with some sharp instrument."

Such is the account of the Patagons, as given by Harris, who says he has taken the utmost pains to give

give it in the clearest manner possible, by comparing all the different relations of the Portuguese and Spanish writers; and it is to be hoped that no man can read the account of the violence and perfidy practised against these blameless, friendly, unsuspecting people, without indignation. Harris, however, suffers it to pass without animadversion; and probably described this attempt of Magellan to betray the confidence of a reasonable being, and to force him into exile and misery, with as much phlegm as he would the snaring a tyger, or hooking a fish.

Magellan himself was afterwards killed in an hostile attempt to extort tribute from a king of Mathan, or Matahan, one of the Ladrone Islands, to which he had just as much right as the king of Mathan had to tribute from Spain.

The Patagons are next mentioned in an account of the voyage of Sir Francis Drake; but in Harris's epitome their stature is not particularly ascertained. The paragraph relating to them being only as follows:

"In sailing south from the river of Plate, in latitude 36 S. they came to a good bay, in which were several pretty islands; the admiral being on shore in one of these islands, the people came dancing and leaping about him, and were very free to trade; they were a comely strong-bodied people, very swift of foot, and of a brisk lively constitution; their faces were painted, and their apparel only a covering of the skins of beasts, with the fur on, about their waists, and something wreathed about their heads; they had bows an ell long, but no more than two ar-

rows a-piece: They seemed not altogether ignorant of martial discipline, as appeared by their method of ordering and ranging their men. They were the nation which Magellan called Patagons."

The latitude of this island is not particularly mentioned; it must have been about 46 or 47. There is some difference in the accounts of their cloathing; Magellan says they were cloathed from head to foot; Drake, that they were covered only round the waist, and upon the head; but this may easily be accounted for, because Magellan wintered with them, and Drake saw them in summer.

These giants are next mentioned in an account of a voyage round the world, by Sir Thomas Cavendish: Of which Harris's epitome is as follows.

"Sailing from Cape Frío, in the Brasils, they fell in upon the coast of America, in 47 d. 20 m. north, (it should be south) latitude. They proceeded to port Desire, in latitude 50. Here the savages wounded two of the company with their arrows, which are made of cane, headed with flints. A wild and rude sort of creatures they were; and, as it seemed, of a gigantic race, the measure of one of their feet being 18 inches in length, which, reckoning by the usual proportion, will give about 7 feet and an half for their stature." Harris says that this agrees very exactly with the account given of them by Magellan, but in his epitome of Magellan's account he says that the head of one of his middle-sized men reached but to the Patagonian's waist; which, supposing Magellan's man to be but 5 feet 6 inches high, will make

make the Patagonian 9 at least. He says, indeed, that Magellan gave them the name of Patagons, because their stature was five cubits, or seven feet six, but, if so, his own account is inconsistent with itself, neither has he told us in what language Patagon expresses this stature.

Oliver Noort, the first Dutchman that attempted a voyage round the world, performed his expedition between the years 1598 and 1601, and the account he gives of the inhabitants of these parts, as abridged by Harris, is to the following effect:

“ He went up the river at Port Desire, and going on shore, found beasts like stags and buffaloes, also some savages, who, he says, were tall portly men, painted, and armed with short bows and arrows, that were headed with stone.

These beasts like buffaloes probably furnished the skins that Magellan described to have the ears of an ass, the tail of a horse, and the shape of a camel, for the buffalo has a bunch upon his back.

Having afterwards entered the Streights, they saw some men upon two islands, near a cape which is here called cape Nassau. There is no cape marked either in the chart or map prefixed to Harris's collection by that name, nor has he told us to which of the capes that are marked this name was given by the Dutch. These savages having now, by sad experience, been taught to regard every European as an enemy, shook their weapons against the Dutch, in hopes to prevent their landing. The Dutch, however, did land upon one of the islands, and the poor Indians retreating, they pursued

them to the cave which contained their wives and children, and killed every one of them. When these ruffians rushed in, the women covered their infants with their own bodies, that they might receive the first stab; the Dutch did not, indeed, murder these forlorn and defenceless wretches in cold blood, but having butchered the fathers and husbands, they took away six of the children, four boys and two girls, and carried them on shipboard. It is impossible for any man, whose feelings of humanity have not been obtunded by selfishness or superstition, to read the accounts of the discoveries and settlements of the people of Europe, in other parts of the world, without regretting their success, and wishing that they had all perished in the attempt. In these expeditions they have filled the earth with violence, and, as far as their influence could extend, diffused wickedness and misery, by every violation of the laws of nature, that the most wanton cruelty and sordid avarice could prompt, while they distinguished themselves from those whom they destroyed, and enslaved, by the name of christians, and gloried in the refinements of honour, which, looking down upon mere moral obligation, pretends to merit beyond the limits of duty.

One of the boys thus brought on board Van Noort's fleet, learnt the Dutch language, and gave intelligence to the following effect: that the inhabitants of the continent near the island from which he had been taken, were divided into different tribes; that three of these tribes, which he distin-



distinguished by the names of Kemenetes, Kenekin, and Karaicks, were of the common size, but broader breasted and painted all over; and that there was another tribe, which he called Tiriminen, who were of a gigantic stature, being 10 or 12 feet high, and continually at war with the other tribes.

This boy gave an account of the cloathing and appearance of the inhabitants of this country, very different from those already transcribed; for he said the men wore their hair long, that the women were shaved, and that both went naked except a cloak of Penguin's skins, which reached to their waist.

Sebald de Weert, another Dutchman, sailed to the Streights of Magellan in the year 1598, and in his account are the following particulars. He detached two sloops to an island near the mouth of the Streights, to catch sea-dogs. When these sloops came near the shore, they perceived seven canoes, with savages on board, that were ten or eleven feet high, of a reddish colour, and with long hair. They are farther described as being naked, except one who had a sea-dog's skin about his shoulders; and it is remarkable that de Weert was on this coast in May, which is there a winter month.

In the account given of the voyage of George Spilbergen, we are told that on the coast of Terra del Fuego, which is to the south of Magellan's Streights, his people saw a man of a gigantic stature, climbing the hills to take a view of the fleet, but, though they went on shore, they saw no other

human inhabitant; they saw, however, several graves containing bodies of the ordinary size, or rather below it; and the savages they saw from time to time in canoes, appeared to be under six feet high.

In the history of the voyage of Capt. Cowley, an Englishman, which was undertaken in 1683, we have an account of giants indeed, but in a country very distant from Patagonia. In lat. 13 deg. 30 min. north, and about 143 east longitude, lies the island of Guam, it is one of the Ladrone Islands, and was then in the possession of the Spaniards, who had a governor and garrison there. The Indian inhabitants of this island, Cowley says, were all well made, active, vigorous, and some of them seven feet and an half high. Capt. Cowley took, as he says, four of these infidels prisoners, which to be sure, being himself a good christian, he had a right to do; and it appears by the sequel of the account, that he treated them as other good christians had treated infidels, which strength or cunning had put into their power. "We brought them on board, says he, tying their hands behind them, but they had not been long there before three of them leapt overboard into the sea, swimming away from the ship with their hands bound behind them; we sent a boat after them, and found that a strong man at the first blow could not penetrate their skins with a cutlass. One of them had received, in my judgment, forty shots in his body before he died, and the last of the three that was killed had swam a good English

glish mile, though his hands were not only tied behind him, but his arms pinioned."

Thus it appears that these three poor naked wretches were all murdered in cold blood, because they endeavoured to escape from those, who, without provocation, had injuriously and cruelly seized them by violence, in their native country, and were carrying them as slaves into exile. Harris tells the story without the least intimation that any thing had been done to these infidels which a good christian might not justify.

In an account of Capt. George Shelvock's voyage, which was undertaken in the year 1719, there is the following paragraph.—"M. Frezier gives us an account that the Indians inhabiting the continent to the south of this island (the island of Chiloe, which lies off the coast of Chili, about lat. 42 S. and long. about 72 W. of London) are called Chronos, that they go quite naked, and that in the inland part there is a race of men of an extraordinary size, called Cacabues, who being in amity with the Chronos, have sometimes come with them to the dwellings of the Spaniards at Chiloe. He adds, that he was credibly informed by several who had been eye-witnesses, that some were about nine or ten feet high. Who Frazier was, Mr. Harris, though he quotes him, does not tell us. His story is certainly fabulous, for the whole coast of Chili, and the island of Chiloe, having been long in possession of the Spaniards, the existence of a gigantic race in those parts, if real, would have been long out of doubt. The same objection lies against the ac-

count given of the Indian natives of Guam, by Cowley. The giants, four of whom he says he took prisoners, and three of whom he murdered, must have been familiar to the Spaniards, and consequently, their existence recorded by Spanish writers of credit, so as to make the fact as well known and believed as the existence of the island itself. Of the other accounts, our readers must judge for themselves.

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*Catherine Vadé's Preface to the Tales of William Vadé. From the French of M. de Voltaire.*

I Still lament the death of my cousin William Vadé, who died, as all the world knows, some years ago. He was attacked by the small-pox: I nursed him, and said to him with tears, "Ah! my cousin; see the consequence of your not being inoculated: It cost your brother Anthony his life, who was, like you, one of the lights of the age." "What would you have me say?" replied William; "I waited for leave from the Sorbonne, and I am convinced that I must die for having been too scrupulous." "The state," answered I, "will have a dreadful loss." "Ah!" cried William, Alexander and brother Bertier are dead, Semiramis and Tillon, Sophocles and Danchet are dust and ashes."—"Yes, my dear cousin, but their great names will live for ever. Would you not survive in your noblest part? Will you not allow me to give the public, for their consolation, those old-womens stories with which you amused us last

last year? they were the delight of our family; and Jerom Carré, your first cousin once removed, valued your works almost as much as his own: they will without doubt please all the world, that is to say, about thirty readers who have nothing to do."

William had no such ambitious views; he answered me with a modesty very becoming an author, but very uncommon, "Ah! my cousin, do you think, that, among the 90,000 pamphlets published in Paris within these ten years, my trifles can find a place, and that I can float upon the river of oblivion which every day swallows up so many excellent writings!"

"Though you should live but fifteen days after your death," replied I, "even that would be a great deal; there are few who enjoy that advantage. The fate of most men is to live unknown, and those who have made the most noise are sometimes forgotten the day after their death; you will be distinguished from the crowd, and perhaps the very name of William Vade having the honour to be printed in one or two journals, may be transmitted to the latest posterity. Under what title would you have me publish your miscellanies?" "Cousin," said he, "I think the name of Trifles most suitable to them; most of the things that are done, said, or printed, well deserve that title."

I admired my cousin's modesty, and was extremely affected by it. Jerom Carré then entered the chamber. William made his will, by which he left me absolute mistress of his manuscripts. Jerom and I asked him where he would be

buried; and he made the following reply, which will ever be fresh in my memory.

"I am very sensible, that, having never been exalted in this world to any of those dignities which produce grand sentiments, and which elevate a man above himself, having been neither a privy-counsellor, nor a sheriff, nor a church-warden, I shall be treated after my death with very little ceremony. I shall be thrown into the charnel-house of St. Innocent's, and nothing will be placed on my grave but a wooden cross, which has already served for others; but I have always had such a tender regard for my country, that I am very averse to being buried in a church-yard. Certain it is, that, dying of the disease with which I am attacked, I shall stink horribly. This corruption of so many corpses that are buried at Paris, in or near the churches, necessarily infects the air, and as young Ptolemy says, much to the purpose, when he was deliberating whether he should grant Pompey an asylum,

*Their putrefying bodies taint the air,  
And with the living wage perpetual war.*

This ridiculous and odious custom of paving the churches with the dead, occasions in Paris, every year, epidemical disorders, and all the deceased contribute, more or less, to infect their country. The Greeks and Romans were much wiser than we; their burying-places were without the cities; and even now, there are many nations in Europe where this salutary custom prevails. What pleasure would it afford a good citizen,

to

to go and manure, for example, the barren plains of Sablons, and to contribute to the raising of plentiful harvests ! By this prudent establishment generations will be mutually useful to each other ; towns will be more healthy, and lands more fruitful. Indeed I cannot but say that there is a want of police both for the living and the dead."

William talked a long time on the subject. He had great views for the public good, and he died while he was speaking of it, which is one evident mark of genius.

As soon as this was over, I resolved to give him a magnificent funeral, worthy of the great reputation which he had acquired in the world. I went to the most celebrated booksellers of Paris ; I proposed their purchasing my cousin William's posthumous works ; I even added to them some excellent dissertations of his brother Anthony, and some pieces of his first cousin once removed, Jerom Carré. I obtained three Louis d'ors in ready money, a sum which William had never possessed at one time in all his life. I had funeral tickets printed ; I begged all the wits of Paris to honour with their presence the mass which I ordered for the repose of William's soul ; not one came. I could not attend at the ceremony myself, and so William was buried without any one's knowing it. In the same manner he had lived ; for though he had enriched the fair with many comic operas, which were the admiration of all Paris, they enjoyed the fruits of his genius, and neglected the author ; thus (as the divine Plato says) we suck an orange and throw away the peel, we gather the fruits

of a tree, and afterwards cut it down. I have always been shocked with this ingratitude.

Some time after William Vadé's death, we lost our good friend and kinsman Jerom Carré, so well known in his time by the comedy of *The Scotchwoman*, which, he said, he translated for the advancement of polite literature. I think it my duty to acquaint the public with the distress to which Jerom was reduced at the latter part of his life ; which thus he disclosed in my presence to brother Giroflée, his confessor.

" You know," said he, " that at my christening there were given me for patrons, St. Jerom, St. Thomas, and St. Raymond de Pennafort, and that when I had the happiness to receive confirmation, there were added to my three patrons, St. Ignatius de Loyola, St. Francis Xavier, St. Francis de Borgia, and St. Regis, all Jesuits, so that I styled myself Jerom-Thomas-Raymond-Ignatius-Xavier-Francis-Regis Carré. I thought, for a long time, that with so many patrons I could not be in want of any thing upon earth. Ah ! brother Giroflée, how have I been deceived ! Patrons are like servants, the more we have, the worse we are served. But attend, if you please, to my misfortunes.

The reverend fathers the Jesuits, or Jesuits, were banished, because their institution is pernicious, contrary to all the rights of kings, and of human society, &c. Now Ignatius de Loyola having been author of that institution, after causing himself to be whipped at the college of St. Barbe, and Xavier, Francis Borgia, and Regis, having practised the same discipline, it is plain they

ways laboured, will pardon this my preface.

*Catherine Vadé.*

*Curious extracts from Mr. Rousseau's letter on French music.*

*On the language most proper for music, now first translated.*

**I**T is easy to conceive that some languages are more proper for music than others, and that there may be some languages totally improper for any. Of the latter kind would be a language composed of mixt sounds, of mute, surd and nasal syllables, of few sonorous vowels, and a great many consonants and articulations; and which might want some of those essential conditions which I shall speak of under the article of measure. For the sake of curiosity, let us inquire what would be the consequence of applying music to such a language.

In the first place, the want of force in the sound of the vowels would oblige the composer to give a good deal to the notes, and because the language would be surd, the music would be noisy. In the second place, the hardness and frequency of the consonants would oblige him to exclude a great number of words, to proceed on others only by elementary tones, so that the music would be insipid and monotonous. For the same reason, it would be slow and tiresome, and when the movement should be ever so little accelerated, its haste would resemble that of an hard and angular body rolling along on the pavement.

As such a music would be destitute of all agreeable melody, the

composer would endeavour to supply its place, by factitious and unnatural beauties; it would be charged with frequent and regular modulations; but cold, graceless, and inexpressive. Recourse would be had to trills, stops, shakes, and other false graces; which would serve only to render the song more ridiculous, without rendering it less insipid.

A music attended with such superfluous ornament will be always faint and inexpressive; while its images, destitute of all force and energy, describe but a few objects in a great number of notes, exactly like Gothic writing, the lines of which are full of strokes and characters, yet contain only two or three words, and but a very small quantity of meaning in a great space of paper.

The impossibility of inventing agreeable songs would oblige the composers to turn all their thoughts to the side of harmony; and for want of natural beauties to introduce those of arbitrary fashion, which have no other merit than lies in the delicacy of the execution. Thus instead of composing good music, they would compose difficult music; and to supply the want of simple melody, would multiply their accompaniments. It would cost them much less trouble to lay a great many bad things one upon another, than to invent one good one.

In order to remove the insipidity, they would increase the confusion; they would imagine they were making music when they were only making a noise.

Another effect which would result from this defect of melody, is, that the musicians, having only a false

false idea of it, would invent a melody of their own. Having nothing of true music, they would find no difficulty in multiplying its parts; because they would give that name to what was not so; even to the thorough bass; to the unison of which they would make no scruple to recite the counter-tenour, under cover of a sort of accompaniment, whose pretended melody would have no manner of relation to the vocal part of the song. Wherever they saw notes they would find a tune, although in effect their tune would be nothing but a succession of notes. *Voces, prætereaque nihil.* Let us proceed now to the measure, in the disposition of which consists the greater part of the beauty and expression of the song.

Measure is to melody nearly what syntax is to discourse: it is that which connects the words, distinguishes the phrases, and gives sense and consistency to the whole. All music whose measure is not perceived, if the fault lie in the person who executes it, resembles writing in cypher, which requires one to have a key to explain it: but if the music have no sensible measure in itself, it is only a confused collection of words taken at hazard, and written without connection, in which the reader finds no sense, because the author gave them none.

I have said that every national music takes its principal character from the language which is peculiar to it: and I should have added that it is the prosody of that language which principally constitutes its character. As vocal music long preceded the instrumental, the latter hath always received from the former both its tune and time:

now the different measures of vocal music could arise only from the different methods of scanning a discourse, and placing the long and short syllables with regard to each other. This is very evident in the Greek music, whose measures were only so many formula of the rhythm furnished by the arrangements of long or short syllables, and of those feet of which the language and its poetry were susceptible. So that, although one may very well distinguish in the musical rhythmus the measure of the prosody, the measure of the verse, and the measure of the tune, it cannot be doubted that the most agreeable music, or at least that of the most complete cadence, would be that in which the three measures should concur as perfectly as possible.

After these éclaircissements, I return to my hypothesis, and suppose that the language, I have been speaking of, should have a defective prosody, indistinct, inexact, and without precision; that its long and short syllables should have no simple relations with regard to time or number, so as to render its rhythmus agreeable, exact, and regular; that its long syllables should be some shorter, and others longer than others; that its short ones should in like manner be more or less short; that it should have many neither short nor long; and that the differences between the one and the other should be indeterminate and almost incommensurable. It is clear that the national music, being obliged to receive into its measure the irregularities of the prosody, would have such measure of course vague, unequal, and hardly perceptible; that its recitative would in particular partake of this



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regularity, that it would be very difficult to make the force of the notes and intervals agree; that the measure would be obliged to be perpetually changed, and that the voices never could be set to an exact and flowing measure; that even in the measured airs, the movements would be all unnatural and void of precision; that if to this defect be added ever so little delay in time, the very idea of its inequality would be entirely lost both in the singer and the auditor; and that, in short, the measure not being perceived, nor its returns equal, it could be subject only to the caprice of the musician, who might hurry or retard it as he pleased: so that it would be impossible to keep up a concert without somebody to mark the time to all, according to the fancy or convenience of some leader.

Hence it is that singers contract such an habit of altering the time, that they frequently do it designedly even in those pieces, where the composer has happily rendered it perceptible. To mark the time would be thought a fault in composition, and to follow it would be another in the taste of singing; thus defects would pass for beauties, and beauties for defects: errors would be established as rules; and to compose music to the taste of the nation, it would be necessary to apply carefully to those things which would displease every other people in the world.

Thus, whatever art might be used to hide the defects of such music, it would be impossible it should be pleasing to any other ears than those of the natives of the country where it should be in vogue. By dint of suffering con-

stant reproaches against their bad taste, and by hearing real music in a language more favourable to it, they would at length endeavour to make their own resemble it: in doing which, however, they would only deprive it of its real character, and the little accordance it might have with the language for which it was constructed. If they should thus endeavour to unnaturalize their singing, they would render it harsh, rough, and almost unutterable: if they contented themselves with ornamenting it with any other than such accompaniments as were peculiarly adapted to it, they would only betray its insipidity by an inevitable contrast: they would deprive their music of the only beauty it was susceptible of, in taking from all its parts that uniformity of character by which it was constituted; and, by accustoming their ears to disdain the singing only to listen to the symphony, they would in time reduce the voices only to a mere accompaniment of the accompaniments.

Thus we see by what means the music of such a nation would be divided into vocal and instrumental; and thus we see how by giving such different characters to the two species of it, they make a monstrous compound of them when united.

The symphony would keep time; and the singing would suffer no restraint; so that the singers and the symphonists in the orchestra would be perpetually at variance, and putting one another out. This uncertainty, and the mixture of the two characters, would introduce in the manner of accompaniment, such a tameness and insipidity that the symphonists would get

get such a habit, that they would not be able even to execute the best music with spirit and energy. In playing that like their own, they would totally enervate it; they would play the soft strong and the strong soft, nor would they know one of the varieties of these two terms. As to the others *rinforzando*, *dolce* \*, *risoluto*, *con gusto*, *spiritoso*, *softenuto*, *con brio*, they would have no words for them in their language, and that of expression would be totally void of meaning. They would substitute a number of trifling, cold, and slovenly ornaments, in the place of the masterly stroke of the bow: and however numerous their orchestra, it would have no effect, or none but what was very disagreeable. As the execution would be always sluggish, and the symphonists are ever more solicitous to play finely, than to play in time, they would be hardly ever together; they would never be able to give an exact and just note, nor to execute any thing in that character. Foreigners would be almost all of them astonished to find an orchestra, boasted of as the first in Europe, hardly worthy to play at a booth in a fair †. It would be naturally expected that such musicians should get an aversion to that music which thus disgraced their own; and that adding ill will to bad taste, they would put in execution the design of decrying it, with as

ill success as it was absurdly premeditated.

On a contrary supposition to the foregoing, I might easily deduce all the qualities of a real music, formed to move, to imitate, to please, and to convey to the heart the most delicate impressions of harmony: but as this would lead me too far from my present subject, and particularly from our generally received notions of things, I shall confine myself to a few observations on the Italian music; which may enable us to form a better judgment of our own.

If it be asked what language will admit of the best grammar, I answer that of the people who reason best; and if it be asked what nation should have the best music, I should answer that whose language is best adapted to music. This is what I have already established, and shall have farther occasion to confirm it during the course of this letter. Now, if there be in Europe a language adapted to music, it is certainly the Italian; for that language is soft, sonorous, harmonious, and more accented than any other; which four qualities are precisely those which are most proper for singing.

The Italians pretend, that our [the French] melody is flat and void of tune; all other nations also unanimously confirm their judgment in this particular ‡. On our part,

\* There are not perhaps four French symphonists in Paris who know the difference between *piano* and *dolce*; and indeed it would be unnecessary for them so to do; for which of them would be capable of executing it?

† Not that there are not some very good violin-players in the orchestra at the opera: on the contrary, they are almost all such, taken separately, and when they do not pretend to play in concert.

‡ There was a time, says my lord Shaftesbury, when the custom of speaking French had brought French music also into fashion among us [the English]. But

part, we accuse theirs of being capricious and barbarous \*. I had much rather believe that one or the other were mistaken, than be reduced to the necessity of saying, that, in a country where arts and sciences in general are arrived to an high degree of perfection, that of music is as yet unknown.

The least partial among us † contented themselves with saying, that, both the Italian and French music were good, in their kind, and in their own language: but, besides that other nations did not subscribe to this comparison, it still remained to determine which of the two languages was the best adapted to music in itself. This is a question which was much agitated in France, but will never be so elsewhere; a question which can only be decided by an ear that is perfectly neuter, and which, of course, becomes daily more difficult of solution in the only country where the object of it can be problematical. I have made some experiments on this subject, which every one may repeat after me, and which appear to serve as a solution of it,

at least, with regard to melody; to which alone the whole dispute is in a manner reducible.

I took some of the most celebrated airs in both kinds of music; and divesting the one of its thrills and perpetual cadences; the other of the under notes, which the compositor does not take the trouble to write, but leaves to the judgment of the singer ‡. I solfa'd them exactly by note, without any ornament, and without adding any thing to the sense or connection of the phrase. I will not tell you the effect which the result of this comparison had on my own mind, because I ought to exhibit my reasons, and not to impose my authority. I will only give you an account of the method I took to determine, so that, if you think it a good one, you may take the same to convince yourself. I must caution you, however, that this experiment requires more precautions than may at first appear necessary.

The first and most difficult of all, is to be impartial and equitable in your choice and judgment. The second is, that in order to make

the Italian, exhibiting something more agreeable to nature, presently disgusted us with the other, and made us perceive it to be as heavy, flat, and insipid, as it is in fact.

\* It seems these reproaches are much less violent since the Italian music hath been heard among us. Thus it is that this admirable music need only shew itself what it is, to justify itself against every thing that is advanced against it.

† Many persons condemn the total exclusion which the connoisseurs in music give, without hesitation, to the French music. These conciliating moderators would have no exclusive taste, just as if the love of what is good must necessarily work some regard for what is bad.

‡ This method was very much in favour of the French music; for the under notes in the Italian are no less essential to the melody, than those which are written down. The point is less what is written, than what ought to be sung: and indeed this manner of writing notes ought to pass for a kind of abbreviation, whereas the cadences and trills in the French music are requisite, if you will, to the taste, but are by no means essential to the melody: they are a kind of paint, which serves to hide its deformity, without removing it, and which serves only to render it the more ridiculous to the ears of good judges.

this

this experiment, it is necessary for you to be equally acquainted with both styles; otherwise that which should happen to be most familiar, would perpetually present itself to the mind, to the prejudice of the other. Nor is this second condition less difficult than the first: for among those who are acquainted with both kinds of music, there is no hesitation of choice; and it is easy to perceive by the ridiculous arguments of those who write against the Italian music, how little knowledge they have of that, or indeed the art in general.

Add to this, that it is very essential to proceed in exact time; but I foresee that this caution, though superfluous in any other country, would be useful in this, and that this omission alone necessarily carries with it an incompetency of judgment.

Taking all these precautions, the character of each kind of music cannot fail of declaring itself; when it would be difficult not to clothe the passages with those ideas which agree with them; and indeed not to add, at least mentally, those turns and ornaments, which may be refused them in singing. We should not rest the matter, also, upon a single experiment; for one air may please more than another, without determining the preference of the kind of music; nor is it without a great number of trials that a reasonable judgment is to be formed. Besides, in taking away the words, we take away the most

important part of the melody, which is expression; so that all that can be determined, is, whether the modulation be good, and the tune natural and beautiful. All this shews how difficult it is to take sufficient precautions against prepossessions, and how far reason is necessary to qualify us to judge properly in matters of taste.

I made another trial, which requires less precaution, and will yet appear probably more decisive. I gave to some Italian musicians the finest airs of Lulli, and to some French ones the select airs of Leo and Pergolese, and I remarked, that though the latter were very far from entering into the true taste of these pieces, they were sensible nevertheless of their melody, and made out of them, in their manner, agreeable and tuneful passages. But the Italians solfa'd our most pathetic airs, without discovering either passage or tune: they found no music at all in them, but saw only a succession of notes placed without choice or design; they sung them indeed exactly as you would read Arabic words written in French characters\*.

My third experiment was this: I had an opportunity of seeing at Venice, an Armenian, a man of understanding, who had never before heard any music; and to whom were exhibited in the same concert, a French piece, which began with these words,

Temple sacre, séjour tranquille:

\* Our musicians pretend to deduce a great advantage from this difference. We can execute the Italian music, say they, with their usual vanity, and the Italians cannot execute ours; therefore our music is better than theirs. They do not see that they ought to deduce a consequence directly contrary; and say, Therefore the Italians have a melody, and we have none.

and an air of Galuppi's, which begins thus ;

*Voi che languite senza speranza ;*

Both the one and the other were sung, very indifferently for a Frenchman, and badly for an Italian, by a man accustomed solely to French music, and at that time an enthusiast for Rameau. I observed that my Armenian, during the French song, expressed much more surprise than pleasure : but every body took notice that his countenance and eyes brightened up, and that he was instantly affected with the very first notes of the Italian. He appeared indeed enchanted, and gave himself up entirely to the impressions of the music ; the simple sounds, for he understood hardly any thing of the language, giving him an evident delight. From that time he would never listen to a French air.

But without going abroad for examples, have not we many persons among ourselves ; who being acquainted only with our own operas, really conceived they had no manner of taste for singing, and were undeceived only by the Italian interludes. They imagined they did not love music, for the very reason that proved they liked only that which was really such.

\* It is an error to imagine that the Italian singers have, in general, less voice than the French : on the contrary, it is necessary that they should have stronger lungs, and be more harmonious, to make themselves heard throughout the spacious theatres of Italy, without stopping to manage the voice, as the Italian music requires. The French song requires the utmost effect of the lungs, and the whole extent of the voice: Stronger, louder, cry our singing-masters, send forth the sounds, open the mouth, give out all your voice. On the other hand, the Italian masters say, softer, force nothing, sing easy ; let your notes be soft and flowing ; reserve the loud exertions for those rare occasions when it is necessary to strike and amaze. Now, it appears to me, that if people must make themselves heard, those have the strongest voice, who can do it without being under the necessity of screaming.

I must confess that so many facts made me doubt of the existence of French melody ; and raised a suspicion that it was only a kind of modulated full chorus, that had nothing in it agreeable of itself ; pleasing only by the help of certain adventitious and arbitrary ornaments, and to such only as were prepossessed in its favour. For we find that our music is hardly supportable even to our own ears, when it is executed by indifferent voices, who cannot make the most of it. It requires a Fel and a Jeliotte to sing French music : but every voice is good for the Italian ; because the beauties of the latter are in the music itself, whereas those of the French, if it has any, depend all on the abilities of the singer \*.

There are three things which to me appear to concur in the perfection of Italian melody. The first is the sweetness of the language ; which, making all its inflections easy, leaves the genius of the musician at liberty to make a more exquisite choice, to give a greater variety to his combinations ; and assign to every actor a particular turn, so that each may have his own peculiar manner to distinguish him from the rest.

The second is the boldness of the modulations, which, although less servilely prepared than ours, are

rendered

rendered more agreeable in being rendered more sensible, and without giving any harshness to the song, add a lively energy to the expression. It is by means of this, the musician, passing suddenly from one key or mode to another, and suppressing, when necessary, the intermediate and pedantic transitions, is capable of expressing those reserves, interruptions, and parentheses, which are the language of the impetuous passions; and which the glowing Metastasio, Porpora, Galuppi, Cocchi, Jummella, Perez, and Terra-Deglia have so often and so successfully employed; while our lyric poets know just as little of them as our musicians.

The third advantage, and that which gives to melody its greatest effect, is the extreme exactness of time which is observable in the gravest as well as the liveliest movements: an exactness which renders the singing animated and interesting, the accompaniments lively and flowing, which really multiplies the tunes, by making in one combination of sounds as many different melodies as there are methods of scanning them: an exactness which conveys every sentiment to the heart, and every image to the understanding; which furnishes the musician with the means of giving to words all imaginable characters, many of which we have no idea of, and which renders the movements proper to express all those characters, or a single movement proper to contrast and change the character at the pleasure of the composer.

*The history of Nonsense.*

HERE is no race of people that has been more conspicuous, in almost every relation of life, than the illustrious family of Nonsense. In every age of the world they have shone forth with uncommon lustre, and have made a wonderful progress in all the arts and sciences. They have, at different seasons, delivered speeches from the throne, harangued at the bar, debated in parliament, and gone amazing lengths in philosophical enquiries and metaphysical disquisitions.

In a word, the whole history of the world, moral and political, is but a Cyclopædia of Nonsense. For which reason, considering the dignity and importance of the family, and the infinite service it has been of to me and many of my contemporaries, I have resolved to oblige the public with a kind of abstract of the history of Nonsense.

Nonsense was the daughter of ignorance, begot on falsehood, many years ago, in a dark cavern in Boetia. As she grew up, she inherited all the qualities of her parents; she discovered too warm a genius, to require being sent to school; but, while other dull brats were poring over an horn-book, she amused herself with spreading fantastical lies, taught her by her mamma, and which have, in latter ages, been familiarly known to us under the names of sham, banter, and humbug.

When she grew up, she received the addresses, and soon became the wife, of impudence. Who he was, or of what profession, is uncertain; some say he was the son of ignorance by another venter, and was suffered



suffered to become the husband of nonsense in those dark ages of the world, as the Ptolemies of Egypt married their own sisters. Some, record, that he was in the army; others, that he was an interpreter of the laws; and others, a divine. However this was, nonsense and impudence were soon inseparably united to each other, and became the founders of a more noble and numerous family, than any yet preserved on any tree of descent whatsoever; of which ingenious device they were said to have been the first inventors.

It is my chief intent, at present, to record the great exploits of that branch of the family, who have made themselves remarkable in England, though they began to signalize themselves very early, and are still very flourishing in most parts of the world. Many of them were Egyptian priests four thousand years ago, and told the people, that it was religion to worship dogs, monkeys, and green leeks; and their descendants prevailed on the Greeks and Romans to build temples in honour of supposed deities, who were, in their own estimation of them, whores and whore-mongers, pickpockets and drunkards.

Others rose up some ages after in Turkey, and persuaded the people to embrace the doctrine of bloodshed and the sword, in the name of the most merciful God. And others have manifested their lineal descent from nonsense and impudence, by affirming that there is no God at all. There were also among them many shrewd philosophers: some of whom, though they were racked with a fit of the stone, or laid up with a gouty toe, declared that

they felt not the least degree of pain: and others would not trust their own eyes, but when they saw an horse or a dog, could not tell whether it was not a chair or a table, and even made a doubt of their own existence.

We have no certain account of the progress of nonsense here in England, till after the reformation. All we hear of her and her progeny before that period of time is, that they led a lazy life among the monks in cloysters and convents, dreaming over old legends of saints, drawing up breviaries and mass-books, and stringing together some barbarous Latin verses in rhyme.

In the days of queen Elizabeth, so little encouragement was given to her family, that it seemed to have been almost extinct; but, in the succeeding reign, it flourished again, and filled the most considerable offices in the nation.

Nonsense became a great favourite at court, where she was highly caressed on account of her wit, which consisted in puns and quibbles; and the bonny monarch himself was thought to take a more than ordinary delight in her conversation. At this time many of her progeny took orders, and got themselves preferred to the best livings, by turning the evangelists into punsters, and making St. Paul quibble from the pulpit. Among the rest, there was a bishop, a favourite son of nonsense, of whom it is particularly recorded, that he used to tickle his courtly audience, by telling them that matrimony was become a matter of money, with many other right reverend jests recorded by Joe Miller.

Several brothers of this family were likewise bred to the bar, and very

very gravely harangued against old women sucked by devils in the shape of ram-cats, &c.

As an instance of their profound wisdom and sagacity, I need only mention that just and truly pious act of parliament made against the crying sin of witchcraft, 1 Jac. I. chap. 12. "Such as shall use invocation or conjuration of any evil spirit, or shall consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, see, or reward any evil spirit, to any intent, or take up any dead person, or part thereof, to be used in witchcraft, or have used any of the said arts, whereby any person shall be killed, consumed, or lamed in his or her body, they, together with their accessories before the fact, shall suffer as felons, without benefit of clergy."

In the troublesome times of king Charles the first, nonsense and her family sided with the parliament. These set up new sects in religion: some of them cropped their hair short, and called themselves the enlightened; some fell into trances, and pretended to see holy visions; while others got into tubs, and held forth, with many whinings and groans, and snuffing through the nose.

In the merry days of king Charles II. nonsense assumed a more gay and libertine air; and her progeny, from fanatics, became downright infidels. Several courtiers of the family wrote lewd plays, as well as luscious love-songs, and other loose verses, which were collected together, and greedily bought up in miscellanies.

In the succeeding reign, some of the kindred, who had received their education at St. Omers, thought themselves on the point of establish-

ing nonsense in church and state, and were preparing to make bonfires on the occasion in Smithfield, when they were obliged to leave the kingdom.

Since the revolution, the field of politics has afforded large scope for nonsense and her family to make themselves remarkable. Hence arose the various sects in party, distinguished by the name of whig and tory, ministerial and Jacobite, Sunderlandians, Oxfordians, Godolphinians, Bolingbrokians, Walpolians, Pelhamians, &c. &c. &c. names which have kindled as hot a war in pamphlets and journals, as the Guelphs and Gibelines in Italy, or the Big and Little Endians in the kingdom of Lilliput.

I have here endeavoured to give a short abridgment of the history of nonsense; though a very small part of the exploits of the family can be included in so compendious a chronicle. Some of them were very deep scholars, and filled the professors chairs at the universities. They composed many elaborate dissertations, to convince the world, that two and two make four; and discovered, by dint of syllogism, that white is not black. Their inquiries in natural philosophy were no less extraordinary: many spent their lives and their fortunes in attempting to discover a wonderful stone, that should turn every baser metal into gold; and others employed themselves in making artificial wings, by the help of which they should fly up into the world of the moon. Another branch of the family took to the Belles Lettres, and were the original founders of the learned society of Grubstreet.

Never was any æra, in the annals of

of nonsense, more illustrious than the present; nor did that noble family more signally distinguish itself in every occupation.

In oratory, who are greater proficient than the progeny of nonsense? Witness many long and eloquent speeches delivered in St. Stephen's chapel, in Westminster-hall, the assizes and quarter sessions, at Clare-market, and the Robin Hood.

In philosophy, what marvellous things have not been proved by nonsense? the some-time-professor of astronomy at Gresham college shewed Sir Isaac Newton to be a mere ass, and wire-drawed the books of Moses into a complete system of natural philosophy: life-guard men have, with the utmost certainty of nonsense, foretold earthquakes; and others have penned curious essays on air-quakes, water-quakes, and comets.

In politics, how successfully have the sons of nonsense bandied about the terms of court and country? how wisely have they debated upon taxes? and with what amazing penetration did they but lately foresee an invasion?

In religion, their domain is particularly extensive: for though nonsense is excluded, at least from the first part of the service in all regular churches, yet she often occupies the whole ceremony at the tabernacle and foundery in Moor-fields, and the chapel at Long-acre. But, for the credit of so polite an age, be it known, that the children of nonsense, who are many of them people of fashion, are as often seen at the play-house as at church: and, it is something strange, that the family of nonsense is now divided against itself, and

in high contest about the management of their favourite amusement—the opera.

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*The writer of the following letters, was in England some years ago; though a stranger and friendless, he was patronized and protected by the generous nobleman to whom his first letter is directed; his noble patron recommended him to the late Duke of Cumberland, who sent him to the royal academy at Woolwich, where he continued a considerable time, and was remarkable for the diligent attention he paid to his military studies. He afterwards served as a volunteer in our army in Germany; behaved with great spirit, and was much esteemed, as well by the Hanoverian and Hessian, as by the English generals; from thence he went by land, making Russia his way to Georgia; with an intention to make his military acquisitions useful to the celebrated prince Heraclius, whom he considered as his sovereign.*

*Copy of the first letter of Emin to the then E. now D. of N — d.*

My Lord,

I Present you the specimen of my writing I promised. It is too bold, I am afraid, to make myself the subject, when I write for your lordship; but forgive, my lord, the language of a stranger; I have been in too low condition to know how to write proper to your lordship, but you speak to me more kind and humble than mean people; so I am encouraged.—I have very good designs, and I have

I have suffered very much hardships for them. I think your lordship will not despise a person in a mean condition, for thinking of something more than livelihood; I have with a good will thrown behind me a very easy livelihood for this condition, mean as it is; and I am not troubled, if I can carry my point at last. As long as I can remember my own family, and I remember my great grandfathers, they have been always soldiers, and always did remember Christ, though they were torn out of their country of Armenia by Shaw Abbas, and planted in Hamadan. After their captivity they were soldiers likewise; two of my uncles did spill their blood in the service of Kouly Kan; my father was his slave for many years, but he was at last forced to fly into India, because this tyrant had sharpened his battle-axe against his own army, more than upon his enemies. Soon after my father sent for me to Calcutta in Bengal, where he is a merchant. There I saw the fort of Europeans, and the soldiers exercise, and the shipping, and that they were dexterous and perfect in all things: Then I grieved within myself for my religion, and my country, that we were in slavery and ignorance, like Jews, vagabonds over the earth; and I spoke to my father upon all this; because our fathers did not fight for their country; but I understood that the Armenians in the mountains were free, and handled arms from their childhood; and that those under Patriarch, who are subject to the Turks and Persians, did not want courage; but they are all igno-

rant, and fight only with a wild and natural fierceness, and so they have no order, and do nothing but like robbers. And I resolved I would go to Europe to learn art military, and other sciences to assist that art; and I was sure that if I could go into Armenia, like European officer, I may be useful at last in some degree to my country; but my father did not listen to me, for God did not give him understanding in these things: I could not bear to live like a beast, eating and drinking without liberty or knowledge:—I went to captain Fox, of the ship Walpole, and kissed his feet hundred times, to let me work for my passage to Europe, before he would bend to me; but he did at last admit me; and I came to England with much labour; but it did not grieve me when I thought of my country; I entered myself with my little money into Mr. Middleton's academy; I had the honour to tell your lordship so before: I was first a scholar, and when my money was gone, I was a servant there for my learning; but he was broke, and I lost every thing: I went into the street to work for my bread, for I could not bear to go about vaging a tail at people's doors for a bit of meat. I will not grieve your lordship with the misery which I went through; I do not want to be pitied; I got service at last as a porter with one Mr. Robarts, a grocer in the city; in this time I carried sometimes burthens of near two hundred weight upon my back and paid out of my wages to learn some geometry, and to compleat myself in writing, and just to begin a little French; but because  
my

my lord, I almost starved myself to pay for this, and carried burthens more than my strength, I hurted myself so that I could not work any longer; so that I was in despair, and not care what become of me: but a friend put me to write with one Mr. Webster, an attorney in Cheapside, which for a little time got bread; but I was resolved, in despair, to go again to India, because nobody would put out his hand to help me to learn; and my uncle sent 60 pounds to governor Davis to carry me back. I am afraid I am too troublesome in my accounts to your lordship, but we people of Asia cannot say little in a great deal, like scholars. Now I met by chance some gentlemen who encouraged me, and gave me books to read, and advised me to kiss colonel Dingley's hands, and shew my business to him. He was a brave soldier, took me by the hand, spoke to his own serjeant, an honest man, to teach me manual exercise, and gave me Bland's Military Discipline, and promised to help me to learn gunnery and fortification; but I was again unforsuned; for when light just began to come to my eyes, he died, and I was like before, except that I knew a little of manual exercise, and read some of the Roman history; could learn no more nor live. I was broke to pieces, and bowed my neck to governor Davis, to go over to my friends, without doing any of these things I suffered for. I am in this net at present; but I am happier than all mankind, if I can

meet any great man who can prevail upon governor Davis to allow me something out of the money he has only upon condition that I return to blindness once again; that I may go through evolutions with the recruits, and learn gunnery and fortification, and if there is war, to go one year as a volunteer. If governor Davis writes, that I have great man here my protector, my father, who looks upon me as a person run away and forsaken, will make me an allowance to learn. If I could clear my own eyes; and serve my country and my religion, that is true under the foot of Musalman, I would go through all slavery and danger with a glad heart; but if I must return, after four years slavery and misery, to the same ignorance, without doing any good, would break my heart, my lord, in the end. I beg pardon, I have experience of your lordship's goodness, else I would not say so much; I would not receive; but return; and I want nothing but a little speaking from the authority of an Indian governor to my friends. I have always been honest. Those I have been slave to will say I am honest. Mr. Grey trusted me.

Here is a sort of story, nothing but your lordship's good nature can make tolerable. I am much obliged to your lordship for your patience. I shall be very proud of giving your lordship all the proof in my poor power, how much I am, &c.

Joseph Ameen.

Trans-

*Translation from the Armenian, of  
his letter to prince Heraclius.*

*To the most shining, most christian  
king Heraclius, of Georgia and  
Armenia.*

My King,

**A**L L things that have been made, from the beginning of the world to this day, are by the will of God, according to the new testament. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. God created the heaven and the earth, the sea and the land; and it is he that made you king over two nations, Armenians and Georgians. Glory be to God the father of our lord Jesus Christ, that made you defender and protector of those Christian nations, and of their faith who have been many hundred years under the hands of Persian unbelievers; and being now delivered by the mighty hands of your majesty, the same God will also, I hope, deliver these Christians, who are under the hands of Ottomans; for there is no difficulty in the mighty hands of God; and whosoever trust in him, shall not be ashamed. It was he that delivered Israel, by the hand of the prophet Moses, out of the hands of Pharoah, and fed them with manna, according to the holy Psalms, which saith, Men did eat the bread of angels: May the same God preserve and strengthen the wrist of your majesty, to defend us from the encroachment of barbarians! Amen.

Again, having heard the fame of your majesty's brave conquest, by which you have possessed the

two antient kingdoms of Armenia and Georgia, and that they are at present under your majesty's protection, being desirous, from the readiness of my soul, to offer your majesty my service, which I hope you will make no difficulty to accept it, as money is far from the desire of your majesty's servant, who wishes nothing but to serve him who has the rule over his nation; for while I am here, I want nothing: I have a great friend here, and that great friend is my protector; and that protector is the son of the king of England. If it please your majesty to instruct me of your will and pleasure, that I may petition to this great prince, in order to obtain leave to come and to serve you as an European officer, according to my low abilities; and that I may teach your soldiers to fight like Europeans, who are very well known to your majesty, that with a few men they overcome many.

Your majesty has heard of the German nation, who, with no more than twenty thousand men, are able to give battle to a hundred thousand Mahometans or Turks, an enemy to the Christian nations: I would also acquaint your majesty, how it is, or by what means, that the European nation are such conquerors, and so brave warriors. It is a rule among them, that whoever is desirous to become a warrior, first, he is obliged to enter himself into the house of exercise, which they call it here, an academy to learn or to study, four or five years, the art of war, that is to say, to learn the art of building strong castles, the like of which are not to be found in all Asia; and also



the art of managing great guns in such a manner, as none of our fortifications could stand before them for three day; likewise, the manner of encamping with judgment, and the way of ranging of the soldiers, for which they are like a wall of iron, not to be broken; and after having thoroughly completed his study in that art, leaves the place, goes and offers himself and his service to his prince or king, thereby becomes an officer, or fighter for his king and country; and by long experience perfects himself in that great art; for the art of war here is not to be understood easily; it contains many things difficult to be known, and very much preferable to the practice of Turks and Persians. See, O mighty king, it is not by strength of arm, that these nations are called conquerors, but by wisdom and art. Here every thing is by art and wisdom; for without wisdom the land is not land; and the nations that dwell therein, are blind and unhappy. According to the old testament, which saith, God made the heaven and the earth by his infinite wisdom; therefore God loveth wisdom for this reason. I say, whosoever followeth wisdom, he is dear, or beloved of God; for from wisdom proceedeth all manner of goodness; also, a man is not mighty without wisdom, nor wise without righteousness. The antient Romans, who were so great, gave laws, and subdued all nations of the world; this was by art and wisdom; before our Saviour, although they were heathens and idolaters; but they were virtuous, and lived in good morals: another example, Peter the Great, of Rus-

sa, who could not be so great a warrior, and his country could never have been so blessed, and flourished, had not he come over here to learn wisdom, who, when he was in Holland, served in a place of ship-building, like one of the labourers, and humbled himself therein; whosoever humbled himself shall be exalted, &c. And when he returned into his own country, he was full of all manner of wisdom, by which he made himself father, as well as lord and king over his country. These are things which have made the people of Europe to be conquerors, and to be esteemed more wise than all the nations upon the face of the earth; for amongst them are learned men, who study the way in which God has made all things according to their nature, by which they are able to do things of great wonder and usefulness. They send likewise into every part of the world, at a great expence, for to learn all things that are produced upon, or under the earth, by which they are increased in wisdom and riches; their cities are very great, their people are very happy, not being afraid of famine or dangers, and they are under excellent laws, by which no man is suffered to do wrong to another, though he is weak or poor. But this nation, this great and mighty nation, O my king! where I live, is not only great and wise nation, but also destroyers of the devourers of mankind. I am surprised to see, that even the sheep in this country rest in quietness without the least fear of wolves. May the great God grant your majesty's subjects to follow their examples, to grow  
wise

wise and conquerors, under the wisdom and courage of your majesty, to whom God grant long life, to trample your enemies like dust under your feet.

May it please your majesty to know who your servant is, that raises his head to speak to you, and takes pains to know these things, with much labour, for your majesty's service, to whom God grant victory. The name of your servant is Emin, the son of Joseph, the son of Michael, the son of Gregory, who is descended from Emin, who, in the day when Armenia was broke under the battle-axe of Shaw Abbas, was Minbashty in his country; but he was made captive, with others, and was carried into Persia, and placed at Hamadan; from him your majesty's servant is come, and he is called of his name, being born at Hamadan; but our captivity was grievous under the Persians, who, since Mahometanism, which is well known to your majesty, are grown quite barbarians, not being so civilized as they were in antient times, (according to the histories I have read in this blessed island) so that my father flew from Hamadan, in the time of Shaw Thamas Kouly Kan, into India, to a place called Calcutta, where the English have a fort, and soldiers, and a great trade, though their country is seven months voyage from Bengal; there my father made himself a merchant to this day; and would have made me such as himself, but I did not submit to him; for I enquired of my fathers from my infancy, the reason why we were persecuted by infidels? and why we did reside so contemptibly amongst lawless nations? but they

made me no answer, and my heart was grieved, and I had none to comfort me in my griefs; for I said, the ants that creep upon the earth have a king, and we have not; and the nations of all countries make their laugh upon us, also persecuting, saying to us, that you are masterless; you have no king of your own, and that you resemble the Jews scattered upon the face of the earth; you have no love for one another; you are without honour; and by the disunity of your nation, all the nations insult you; you are contemptible, and without zeal; and you are as great lovers of money, as the heathens did love their gods. I could not bear all these reflections, whilst I grieved, and found none to heal me. I observed watchfully the Europeans, their wise customs, and their shipping, far better both for sailing and for war, than the ships of the Indians; and above all, the practice of their soldiers, who, if they were thousands of men, by one word of command from their officers, instantly all together move and act, as if they were one man. Then I thought in my mind, that it was God that had put in my heart to think on all things. Therefore, I spoke not to my father, but had hopes in my heart, that if I went to England, I should learn the art of war, and I was encouraged, for I then heard a little, and not much, of your majesty's name, until I came here, where I learned that your majesty was established in your kingdom, and had routed a great army of Persians. See! O my king, what great thing the wisdom is, by which this nation know our country better than we do;

do; and that this nation are awake, and we are asleep. On board the ship I worked like a sailor; and afterwards, when I came here, was so reduced, that I was forced by hunger, to offer myself to sale upon the Exchange, to be sent into the new world. O! my king, do not pity me; no, not even at that time when you hear, or see me sacrificed in your service, but pity those servants of Christ, who deserve pity; but the omnipotent God saved me by the hands of an Englishman; and the same God who heard the crying of my heart, did put it into the heart of a generous nobleman, who is one of the pillars of the throne of England, to assist me. He made me right in the counsel of my heart; he made me known to the son of the king of England; he sent me to the place of education, where I learnt the art of war, according to wisdom.

My ambition is to lay my knowledge at the feet of your majesty, and to serve you in the best of my ability. For know, O my king, that what is not built on knowledge, though it is very strong and lofty, is as if it were built upon sand; therefore, my purpose is, to go well instructed into your majesty's service, and to carry with me men skilful in all things, (if you give me encouragement,) to strengthen and polish your kingdom, like the kingdoms of Europe: for you have a good country, and command over many brave men; and if you could gather the Armenians, a rich and trading people, who are scattered to the east, and the west, and the north; and the south, under the protection of your majesty's arms

in your own country, no kingdom in the east would be like your kingdom, for riches and glory. May the eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, sharpen your scimitar upon all your enemies, and strengthen the wrist of your majesty's right hand, to protect our distressed nation, according to the wishes and labours of your servant.

\*.\* It is not certainly known whether this letter came to Heraclius's hand.

x.\* The letter to the D. of N—— is printed from the original, in Emin's own hand writing; the character remarkably fair, and even mercantile.

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*From Voltaire's Ignorant Philosopher.*

**P**Ythagoras, during his residence in India, learnt, as all the world knows, at the school of the Gymnosophists, the language of beasts and that of plants. Walking one day in a field near the sea-shore, he heard these words: How unhappy am I to be born an herb! Scarce have I attained two inches in height before a devouring monster, a horrid animal, tramples me under his feet; his jaw is armed with a row of sharp scythes, with which he cuts me, tears me, and then swallows me. Man calls this monster a sheep. I do not think there is in the whole creation a more abominable creature.

Pythagoras advanced a few steps: he met with an oyster that was yawning upon a small rock. He had not yet embraced that admirable law by which we are forbidden to eat our own likeness. He

He was going to swallow the oyster, when it uttered these soothing words: O nature, how happy is the herb, which is like thy work! when it is cut it regenerates and is immortal; and we poor oysters, in vain are we defended by a double buckler; villains eat us by dozens at their breakfast, and it is over with us for ever. What a dreadful destiny is that of an oyster, and how barbarous is man!

Pythagoras shuddered; he felt the enormity of the crime he was going to commit; he weeping asked pardon of the oyster, and replaced him very snug upon the rock.

Whilst he was returning to the city, in a profound meditation at this adventure, he observed some spiders that were eating flies, swallows that were eating spiders, sparrow-hawks that were eating swallows. None of these folks, said he, are philosophers.

Pythagoras upon his entrance was hurtled, bruised, and thrown down by a multitude of beggars and bunters, who ran in crying, Well done, he deserved it. Who? what? said Pythagoras, getting up; whilst the people continued running and crying, We shall have high fun in seeing them broil.

Pythagoras imagined they were speaking of lentiles, or some other kind of vegetable—but he was quite mistaken—they meant two poor Indians. Oh! said Pythagoras, these are doubtless two great philosophers, who are tired of their lives; they are desirous of regenerating under another form; there is a pleasure in changing the place of one's abode, though one may be badly lodged—there is no disputing taste.

He went on with the mob as far as the public square, where he saw the great pile of wood lighted, and opposite to it a bench, which was called a tribunal; upon this bench judges were seated, each of whom held a cow's tail in his hand, and they had caps upon their heads, which greatly resembled the two ears of that animal which formerly carried Silenus, when he came into the country with Bacchus, after having crossed the Erythrean sea dry-footed, and stopped the course of the sun and moon, as it is very faithfully related in the Orphics.

There was amongst these judges an honest man well known to Pythagoras. The sage of India explained to the sage of Samos the nature of the festival the Indian people were going to assist at.

The two Indians, said he, are not at all desirous of being burnt; my grave brethren have condemned them to that punishment, one for having said that the substance of Xaca is not the substance of Brama; and the other for having suspected that we please the Supreme Being by virtue, without holding, at the point of death, a cow by the tail, because, said he, we may be virtuous at all times, and because one cannot always meet with a cow just as one may have occasion for her. The good women of the city were so terrified with two such heretical propositions, that they would not leave the judges in peace, till such time as they ordered the execution of these two unfortunate men.

Pythagoras judged that from the herb up to man there were many causes of uneasiness. He, however, made the judges and even

the devotees listen to reason, which never happened but at that one time.

He afterwards went and preached toleration at Crotona; but one of his adversaries set fire to his house; he was burnt—the man who had saved two Indians from the flames.—Let those escape who can.

*Account of an Essay on the learning of Shakespear. By Richard Farmer, M. A.*

**T**H E question, whether Shakespear had any considerable knowledge of the learned languages? has been long agitated among the critics. Mr. Farmer is of opinion with those, who imagine that he had not; for which he brings several arguments.

The testimony of Ben Johnson (says our author) stands foremost; and many have held it sufficient to decide the controversy. In the warmest panegyric that ever was written, he apologizes for what he supposed the only defect in his “beloved friend:”

————— “Soul of the age!

Th’ applause, delight, and wonder of our stage\*”

But Johnson is by no means our only authority. Drayton, the countryman and acquaintance of Shakespeare, determines his excellence to the natural brain only. Digges, a wit of the town before Shakespeare left the stage, is very strong to the purpose:

—“Nature only helpt him, for look thorough

This whole book, thou shalt find he doth not borrow

One phrase from Greeks, nor Latines imitate,

Nor once from vulgar languages translate.”

Suckling opposes his easier strain to the sweets of learned Johnson. Denham assures us, that all he had was from old mother-wit. His native wood-notes wild, every one remembers to be celebrated by Milton.

Fuller, a diligent and equal searcher after truth and quibbles, declares positively, that “his learning was very little,—that nature was all the art used upon him, as he himself, if alive, would confess it, when he apologized for his untutored lines to his noble patron the earl of Southampton?

“Shakespeare however hath frequent allusions to the facts and fables of antiquity.”—I will endeavour to shew how they came to his acquaintance.

It is notorious, that much of his matter of fact knowledge is deduced from Plutarch; but in what language he read him, has yet been the question. Take a few instances, which will elucidate this matter sufficiently.

In the third act of Anthony and Cleopatra, Octavius represents to his courtiers the imperial pomp of those illustrious lovers, and the arrangement of their dominion,

—————“Unto her

He gave the ’stablishment of Egypt, made her

Of lower Syria, Cyprus, Lydia, Absolute queen.”

Read Libya, says Mr. Upton,

\* Ben Johnson, in this copy of verses, says that Shakespear had

“Small Latin and less Greek.”

Some read no Greek; which (says Mr. Farmer) was adopted, above a century ago by a panegyrist on Cartwright.

autho-

authoritatively as is plain from Plutarch.

This is very true : but turn to the translation, from the French of Amyot, by Thomas North, 1579, and you will at once see the origin of the mistake.

“ First of all he did establish Cleopatra queene of Egypt, of Cyprus, of Lydia, and the lower Syria.

Again in the fourth act :

—————“ My messenger  
He hath whipt with rods, dares  
me to personal combat,  
Cæsar to Anthony. Let the old  
ruffian know

I have many ways to die ; mean  
time.

Laugh at his challenge.”

“ What a reply is this, cries Mr. Upton, ’tis acknowledging he should fall under the unequal combat. But if we read,

—————“ Let th’ old ruffian know  
He hath many other ways to  
die ; mean time

I laugh at his challenge.”

We have the poignancy and the very repartee of Cæsar in Plutarch.”

Most indisputably it is the sense of Plutarch, and given so in the modern translations : But Shakespeare was misled by the ambiguity of the old one, “ Antonius sent again to challenge Cæsar to fight him. Cæsar answered that he had many other ways to die than so.”

In the third act of Julius Cæsar, Anthony, in his well-known harangue to the people, repeats a part of the emperor’s will :

—————“ To every Roman citizen he gives  
To every sev’ral man, seventy-five drachma:—

Moreover he hath left you all his  
walks,

His private arbours, and new  
planted orchards,

On this side Tyber.”

“ Our author certainly wrote, says Mr. Theobald, on that side Tyber.—*Trans Tiberim—prope Cæsaris hortos.* And Plutarch, whom Shakespeare very diligently studied, expressly declares, that he left the public his gardens and walks beyond the Tyber.”

But hear again the old translation where Shakespeare’s study lay : “ he bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome, seventy-five drachmas a man, and he left his gardens and arbours unto the people, which he had on this side of the river Tyber.”

Mr. Farmer proceeds to show, that Shakespeare took many of the subjects for his plays from English authors or translators, and not from books in the learned tongue.

But to come nearer to the purpose, what will you say, (says he) if I can show you, that Shakespeare, when in the favourite phrase, he had a latin classic in his eye, most assuredly made use of a translation.

Prospero in the tempest begins the address to his spirits,

“ Ye elves of hills, of standing  
lakes and groves,”

This speech, Dr. Warburton rightly observes to be borrowed from Medea’s in Ovid : And it proves, says Mr. Holt beyond contradiction, that Shakespeare was perfectly acquainted with the sentiments of the ancients on the subject of enchantments. The original lines are these,

“ *Auræque, & venti, montesque,  
amnesque, lacusque,*



*Diique omnes nemorum, diique omnes noctis adesce."*

The translation of which by Golding is by no means literal, and Shakespeare hath closely followed it;

"Ye ayres and winds; ye elves of hills, of brookes, of woodes alone, Of itanding lakes, and of the night, approche ye everych one.

In the Merchant of Venice, the Jew, as an apology for his behaviour to Anthonio, rehearses many sympathies and antipathies for which no reason can be rendered,

"Some love not a gaping pig—  
And others when a bagpipe  
sings i'th' nose

Cannot contain their urine for affection."

This incident, Dr. Warburton supposes to be taken from a passage in Scaliger's Exercitationes against Cardan. And, proceeds the Doctor, to make this jocular story still more ridiculous, Shakespeare, I suppose, translated phorminx by bagpipes.

Here we seem fairly caught; for Scaliger's work was never, as the term goes, done into English. But luckily in an old book translated from the French of Peter le Loier, entitled, a Treatise of Spectres, or strange Sights, we have this identical story from Scaliger; and what is still more, a marginal note gives us in all probability the very fact alluded to, as well as the word of Shakespear, "Another gentleman of this quality liued of late in Deuon neere Excester, who could not endure the playing on a bagpipe."

A word in Queen Catherine's character of Wolsey, in Henry the eighth, is brought by the doctor

as another argument for the learning of Shakespeare.

————— "He was a man  
Of an unbounded stomach, ever  
ranking  
Himself with princes; one that  
by suggestion  
Ty'd all the kingdom. Simony  
was fair play.  
His own opinion was his law,  
i'th' presence  
He would say untruths, and be  
ever double  
Both in his words and meaning.  
He was never  
But where he meant to ruin,  
pitiful.  
His promises were, as he then  
was, mighty;  
But his performance, as he now  
is, nothing.  
Of his own body he was ill, and  
gave the clergy ill example."

The word suggestion, says the critic, is here used with great propriety, and seeming knowledge of the Latin tongue. And he proceeds to settle the sense of it from the late Roman writers and their glosses: But Shakespeare's knowledge was from Holingshed; he follows him verbatim.

"This cardinal was of a great stomach, for he compted himself equal with princes, and by craftie suggestion got into his hands innumerable treasure: He forced little on simonie, and was not pitiful, and stood affectionate in his own opinion: In open presence he would lie and seie untruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: He would promise much and performe little: He was vicious of his bodie, and gaue the clergie euil example." And it is one of the articles of his impeachment

peachment in Dr. Fiddes's collections, "That the said Lord Cardinal got a bull for the suppressing certain houses of religion, by his untrue suggestion to the pope."

A stronger argument hath been brought from the plot of Hamlet. Dr Grey and Mr. Whalley assure us, that for this Shakespeare must have read Saxo Grammaticus in the original, for no translation hath been made into any modern language. But the misfortune is that he did not take it from Saxo at all; a novel called the historie of Hamblet was his original: a fragment of which, in black letter, I have seen in the hands of a very curious and intelligent gentleman.

Mr. Farmer takes notice of the supposition that the Comedy of Errors is founded on the Menæchmi, which is (says he) notorious: Nor is it less so, that a translation of it by W. W. perhaps William Warner, the author of Albion's England, was extant in the time of Shakespeare \*

But the sheet-anchor holds fast: Shakespeare himself hath left some translations from Ovid.

Shakespeare was not the author of these translations, says Mr. Farmer, who proves them to have been written by Thomas Haywood. He proves likewise a book in prose, (in which are many quotations from the classics) ascribed to William Shakespeare, to have been written by William Stafford.

Mr. Farmer mentions many other instances concerning the learning of Shakespear, with respect to the ancient languages, and makes several observations on

his supposed knowledge of the modern ones.

We shall conclude with a curious circumstance relating to Shakespeare's acting the ghost in his own Hamlet, in which he is said to have failed.

Dr. Lodge, says Mr. Farmer, who as well as his quondam colleague Greene, was ever pesteting the town with pamphlets, published one in the year 1566, called "Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnasse, discovering the devils incarnate of this age." One of these devils is Hate-vertue, who, says the doctor, "looks as pale as the visard of the Ghost, which cried so miserably at the theatre, like an oister-wife, *Hamlet Revenge.*"

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*An essay on the expression of the passions in painting, translated from the Italian of the celebrated Algarotti.*

MANY have written, and among the rest, the famous Le Brun, on the various changes, that, according to various passions, happen in the muscles of the face, which is, as it were the dumb tongue of the soul. They observe, for example, that in fits of anger, the face reddens, the muscles of the lips puff out, the eyes sparkle; and that on the contrary, in fits of melancholy, the eyes grow motionless and dead, the face pale, and the lips sink in. It may be of service to a painter to read these, and such other remarks; but it will be of infinitely more service to study them in nature itself, from

\* This, we are told in the preface of Mr. Thornton's translation of the Comedies of Plautus, just published, is in the collection of Mr. Garrick, and is dated 1595.

which they have been borrowed, and which exhibits them in that lively manner, which neither tongue nor pen can express.

But if a painter is to have immediate recourse to nature in any thing, it is particularly in treating those very minute, and almost imperceptible differences, by which, however, things very different from each other, are often expressed. This is particularly the case with regard to the passions of laughing and crying, as in these, however contrary, the muscles of the face operate nearly in the same manner.

As the famous Pietro de Cortona was one day finishing the face of a crying child, in a representation of the iron age, with which he was adorning the floor, called the hot bath, in the royal palace of Pitti, Ferdinand II. who happened to be looking over him for his amusement, could not forbear expressing his approbation, by crying out, oh ! how well that child cries ! to whom the able artist, — Has your majesty a mind to see how easy it is to make children laugh ? behold, I'll prove it in an instant ; and taking up his pencil, by giving the contour of the mouth a concave turn downwards, instead of the convex upwards, which it before had, and with little or no alteration in any other part of the face, he made the child, who a little before seemed ready to burst its heart with crying, appear in equal danger of bursting its sides with immoderate laughter ; and then, by restoring the altered features to their former position, he soon set the child a crying again.

According to Leonardo da Vinci, the best masters that a painter can have recourse to in this branch, are

those dumb men, who have found out the method of expressing their sentiments by the motion of their hands, eyes, eye-brows, and in short every other part of the body. This advice, no doubt, is very good, but then such gestures must be imitated with great sobriety and moderation, lest they should appear too strong and exaggerated, and the piece should shew nothing but pantomimes, when speaking figures alone are to be exhibited, and so become theatrical and second-hand, or at least look like the copy of theatrical and second-hand nature.

We are told strange things of the ancient painters of Greece in regard to expression, especially of Aristides, who, in a picture of his, representing a woman wounded to death at a siege, with a child crawling to her breast, makes her afraid, lest the child, when she was dead, should for want of milk, suck her blood. A Medea murdering her children by Timomachus, was likewise much cried up, as the ingenious artist contrived to express at once in her countenance, both the fury that hurried her on to the commission of so great a crime, and the tenderness of a mother, that seemed to withhold her from it. Rubens attempted to express such a double effect in the face of Mary of Medicis, still in pain from her last labour, and at the same time, full of joy at the birth of a Dauphin. And in the countenance of Sancta Polonia, painted by Fierpolo for St. Anthony's church at Padua, one may, I think, clearly read a mixture of pain from the wound given her by the executioner, and of pleasure from the prospect of paradise opened to her by it.

Few,

Few, to say the truth, are the examples of strong expression afforded by the Venetian, Flemish, or Lombard schools. Deprived of that great happiness, the happiness of being able to contemplate at leisure the works of the ancients, the purest sources of perfection in point of design, expression, and character, and having nothing but nature constantly before their eyes, they made strength of colouring, blooming complexion, and the grand effects of the *chiaro oscuro* their principal study; they aimed more at charming the senses, than at captivating the understanding. The Venetians, in particular, seem to have placed their whole glory in setting off their pieces, with all that rich variety of personages and dress, which their capital is continually receiving, by means of its extensive commerce, and which attracts so much the eyes of all those who visit it. I doubt much if in all the pictures of Paul Veronese, there is to be found a bold and judicious expression, or one of those attitudes, which, as Petrarch expresses it, speak without words; unless perhaps, it be that remarkable one in his marriage-feast at Cana in Galilee, and which, I don't remember to have seen taken notice of before. At one end of the table, and directly opposite to the bridegroom, whose eyes are fixed upon her, there appears a woman in red, holding up to him the skirt of her garment, as much as to say, I suppose, that the wine miraculously produced, was exactly of the colour with the stuff on her back. And in fact it is red wine we see in the cups and pitchers. But all this while, the faces of the company betray not the least

sign of wonder at so extraordinary a miracle. They all in a manner appear intent upon nothing but eating, drinking, and making merry. Such in general is the style of the Venetian school. The Florentine, over which Michael Angelo presided, above all things curious of design, was most minutely and scrupulously exact in point of anatomy; on this she set her heart, and took singular pleasure in displaying it; not only elegance of form, and nobleness of invention, but likewise strength of expression, triumph in the Roman school, nursed as it were among the works of the Greeks, and in the bosom of a city which had once been the seminary of learning and politeness. Here it was, that Domenichino and Poussin, both great masters of expression, refined themselves, as appears more particularly by the St. Jerom of the one, and the death of Germanicus, or the slaughter of the innocents, by the other.

Here it was, that arose Raphael, the sovereign master of his art. One would imagine that pictures, which are the books of the ignorant, and of the ignorant only, he had undertaken to make the instructors even of the learned. One would imagine, that he intended in some measure, to justify Quintilian, who affirms, that painting has more power over us than all the arts of rhetoric. There is not indeed a single picture of Raphael, from the study of which, those who are curious in the point of expression may not reap great benefit, particularly his martyrdom of St. Felicitas, his Magdalene in the house of the Pharisee, his

his transfiguration, his Joseph explaining to Pharaoh his dream, a piece so highly rated by Poussin. His school of Athens, in the Vatican, is to all intents and purposes, a school of expression. Among the many miracles of art, with which this piece abounds, I shall single out that of the four boys attending on a mathematician, who stooping to the ground, his compasses in his hand, is giving them the demonstration of a theorem; one of the boys, recollected within himself, keeps back, with all the appearance of profound attention to the reasoning of the master, another by the briskness of his attitude discovers a greater quickness of apprehension, while the third, who has already seized the conclusion, is endeavouring to beat it into the fourth, who, standing motionless, with open arms, a staring countenance, and an unspeakable air of stupidity in his looks, will never perhaps be able to make any thing of the matter; and it is probably from this very group, that Albani, who studied Raphael so closely, drew the following precept, viz.

“That it behoves a painter to express more circumstances than one by every attitude, and so to employ his figures, that by barely seeing what they are actually about one may be able to guess, both what they have been already doing, and are next going to do.” This I know to be a difficult precept; but I know too, that it is only by a due observance of it, the eye and the mind can be made to hang in suspense on a painted piece of canvass. It is expression, that a painter, ambitious to soar in his profession, must above

all things labour to perfect himself in. It is the last goal of his art, as Socrates proves to Parrhasius. It is in expression that dumb poetry consists, and what the prince of our poets calls a visible language.

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*A Letter from the Abbe Metastasio on the musical drama, addressed to the author of an essay on the union of music and poetry.*

S I R,

YOU are not mistaken; I read your book with the greatest surprise. By this essay alone, we can form a judgment of the acuteness of your wit, the solidity of your taste, and the depth of your knowledge in the arts. There is no Italian, at least as far as I know, who has carried his views and reflections so near to the first sources of that lively and delicate pleasure, which is produced from the present system of our musical drama, and which is still capable of farther improvement.

Your ingenious and particular analysis of the measure and cadence of our airs; the dexterity by which you point out, in a manner intirely new, the necessity of displaying and setting off the chief motive in all adventitious ornaments; the judicious comparison you draw on that subject, between the musical art, and that of design in painting, wherein the parts untouched by the pencil, should always be perceived amidst the drapery: Your remarks on the climax of gradual progressions, by means of which, in passing from the simple to the compound recitative, we should imitate those changes that are produced,

duced, by playing with the violence of our passions, and many other parts of your learned dissertation, which I omit, to avoid transcribing the whole, are still less valuable for the truth which is peculiar to them, than on account of the prodigious advantages, that may be drawn from them by such artists as are capable of unvailing them, and applying useful and suitable observations. I owe you my thanks, both as an author and as an Italian, and I give them you with the greatest pleasure. But, jealous as I may be of the good sense of a judge like you, yet as a poet I would chuse that my own art should lose nothing, by the preference you have given to music, in regarding this as the principal object of the drama, and in attributing its progress to its being disengaged from the shackles of poetry.

When music, in concert with poetry, aspires to superiority, it destroys poetry, and loses itself. It would be a great absurdity to suppose, that the habiliments could ever be capable of meriting more regard, or attracting more attention than the very person for whom they were designed. My dramatic pieces are much better received in all parts of Italy, when they are simply declaimed, than when they are sung in air or recitative. Make the same trial of the finest piece of music, stript of the ornament of words, do you imagine it will stand the test? Those airs called *bravura*, the too frequent use of which you justly condemn, are directly the last effort of music, endeavouring to usurp an empire over poetry. Music, in these airs, pays no regard to situation or characters,

neither doth it interest our passions, sentiments, or reason. It only displays its native charms; but then, what pleasure, what applause doth it excite? A pleasure that arises merely from novelty and surprise; such plaudits as cannot be justly refused to a rope-dancer, whose performance exceeds the expectation of the public.

Yet proud of this success, our modern music has insolently revolted against poetry, it has neglected the true and genuine expression, and has considered words but as a servile vehicle, which must submit to all its capricious extravagances in opposition to the rules of good sense. The theatre no longer resounds, but with the airs called *bravura*, and music has thus hastened its own fall, when it had before occasioned the ruin of the drama.

Those pleasures which make no impression on the understanding, or which interest not the affections, are of very short duration. It is certain mankind easily yield to mechanical sensations, when they are agreeable, and have the force of novelty and surprise, but they cannot absolutely renounce their reasoning faculty, for the bare satisfaction of being pleased. The inconveniency I here complain of, is now arrived at so intolerable an height, as to make it necessary from this moment, that music, as a rebellious slave, should either again submit to its lawful sovereign, which can adorn it with such grace and beauty, or that it should totally withdraw, and blend itself no more with poetry, and let poetry for the future be satisfied with its own proper melody; whilst music shall be content with regulating the har-



harmony of a concert, or presiding over the movements of a dance, without ever meddling with the affairs of the buskin. I have the honour to be, &c.

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*An Essay on Elegies.*

THE critics have been very laborious in settling the boundaries of pastoral writing; and in the delicacy of their judgment, have struck many compositions both of Theocritus and Virgil out of the list, of which it may be said, as Pope *handsomely* says of his own, if they are not pastorals, they are something better. It were to be wished that they had used also the same judicial severity, in ascertaining the nature of elegy; though by that means, many a putter together of long and short verse in Latin, and many an alternate rhymist in English, had been at a loss to know what species of poetry he writ in. The poems of Tyrtæus are, it is true, *called* elegies, but with much the same propriety, as if we were to call the piscatory eclogues of Sannazarius, pastorals; they walk, indeed, in the measure of elegy, but breathe all the spirit of the ode.

The elegiac muse seems to be the natural companion of distress; and the immediate feelings of the heart, the object of all her expression. Hence she is generally called in to the assistance of despairing lovers, who, having received their death's wound from their mistress's eyes, breathe out their amorous ditties, and like the dying swan, expire in harmony. What the elegies of Callimachus were, the learned can only conjecture; but

they must have been better than those of his professed imitator Propertius, or antiquity had never been so lavish in their commendation. In Propertius, we see the versifying scholar, who perhaps never loved any woman at all: in Ovid, the poet, and the man of gallantry, who would intrigue with every woman he met; while the elegant Tibullus, one of love's devoted slaves, as he always speaks from his own heart, makes a forcible impression upon ours.

The hopes, fears, and anxieties, with all the tumults of passion which distract the lover's breast, will not give him time to think of the mode of expression, or to fetch his illusions from books; nature is contented to deliver herself with perspicuity, and where the sentiment is natural, the phrase cannot be too simple. Upon no subject whatever have so many prettinesses and absurd conceits been invented as love; yet, surely where the head has been so painfully laborious, we may safely pronounce the heart to have been perfectly at ease. — Love is not ingenious; though the affected Italians, and ridiculous French poets of the last century, not to mention our own Cowley, have brought their judgment in question, by an exuberant display of false wit. The plaintive muse is generally represented to us, as

*Paffis elegeia capillis,*

“as one that discards all shew, and appears in dishevelled locks;” but the politer moderns are for putting her hair into papers; and whether the complaint turns upon the death of a friend, or the loss of a mistress, the passion must stand still,

still, till the expression is got ready to introduce it. When we are truly affected, we have no leisure to think of art: “*Simplex & ingenua est mœroris vox; flebilis, intermissa, fracta, concisa oratio\**.” Then our language is unadorned, and unembarrassed with epithets, and perhaps, in that book, in which there are more instances of true and sublime simplicity, than all the ancients together, there are less epithets to be met with than in any authors whatever: and I cannot help thinking the ill success many poets have met with in paraphrasing those divine writers, has been principally owing to their weakening the sublimity of the poetry, by idle description, and clogging the simplicity of the sentiment with the affected frippery of epithetical ornament.

Elegy, it must be confessed, has often extended her province, and the moral contemplations of the poet have sometimes worn her melancholy garb. As in the celebrated poem of Mr. Gray, written in a church-yard. For though she is generally the selfish mourner of domestic distress, whether it be upon the loss of a friend, or disappointment in love; she sometimes enlarges her reflections upon universal calamities, and with a becoming dignity, as in the inspired writers, pathetically weeps over the fall of nations.

In short, whatever the subject is, the language of this species of poetry should be simple and unaffected, the thoughts natural and pathetic, and the numbers flowing and harmonious. Mr. Mason has written elegies, with some success: but whoever examines them, in expectation of meeting these requi-

sites, will be disappointed; he will be sometimes pleased indeed; but seldom satisfied. For, in his moral essays, or epistles, or any thing but elegies, the sentiments, which are but thinly scattered, though they glitter with the glare of expression, and amble along by the artful aid of alliteration:

“Play round the head, but come not near the heart.”

Yet, even though we can see the labour the poet has been at, in culling his words, and pairing his epithet with his substantive, his success has not been always equal to his labours. There is, indeed, too apparently in his poems, the *curiositas verborum*; but not always the *curiosa felicitas*.

I cannot take leave of this subject, without indulging myself in one remark, which may perhaps be of use to those poets who have never read, and are determined to write. The elegy, ever since Mr. Gray's excellent one in the church-yard, has been in alternate rhyme, which is by many ridiculously imagined to be a new measure adapted to plaintive subjects, introduced by that ingenious author, whereas it is heroic verse, and to be met with in Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*; and all through the long and tedious poem of Davenant's *Gondibert*. The couplet is equally proper for this kind of poetry, as the alternate rhyme; and though Gray and Hammond have excelled in the last, Pope's elegy on the death of an unfortunate young lady, will prove those numbers equally expressive and harmonious; nor shall I doubt to place our English ballads, such as have been written by Rowe, Gay,

\* Lowth's Prefect.

Gay, and the natural, easy Shenstone, in the rank of elegy; as they partake more of the simple pathetic, and display the real feelings of the heart, with less parade, than those affected compositions of classical labour.

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*Two Letters from Mr. Everard, F. S. M. containing an adventure, of which he was a witness, at the quick-silver mine of Idra. Translated from the Italian just published.*

Dear Sir,

**T**HE pleasure I always take in writing to you wherever I am, and whatever doing, in some measure dispels my present uneasiness; an uneasiness caused at once by the disagreeable aspect of every thing round me, and the more disagreeable circumstances of the count Alberti, with whom you were once acquainted. You remember him one of the gayest, most agreeable persons at the court of Vienna; at once the example of the men, and the favourite of the fair sex. I often heard you repeat his name with esteem, as one of the few that did honour to the present age, as possessed of generosity and pity in the highest degree; as one who made no other use of fortune but to alleviate the distresses of mankind. That gentleman, Sir, I wish I could say, is now no more; yet, too unhappily for him, he exists, but in a situation more terrible than the most gloomy imagination can conceive.

After passing through several parts of the Alps, and having visited Germany, I thought I could

not well return home without visiting the quick-silver mines at Idra, and seeing those dreadful subterranean caverns, where thousands are condemned to reside, shut out from all hopes of ever seeing the cheerful light of the sun, and obliged to toil out a miserable life under the whips of imperious task-masters. Imagine to yourself, an hole in the side of a mountain, of about five yards over; down this you are let, in a kind of bucket, more than an hundred fathom, the prospect growing still more gloomy, yet still widening, as you descend. At length, after swinging in terrible suspense for some time in this precarious situation, you at length reach the bottom, and tread on the ground, which, by its hollow sound under your feet, and the reverberations of the echo, seems thundering at every step you take. In this gloomy and frightful solitude, you are enlightened by the feeble gleam of lamps, here and there disposed, so as that the wretched inhabitants of these mansions can go from one part to another without a guide. And yet, let me assure you, that though they by custom could see objects very distinctly by these lights, I could scarce discern, for some time, any thing, not even the person who came with me to shew me these scenes of horror.

From this description, I suppose, you have but a disagreeable idea of the place; yet let me assure you, that it is a palace, if we compare the habitation with the inhabitants! Such wretches my eyes never yet beheld. The blackness of their visages only serves to cover an horrid paleness, caused by the noxious qualities of the mineral they are employed in procuring. As they, in

in general, consist of malefactors condemned for life to this task, they are fed at the public expence; but they seldom consume much provision, as they lose their appetites in a short time; and commonly in about two years expire, from a total contraction of all the joints of the body.

In this horrid mansion I walked after my guide for some time, pondering on the strange tyranny and avarice of mankind, when I was accosted by a voice behind me, calling me by name, and enquiring after my health with the most cordial affection. I turned and saw a creature all black and hideous, who approached me, and with a most piteous accent demanding, "Ah! Mr. Everard, don't you know me!" Good God, what was my surprise, when, through the veil of his wretchedness, I discovered the features of my old and dear friend Alberti. I flew to him with affection: and after a tear of condolence asked how he came there? To this he replied, that having fought a duel with a general of the Austrian infantry, against the emperor's command, and having left him for dead, he was obliged to fly into one of the forests of Istria, where he was first taken, and afterwards sheltered by some banditti, who had long infested that quarter. With these he had lived for nine months, till, by a close investiture of the place in which they were concealed, and after a very obstinate resistance, in which the greater part of them were killed, he was taken and carried to Vienna, in order to be broke alive upon the wheel. However, upon arriving at the capital, he was quickly known, and several of the

associates of his accusation and danger witnessing his innocence, his punishment of the rack, was changed into that of perpetual confinement and labour in the mines of Idra; a sentence, in my opinion, a thousand times worse than death.

As Alberti was giving me this account, a young woman came up to him, who at once I saw to be born for better fortune; the dreadful situation of the place was not able to destroy her beauty, and even in this scene of wretchedness, she seemed to have charms to grace the most brilliant assembly. This lady was in fact daughter to one of the first families of Germany, and having tried every means to procure her lover's pardon without effect, was at last resolved to share his miseries, as she could not relieve them. With him she accordingly descended into these mansions from whence few of the living return; and with him she is contented to live, forgetting the gaieties of life, with him to toil, despising the splendours of opulence, and contented with the consciousness of her own constancy.

I am, dear sir,

Your's, &c.

## LETTER II.

Dear Sir,

**M**Y last to you was expressive, and perhaps too much so, of the gloomy situation of my mind. I own the deplorable situation of the worthy man described in it, was enough to add double

seve-

severity to the hideous mansion. At present, however, I have the happiness of informing you, that I was spectator of the most affecting scene I ever yet beheld. Nine days after I had written my last, a person came post from Vienna to the little village near the mouth of the greater shaft. He was soon after followed by a second, and he by a third. Their first enquiry was after the unfortunate count; and I happening to overhear the demand, gave them the best information. Two of these were the brother and cousin of the lady, the third was an intimate friend and fellow-soldier to the count: they came with his pardon, which had been procured by the general with whom the duel had been fought, and who was perfectly recovered from his wounds. I led them with all the expedition of joy down to his dreary abode, and presented to him his friends; and informed him of the happy change in his circumstances. It would be impossible to describe the joy that brightened up on his grief-worn countenance; nor was the young lady's emotion less vivid at seeing her friends,

and hearing of her husband's freedom. Some hours were employed in mending the appearance of this faithful couple, nor could I without a tear behold him taking leave of the former wretched companions of his toil. To one he left his mattock, to another his working-cloaths, to a third his little household utensils, such as were necessary for him in that situation. We soon emerged from the mine, where he once again revisited the light of the sun, that he had totally despaired of ever seeing. A post-chaise and four were ready the next morning to take them to Vienna, where I am since informed by a letter from himself, they are returned. The empress has again taken him into favour; his fortune and rank are restored, and he and his fair partner now have the pleasing satisfaction of feeling happiness with double relish, as they once knew what it was to be miserable.

I am, dear sir,

Yours, &c.

For the THE ARISTOCRAT

# P O E T R Y.

*The remains of the twenty-fifth Iphigeneia of Theophrastus, translated from the Greek, by Francis Tuckey, M.D.*

## A R G U M E N T.

Hercules, having occasion to wait upon Augæus king of Elis, meets with an old herdsman, by whom he is introduced to the king, who, with his son Phyleus, had come into the country to take a view of his numerous herds: afterwards Hercules and Phyleus walk together to the city; in the way the prince admiring the monstrous lion's skin which Hercules wore, takes occasion to enquire where he had it; this introduces an account how Hercules slew the Nemean lion.

*The Beginning is wanting.*

**T**H E good old herdsman laid his work aside,  
And thus complacent to the chief reply'd:  
• What'er you ask, O stranger, I'll impart,  
• What'er you wish, and with a cheerful heart;  
• For much I venerate the son of May,  
• Who stands rever'd in every public way:  
• Those most he hates, of all the gods on high,  
• Who the lone traveller's request deny.  
• The numerous flocks your eyes behold around,  
• With which the vales are stor'd, the hills are crown'd,  
• Augæus owns; o'er various walks they spread,  
• In different meads, in different pastures fed;  
• Some on the banks of Elisæus stray,  
• Some where divine Alpheus winds his way,  
• Some in Baprasium, where rich winds abound,  
• And some in this well-cultivated ground.  
• And though exceeding many flocks are told,  
• Each separate flock enjoys a separate fold.  
• More, though of other numerous herds are told,  
• Yet springs the herbage ever fresh and green,  
• In the moist marsh of Menæas, every mead,  
• And vale irriguous, where the cattle feed,



- Produce sweet herbs, embalm'd in dewy tears,
- Whose fragrant virtue fattens well the steers.
- Behold that stall beyond the winding flood,
- Which to the right appears by yonder wood
- Where the wild olive, and perennial plane,
- Grow, spread, and flourish, great Apollo's fane,
- To which the hinds, to which the shepherds bow,
- And deem him greatest deity below !
- Next are the stalls of swains, whose labours bring
- Abundant riches to the wealthy king ;
- Four times each year the fertile soil they plow,
- And gather thrice the harvests which they sow ;
- The lab'ring hinds, whose hands the vineyards dress,
- Whose feet the grapes in purple autumn press,
- Know well the vast domain Augéas owns,
- Rich fields whose lap the golden ear imbrowns,
- Or shaded gardens, far as yonder hills,
- Whose brows are water'd by resplendent rills ;
- This spacious tract we tend with daily care,
- As fits those swains who rural labours share.
- But say, (and all my service you shall claim)
- Say for what cause you here a stranger came ;
- Would you the king or his attendants see ?
- I can conduct you ; only trust to me.
- For such your form, and such your manly grace,
- You seem deriv'd from no ignoble race :
- Sure thus the gods, that boast celestial birth,
- Appear majestic to the sons of earth.'
- He spoke, and thus Jove's valiant son reply'd ;
- My wandering steps let some kind shepherd guide
- To king Augéas, whom these realms obey ;
- To see Augéas am I come this way.
- But if fair justice the good monarch draws
- To Elis, to administer the laws ;
- Conduct me to some honourable swain,
- Who here presides among his rural train,
- That I to him my purpose may disclose,
- And follow what his prudence shall propose :
- For heaven's eternal wisdom has decreed,
- That man of man should ever stand in need."
- Thus he ; the good old herdsman thus reply'd :
- Sure some immortal being is your guide :
- For lo ! your business is already done ;
- Last night the king, descendent of the sun,
- With royal Phyleus, from the town withdrew,
- His flocks unnumber'd, and his herds to view.
- Thus when great kings their own concerns explore,
- By wise attention they augment their store.

- But let me quick, for time is on the wing,
- In yonder tent conduct you to the king.

This said, he walk'd before his royal guest,  
Much wondering, much revolving in his breast,  
When at his back the lion's spoils he saw,  
And in his hand the club infusing awe.  
He wish'd to ask the hero, whence he sprung?  
The rising query dy'd upon his tongue:  
He fear'd the freedom might be deem'd a fault:  
'Tis difficult to know another's thought.

The watchful dogs, as near the stalls they went,  
Perceiv'd their coming by their tread and scent,  
With open mouths from every part they run,  
And bay'd incessant great Amphitryon's son;  
But round the swain they wagg'd their tails and play'd,  
And gently whining secret joy betray'd.

Loose on the ground the stones that ready lay  
Eager he snatch'd, and drove the dogs away;  
With his rough voice he terrified them all,  
Though pleas'd to find them guardians of his stall.

- Ye gods! (the good old herdsman thus began)
- What useful animals are dogs to man?
- Had heav'n but sent intelligence to know
- On whom to rage, the friendly or the foe,
- No creature then could challenge honour more,
- But now too furious, and too fierce they roar.

He spoke; the growling mastives ceas'd to bay,  
And stole obsequious to their stalls away.

The sun now westward drove his radiant steeds,  
And evening mild the noontide heat succeeds;  
His orb declining from the pastures calls  
Sheep to their folds, and oxen to their stalls.  
Herd following herd, it joy'd the chief to see  
Unnumber'd cattle winding o'er the lea.

Like watery clouds arising thick in heaven,  
By the rough south, or Thracian Boreas driven,  
So fast the shadowy vapours mount on high,  
They cover all the region of the sky;  
Still more and more the gathering tempest brings,  
And weightier burdens on its weary wings.

Thus thickening march the cattle o'er the plain,  
More than the roads or meadows can contain,  
The lusty herds incessant bellowing keep,  
The stalls are fill'd with fleers, the folds with sheep.  
Though numerous slaves stand round of every kind,  
All have their several offices assign'd  
Some tie the cow's hind legs, to make her stand  
Still, and obedient to the milker's hand;

Some give to tender calves the swelling teat,  
 Their sides distend with milky beverage sweet  
 Some form fat cheeses with the housewife's art,  
 Some drive the heifers from the bulls apart.  
 Augéas visited the stalls around,  
 'To see what stores in herds and flocks abound ;  
 With curious eye he mov'd majestic on,  
 Join'd by Alcides and his royal son.  
 Here Hercules of great and steady soul,  
 Whom mean amazement never could contröll,  
 Admir'd such droves in myriads to behold,  
 Such spreading flocks, that never could be told,  
 Not one king's wealth he thought them, nor of ten,  
 Though greatest of the rulers over men :  
 The sun his fire this privilege assign'd,  
 To be in flocks and herds more rich than all mankind :  
 These still increas'd ; no plague e'er render'd vain  
 The gainful labour of the shepherd-swain ;  
 Year following year his industry was blest,  
 More calves were rear'd, and still the last were best.  
 No cows e'er cast their young, or e'er declin'd,  
 The calves were chiefly of the female kind.  
 With these three hundred bulls, a comely fight,  
 Whose horns were crooked, and whose legs were white ;  
 And twice an hundred of bright glossy red,  
 By whom the business of increase was sped :  
 But twelve, the flower of all, exulting run  
 In the green pastures, sacred to the sun ;  
 The stately swan was not so silver white,  
 And in the meads they took ineffable delight :  
 These, when gaunt lions from the mountain's brow,  
 Descend terrific on the herds below,  
 Rush to the war, the savage foe they gore,  
 Their eyes look death, and horribly they roar.  
 But most majestic these bold bulls among  
 Stalk'd Phaëton, the sturdy and the strong ;  
 So radiant, so refulgent from afar,  
 The shepherd-swains compar'd him to a star.  
 When round the shoulders of the chief he spy'd,  
 Alarming sight ! the lion's tawny hide,  
 Full at his flank he aim'd his iron head,  
 And proudly doom'd the matchless hero dead :  
 But watchful Hercules, devoid of fear,  
 Seiz'd his left horn, and stopp'd his mad career ;  
 Prone to the earth his stubborn neck he press'd,  
 Then writh'd him round, and bruis'd his ample chest,  
 At one bold push exerted all his strength,  
 And high in air upheld him at arm's length.

Through

Through all the wondering train amazement ran;  
Silent they gaz'd, and thought him more than man.

Phyleus and Hercules (the day far spent)  
Left the rich pastures, and to Elis went;  
The footpath first, which tow'rd the city lay,  
Led from the stalls, but narrow was the way;  
Through vineyards next it past, and gloomy glades,  
Hard to distinguish in the greenwood shades.  
The devious way as noble Phyleus led,  
To his right shoulder he inclin'd his head,  
And slowly marching through the verdant grove,  
Thus mild bespoke the progeny of Jove:

- By your last bold achievement it appears,
  - Great chief, your fame long since has reach'd my ears.
  - For here arriv'd a youthful Argive swain,
  - From Helicé that borders on the main,
  - Who for a truth among th' Epeans told,
  - That late he saw a Grecian, brave and bold,
  - Slay a fell lion, fell to husbandmen,
  - That in the Nemean forest made his den:
  - Whether the chief from sacred Argos came,
  - Or proud Mycené, or Tirynthé claim
  - His birth, I heard not; yet he trac'd his line,
  - If true my tale, from Perseus the divine.
  - No Greek but you could such a toil sustain;
  - I reason from that mighty monster slain,
  - A perilous encounter! whose rough hide
  - Protects your shoulders, and adorns your side.
  - Say then, if you are he, the Grecian bold,
  - Of whom the Argive's wonderous tale was told:
  - Say, what dread weapon drank the monster's blood,
  - And how he wander'd to the Nemean wood.
  - For not in Greece such savages are found,
  - Nor beasts thus huge infect Achaian ground;
  - She breeds the ravenous wolf, the bear, the boar,
  - Pernicious monsters! but she breeds no more.
  - Some wonder'd at accounts so strange and new,
  - Thought the Greek boastful, and his tale untrue.
- Thus Phyleus spoke, and as the path grew wide,  
He walk'd attentive by the hero's side,  
To hear distinct the toil-sustaining man,  
Who thus, obsequious to the prince, began:
- Son of Augéas, what of me you heard
  - Is strictly true, nor has the stranger err'd
  - But since you wish to know, my tongue shall tell,
  - From whence the monster came, and how he fell:
  - Though many Greeks have mention'd this affair,
  - None can the truth with certainty declare.



" He lash'd his sturdy sides with stern-delight,  
 " And rising in his rage prepar'd for fight,  
 " With instant ire his mane erected grew,  
 " His hair look'd horrid, of a brindled hue;  
 " Circling his back, he seem'd in fact to bound,  
 " And like a bow he bent his body round:  
 " As when the fig-tree skilful wheelers take,  
 " For rolling chariots rapid-wheels to make;  
 " The fellows first, in arcs that gently glow,  
 " Gradual they heat, and like a circle bow;  
 " A while in curves the pliant timber stands,  
 " Then springs at once elastic from their hands.  
 " On me thus from afar, his foe to wound,  
 " Sprang the fell lion with impetuous bound.  
 " My left hand held my darts direct before,  
 " Around my breast a thick strong garb I wore;  
 " My right, club-guarded, dealt a deadly blow  
 " Full on the temples of the rushing foe:  
 " So hard his skull, that with the sturdy stroke,  
 " My knotted club of rough wild-olive broke:  
 " Yet ere I clos'd, his savage fury fled,  
 " With trembling legs he stood, and nodding head;  
 " The forceful onset had contriv'd his brain,  
 " Dim mist obscur'd his eyes, and agonizing pain  
 " This I perceiv'd; and now, an easy prey,  
 " I threw my arrows and my bow away,  
 " And ere the beast recover'd of his wound,  
 " Seiz'd his thick neck, and plan'd him to the ground;  
 " With all my might on his broad back I prest,  
 " Lest his fell claws should tear my adverse breast;  
 " Then mounting, close my legs in his I twin'd,  
 " And with my feet secur'd his paws behind;  
 " My thighs I guarded, and with all my strength  
 " Heav'd him from earth, and held him at arm's length,  
 " And strangled thus the feeblest of the fell,  
 " His mighty soul descending sunk to hell.  
 " The conquest gain'd, fresh doubts my mind divide,  
 " How shall I strip the monster's shaggy hide?  
 " Hard task! for the tough skin repell'd the dint  
 " Of pointed wood, keen steel, or sharpest flint:  
 " Some god inspir'd me, standing still in pause,  
 " To slay the lion with the lion's claws;  
 " This I accomplish'd, and the spoil now yields  
 " A firm security in fighting fields:  
 " Thus, Phyleus, was the Nemæan monster slain,  
 " The terror of the forest and the plain,  
 " That flocks and herds devour'd, and many a village  
 " Swain."



*The story of Godiva. From Edge-Hill, a poem; by Richard Jago, A. M.*

**W**HEN \* Edward, last of Egbert's royal race,  
 O'er sev'n united realms the sceptre sway'd,  
 Earl Leofric, with trust of sov'reign pow'r,  
 The subject Mercians rul'd. His lofty state  
 The loveliest of her sex ! in inward grace  
 Most lovely ; wise, beneficent, and good,  
 The fair Godiva shar'd. A noble dame,  
 Of Thorold's antient line ! But pageant pomp  
 Charm'd not her saintly mind like virtuous deeds,  
 And tender feeling for another's woe.  
 Such gentle passions in his lofty breast  
 He cherish'd not, but, with despotic sway,  
 Controul'd his vassal tribes, and, from their toil,  
 His luxury maintain'd. Godiva saw  
 Their plaintive looks ; with grief she saw thy arts,  
 O Coventry ! by tyrant laws depress'd ;  
 And urg'd her haughty lord, by every plea,  
 That works on gen'rous minds, with patriot rule,  
 And charter'd freedom to retrieve thy weak.  
 Thus pleaded she, but pleaded all in vain !  
 Deaf was her lord ; and, with a stern rebuke,  
 He will'd her ne'er again, by such request,  
 To touch his honour, or his rights invade.  
 What cou'd she do ? Must his severe command  
 Check the strong pleadings of benevolence ?  
 Must public love, to matrimonial rules  
 Of lordly empire, and obedience meek,  
 Perhaps by man too partially explain'd !  
 Give way ? For once Godiva dar'd to think  
 It might not be, and, amiably perverse !  
 Her suit renew'd. Bold was th' adventrous deed !  
 Yet not more bold, than fair ! if pitiful  
 Be fair, and charity, that knows no bounds.  
 What had'st thou then to fear from wrath inflam'd  
 With sense of blackest guilt ? Rebellion join'd  
 With female weakness, and officious zeal !  
 So Leofric might call the virtuous deed ;  
 Perhaps might punish as befitted deed  
 So call'd, if love restrain'd not : Yet tho' love  
 O'er anger triumph'd, and imperious rule,  
 Not o'er his pride ; which better to maintain,  
 His answer thus he artfully return'd.

Why will the partner of my royal state,  
 Forbidden, still her wild petition urge ?

\* Edward the Confessor.

Think

Think not thy breast is steel'd against the touch  
Of sweet humanity. Think not I hear  
Regardless thy request. If pity,  
Or other reason, with mistaken zeal,  
Call'd to thy aid, pierc'd not my stubborn frame,  
Yet to the pleader's worth, and modest charms,  
Wou'd my food breath trivial boon impart.  
But pomp and fame forbid. That vassalage,  
Which, thoughtless, thou wou'd'st tempt me to dissolve,  
Exalts our splendor, and augments my pow'r.  
With tender bosoms form'd, and yielding hearts,  
Your sex soon melts at sighs of vulgar woe;  
Headless how glory fires the manly breast,  
With love of high pre-eminence. This flame,  
In female minds, with weaker fury glows,  
Opposing less the specious arguments  
For milder regimen, and public weal.  
But plant some gentler passion in its room,  
Some virtuous instinct suited to your make,  
As glory is to ours, like it requir'd  
A reason for the vulgar vassal state,  
Then wou'd the strong contention soon evince  
How falsely now thou judgest of my mind,  
And justify my conduct. Thou art fair,  
And chaste as fair; with nicest sense of shame,  
And sanctity of thought. Thy bosom thou  
Did'st ne'er expose to shameless dalliance  
Of wanton eyes; nor—ill-concealing it  
Beneath the treach'rous coving, tempt aside  
The secret glance, with meditated fraud.  
Go now, and lay thy modest garments by,  
In naked beauty, mount thy milk-white steed,  
And through the streets, in face of open day,  
And gazing slaves, their fair deliverer ride;  
Then will I own thy pity was sincere,  
Applaud thy virtue, and confirm thy suit.  
But if thou lik'st not such ungentle terms,  
And public spirit yields to private shame,  
Think then that Leofric, like thee, can feel,  
Like thee, may pity, while he seems severe,  
And urge thy suit no more. His speech he clos'd,  
And, with strange earls, confirm'd the deep resolve.

Again, within Godiva's anxious breast  
New tumults rose. At length her female fears  
Gave way, and sweet humanity prevail'd,  
Reluctant, but resolv'd, the matchless fair  
Gives all her naked beauty to the sun.  
Then mounts her milk-white steed, and, thro' the streets,  
Rides fearless; her discover'd hair a veil!

That

That o'er her beauteous limbs luxuriant flow'd,  
 Like \* Venus, when, upon the Tyrian shore,  
 Disguis'd she met her son. With gratitude,  
 And rev'rence low, th' astonish'd citizens  
 Before their great sultana prostrate fall,  
 Or to their inmost privacies retire.  
 All, but one prying slave! who fondly hop'd,  
 With venial curiosity, to gaze  
 On such a wond'rous dame. But foul disgrace  
 O'ertook the bold offender, and he stands,  
 By just decree, a spectacle abhorr'd,  
 And lasting monument of swift revenge  
 For thoughts impure, and beauty's injur'd charms †.

\*———dederatque comas diffundere ventis.

Virg.

† Story of Leofric and Godiva, from Sir. Will. Dugdale's antiquities of Warwickshire.

The following narrative is subjoin'd to satisfy the curiosity of such as may not have a present opportunity of consulting this valuable collection of antiquities. That part of the story, of which no mention is made here, rests upon other authorities, sufficient, at least, for the writer's purpose, though somewhat differently related. How far he has succeeded in explaining what appeared to him to be obscure, and in giving a true meaning and consistency to the whole, and thereby rendering it more credible, agreeably to those seemingly authentic memorials which are preserved of it, is left to the judgment of the reader. The story, as taken from a MS. in Bib. Bod. and Math. Paris, is as follows.

“ This Leofric wedded Godeva, a most beautiful and devout lady, sister to one Thorold, sheriff of Lincolnshire, in those days, and founder of Spalding-Abbey, as also of the stock and lineage of Thorold, sheriff of that county, in the time of Kenulph, king of Mercia. Which countess Godeva bearing an extraordinary affection to this place, often, and earnestly besought her husband, that, for the love of God, and the blessed Virgin, he would free it from that grievous servitude whereunto it was subject. But he rebuking her for importuning him in a matter so inconsistent with his profit, commanded that she should thenceforth forbear to move therein. Yet she, out of her womanish pertinacity, continued to solicit him, insomuch that he told her, if she would ride on horseback naked, from one end of the town to the other, in the sight of all the people, he would grant her request. Whereunto she return'd, But will you give me leave so to do? And he replying, Yes; the noble lady, upon an appointed day, got on horseback naked, with her hair loose, so that it covered all her body, but the legs, and thus performing the journey, she returned with joy to her husband, who thereupon granted to the inhabitants a charter of freedom.

It is pleasant enough to observe, with what earnestness the above-mentioned learned writer dwells on the praises of this renown'd lady. “ And now, before I proceed, says he, I have a word more to say of the noble countess Godeva, which is, that besides her devout advancement of that pious work of his, i. e. her husband Leofric, in this magnificent monastery, viz of monks at Coventry, she gave her whole treasure thereto, and sent for skilful goldsmiths, who, with all the gold and silver she had, made crosses, images of saints, and other curious ornaments.” Which passages may serve as a specimen of the devotion and patriotism of those times.

Ye

Ye guardians of her rights, so nobly won,  
Cherish the Muse's labour, who, intent  
On your renown, and chaste Godiva's fame,  
Hath long o'er monkish tales, and foul records  
Attentive ponder'd, studious to expose  
Their dark intendment, her heroic deed  
Illustrate, and your gay procession grace.

Of Birmingham—its manufactures—iron—process of it.—Panegyric  
upon iron. From the same.

**N**OR does the barren soil conceal alone  
The crumbly rock: Ofttimes more pond'rous ore,  
In strata close, beneath its surface lies,  
Compact, metallic; but with earthy parts  
Incrusted. Now another process view,  
And to the furnace the slow train attend.  
Here, in huge cauldrons, the rough mass they stow,  
Till, by the potent heat, the purer ore  
Is liquified, and leaves the dross afloat.  
Then, cautious, from the glowing pond they lead  
The fiery stream along the channel'd floor;  
Where, in the mazy moulds of figur'd sand,  
Anon it hardens, and, in liquid rods,  
Is to the forge convey'd; whose weighty strokes,  
Incessant aided by the rapid stream,  
Spread out the ductile ore, now tapering  
In lengthen'd masses, ready to obey  
The workman's will, and take its destin'd form.

Soon o'er thy furrow'd pavement, Birmingham!  
Ride the loose bars obstreperous; to the sons  
Of languid sense, and frame too delicate,  
Harsh noise perchance, but harmony to thine.

Instant innumerable hands prepare  
To shape and mould the malleable ore.  
Their heavy sides th' inflated bellows heave,  
Tugg'd by the pulley'd line, and, with their blast  
Continuous, the sleeping embers rouse,  
And kindle into life. Strait the rough mass,  
Plung'd in the blazing hearth, its heat contracts,  
And glows transparent. Now, Cyclopean chief!  
Quick on the anvil lay the burning bar,  
And, with thy lusty fellows, on its sides  
Impress the weighty stroke. See how they strain  
The swelling nerve, and lift the sinewy arm

“ Illi inter sese magnâ vi brachia tollunt.

“ In numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe ferrum. Virg.

## ANNUAL REGISTER

In measur'd time; while, with their clat'ring blows,  
From street to street the propagated sound  
Increasing ecchoes, and, on ev'ry side,  
The tortur'd metal spreads a radiant show'r.

'Tis noise, and hurry all! the thronged street,  
The close-piled warehouse, and the busy shop  
With nimble stroke the tinkling hammers move;  
While slow, and weighty the vast sledge descends,  
In solemn base responsive, or apart,  
Or socially conjoin'd in tuneful peal.

The rough \* file grates; yet useful is its touch,  
As sharp corrosives to the scirrous flesh,  
Or, to the stubborn temper, keen rebuke.

How the coarse metal brightens into fame,  
Shap'd by their plastic hands! what ornament!  
What various use! See there the glitt'ring knife  
Of temper'd edge! The scissars' double shaft,  
Useless apart, in social union join'd,  
Each aiding each! Emblem how beautiful  
Of happy nuptial leagues! The button round,  
Plain, or imboss'd, or bright with fleecy rays!  
Or oblong buckle, on the lacker'd shoe,  
With polish'd lustre, bending elegant  
Its shapely rim. But how shall I recount  
The thronging merchandise? From gaudy signs,  
The litter'd counter, and the shew-glass trim,  
Seals, rings, 'twees, bodkins, crowd into my view,  
† Too scanty to contain their num'rous tribes.

Nor this alone thy praise! With secret art,  
Thy sons a compound form of various grains,  
And to the fire's dissolvent pow'r commit  
The precious mixture; oft, with sleepless eye,  
Watching the doubtful process, if perchance  
A purer ore may bless their midnight toil;  
Or wish'd enamel clear, or sleek japan  
Meet their impatient sight. Nor skillful stroke  
Is wanting of the graver's pointed steel;  
Nor artful pencil, o'er the polish'd plate  
Swift stealing, and with glowing tints well fraught,  
Thine too, of graceful form, the letter'd type!  
The friend of learning, and the poet's pride!  
Without thee what avail his splendid aims,  
And midnight labours? Painsful drudgery!

\* Tum ferri rigor, et atque laminis feris,

† Tum variz venere artes, &c."

† Sed neque quam multæ species, nec nomina quæ sunt,

Est numerus, neque animi numero comprehendere cœlest."

Virg.

Virg.

And

And powerless effort! But that thought of thee  
Imprints fresh vigour on his panting breast,  
As thou ere long shalt on his work impress,  
And, with immortal fame, his praise repay.

Hail, native British ore! of thee possess'd,  
We envy not Golconda's sparkling mines;  
Nor thine Potosi! nor thy hundred hills,  
Teeming with gold. What! the' in outward form  
Less fair? not less thy worth. To thee we owe  
More riches than Peruvian mines can yield,  
Or Motezuma's crowded magazines,  
And palaces could boast, though roof'd with gold.  
Splendid barbarity! and rich distress!  
Without the social arts, and useful toil;  
That polish life, and civilize the mind!  
These are thy gifts, which gold can never buy.

Thine is the power to cultivate the soil;  
To bare its inmost strata to the sun;  
To break and mellow the stiffen'd clay,  
And, from its close confinement, sprout large  
Its vegetative virtue. Thine is the power  
The with'ring hay, and ripen'd grain to shear,  
And waft the joyous harvest round the land.

Go now, and see the silver's might, O'er the  
The reedy stalk will yield its bearded store,  
In weighty sheaves. Or if the stubborn stubble  
In sidelong rows, with easy force will rise  
Before the silver ploughshare's gliding point,  
Or woe down gentle horses' tread more safe  
On plated gold? Your wheels, with easier gait,  
On golden axles move. Then grateful turn,  
Britannia's sons! Heaven's providential love,  
That gave you real wealth, not wealth in show,  
Whose price is bare imagination's light,  
And artificial compact. Thankful pause

Your iron arts, and all the world is yours.  
Hail, native ore! without thy powerful aid,  
We still had liv'd in huts; with the green sod,  
And broken branches roof'd. Thine is the plane,  
The chisel thine; which shape the well-arch'd dome,  
The graceful portico; and sculptur'd walls.

Wou'd ye your coarse, unsightly mines exchange  
For Mexicanian hills? to tread on gold,  
As vulgar sand? with naked limbs, to brave  
The cold, bleak air? to urge the tedious plough,  
By painful hunger stung, with useless toil,  
Thro' gloomy forests, where the foresting tree  
To the sun's beam, never bids the cheerful gleam.

Nor



# ANNUAL REGISTER

Not with like guilt! Hail, native British ore!  
 For thou art trade, that with its various stores,  
 Sails round the world, and visits ev'ry clime,  
 From Nova Zembla to th' Antarctic pole;  
 And makes the treasures of each clime her own,  
 By gainful commerce of her woolly vests,  
 Wrought by the spiky comb; or steely wares,  
 From the coarse mass, by stubborn toil, refin'd.  
 Such are thy peaceful gifts! And war to thee  
 Its best support, and brightest horror owes,  
 The glitt'ring falchion, and the thund'ring talk:  
 At whose tremendous gleam, and volley'd fire,  
 Barbarian kings fly from their useless hoards,  
 And yield them all to thy superior pow'rs.

## PROLOGUE at the Opening of the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh.

*Written by James Boswell, Esq. Spoken by Mr. Ross.*

SCOTLAND, for learning and for arms renown'd  
 In ancient annals, is with lustre crown'd  
 And still she shares, whate'er the world can yield,  
 Of letter'd fame, or glory in the field:  
 In ev'ry distant clime Great Britain knows  
 The thistle springs promiscuous with the rose.  
 While in all points with other lands she vies,  
 The stage alone to Scotland was denied:  
 Mistaken zeal, in times of darkness bred,  
 O'er the best minds its gloomy vapours spread;  
 Taste and religion were supposed at strife,  
 And 'twas a sin—to view this glass of life!  
 When the muse ventur'd the ungracious task,  
 To play elusive with unlicens'd mask,  
 Mirth was restrain'd by statutory awe,  
 And tragic greatness fear'd the scourge of law,  
 Illustrious heroes arrant vagrants seem'd,  
 And gentlest nymphs were sturdy beggars deem'd.  
 This night, lov'd George's free enlightened age,  
 Bids royal favour shield the Scottish stage;  
 His royal favour ev'ry bosom cheers,  
 The drama now with dignity appears.

Hard

# W E T E D O E R Y H A R M O N I A

219

Hard is my fate, I think, to be thus wretched  
Because I am thus wretched by the  
Anxious, alarm'd, and wretched by the  
May I increase the number of the wretched  
You see me here by no design, but I am  
My all, my treasure, what I have, I have  
Fondly ambitious of an honest fame, but I am  
My humble hopes your kind indulgence claim, and  
I wish to hold no right but by your choice  
I'll risk my Patience, and my Power, and my

On the much lamented Death of the Marquis of Townshend.

Sunt lacrymæ rerum, et mentium mortuæ tangunt.

Thy Youth, thy Power, thy Youth, thy Power  
Thank Heav'n, I knew thee not, I never shall feel  
The keen regret thy drooping friends sustain;  
Yet will I drop the sympathizing tear,  
And this due tribute to thy memory bring;  
Not that thy noble birth provokes my song,  
Or claims such offering from the Muses shrine;  
But that thy spotless undissembling heart,  
Thy unaffected manners, all unstain'd  
With pride of pow'r, and insolence of wealth;  
Thy probity, benevolence, and truth,  
(Best kindest of man's soul) for ever lost;  
Crop'd, like fair flowers, in life's meridian bloom,  
Fade undistinguish'd in the silent grave.

O Bedford!—pardon, if a Muse unknown  
Smit with thy heart-felt grief, directs her way  
To sorrow's dark abode, where thee she views,  
Thee, wretched sire, and pitying, hears thee mourn  
Thy Ruffel's fate—"Why was he thus belov'd?  
"Why did he bless my life?"—Fond parent, cease;  
Count not his virtues o'er—Hard task!—Call forth  
Thy firm hereditary strength of mind.  
Lo! where the shade of thy great ancestor,  
Eam'd Ruffel stands, and chides thy vain complaint;  
His philosophic soul, with patience arm'd,  
And christian virtue brav'd the pangs of death;  
Admir'd, belov'd, he dy'd; (if right I deem),  
Not more lamented than thy virtuous son:  
Yet calm thy mind; so may the lenient hand  
Of Time, all-soothing Time, thy pangs assuage,  
Heal thy sad wound, and close thy days in peace.

• Occasioned by a fall from his horse.

See where the object of his filial love,  
 His mother, lost in tears, laments his doom :  
 Speak comfort to her soul :—  
 O ! from the sacred fount, where flow the streams  
 Of heav'nly consolation, O ! onr'drop,  
 To sooth his hapless wife ! sharp sorrow preys  
 Upon her tender frame—Alas, she faints,—  
 She falls ! still grasping in her hand  
 The picture of her lord—All-gracious Heav'n !  
 Just are thy ways, and righteous thy decrees,  
 But dark and intricate ; else why this meed  
 For tender faithful love ; this sad return  
 For innocence and truth ? was it for this  
 By Virtue and the smiling Graces led,  
 (Fair types of long succeeding years of joy),  
 She twin'd the votive wreath at Hymen's shrine,  
 So soon to fade and die ?—Yet O ! reflect,  
 Chaste partner of his life ! you ne'er deplor'd  
 His alienated heart : (disastrous state !  
 Condition worse than death !), the sacred torch  
 Burnt to the last its unremitted fires !  
 No painful self-reproach hast thou to feel ;  
 The conscious thought of every duty paid,  
 This sweet reflection shall support thy mind,  
 Be this thy comfort :—Turn thine eyes awhile,  
 Nor with that lifeless picture feed thy woe ;  
 Turn yet thine eyes ; see how they court thy smiles.  
 Those infant pledges of connubial joy !  
 Dwell on their looks,—and trace his image there :  
 And O ! since Heav'n, in pity to thy loss,  
 For thee one future blessing has in store,  
 Cherish that tender hope—Hear reason's voice ;  
 Hush'd be the storms that vex thy troubled breast,  
 And angels guard thee in the hour of pain.  
 Accept this ardent pray'r ; a muse forgive,  
 Who for thy sorrow draws the pensive sigh,  
 Who feels thy grief, tho' erst in frolic hour  
 She tun'd her comic rhymes to mirth and joy,  
 Unskill'd (I ween) in lofty verse, unus'd  
 To plaintive strains, yet by soft pity led,  
 Trembling revisits the Pierian vale ;  
 There culls each fragrant flow'r, to deck the tomb  
 Where generous Ruffel lies. —————

For the YEAR 1767.

ODE for the New Year, 1767.

WHEN first the rude, but peopled north,  
Pour'd his prolific offspring forth,  
At large, in alien climes, to roam,  
And seek a newer better home,  
From the bleak mountain's barren head,  
The marshy vale, th' ungrateful plain,  
From cold and penury they fled,  
To warmer suns and Ceres' golden reign:  
At ev'ry step the breezes blew  
Soft and more soft: the lengthen'd view  
Did fairer scenes expand:  
Unconscious of approaching foes  
The farm, the town, the city rose,  
To tempt the spoiler's hand.  
Not Britain so. For nobler ends  
Her willing, daring sons she sends;  
Fraught like the fabled car of old,  
Which scatter'd blessings as it roll'd.  
From cultur'd fields, from fleecy downs,  
From vales that wear eternal bloom,  
From peopled farms, and busy towns,  
Where shines the ploughshare, and where sounds the loom;  
To sandy deserts, pathless woods,  
Impending steep, and headlong floods,  
She sends th' industrious swarm:  
To where, self-strangled, Nature lies,  
'Till social art shall bid her rise  
From chaos into form.  
Thus George and Britain bless mankind:  
And, lest the patent realm should find  
Her numbers shrink, with flag unfurl'd  
She stands th' asylum of the world:  
From foreign strands new subjects come,  
New arts accede a thousand ways,  
For here the wretched finds a home,  
And all her portals Charity displays.  
From each proud master's hard command,  
From tyrant Zeal's oppressive hand  
What eager exiles fly!  
"Give us," they cry, 'tis Nature's curse,  
O give us liberty and laws,  
Beneath a happier sky."  
Thus George and Britain bless mankind,  
— Away, ye barks; the favouring wind

# ANNUAL REGISTER

Springs from the East : ye pow'rs, divide  
 The vast Atlantic's heaving tide.  
 Britannia, from each rocky height,  
 Pursues you with applauding hands ;  
 Afar, impatient for the freight,  
 See, the whole western world expecting stands !  
 Already Fancy paints each plain,  
 The deserts nod with golden grain,  
 The wond'ring vales look gay :  
 The woodman's stroke the forests feel,  
 The lakes admit the merchant's keel —  
 Away, ye barks, away !

*Translation of a Greek Epigram, on a Grecian Beauty.*

**T**HY eyes declare th' imperial wife of Jove,  
 Thy breasts disclose the Cyprian queen of love ;  
 Minerva's fingers thy fair hand displays,  
 And Thetis' limbs each graceful step betrays.  
 Blest man ! whose eye on thy bright form has hung ;  
 Thrice blest ! who hears the music of thy tongue.  
 As monarchs happy ! who thy lips has prest ;  
 But who embraces, as the Gods is blest.

*An Original Poem, from the Appendix newly published to Dr. SWIFT'S Works.*

*Letter to the Dean, when in England, in 1726.*

**Y**OU will excuse me, I suppose,  
 For sending rhyme instead of prose,  
 Because hot weather makes me lazy ;  
 To write in metre is more easy.  
 While you are trudging to the town,  
 I'm strolling Dublin up and down ;  
 While you converse with lords and dukes,  
 I have their betters here, my books :  
 Fix'd in an elbow chair, at ease,  
 I chuse companions as I please.  
 I'd rather have one single shelf,  
 Than all my friends, except yourself ;  
 For, after all that can be said,  
 Our best acquaintance are the dead.  
 While you're in raptures with Faustina,  
 I'm charm'd at home with our Sheelina,

While

While you are starving there in state,  
I'm cramming here with butcher's meat.  
You say, when with those lords you dine,  
They treat you with the best of wine,  
Burgundy, Cyprus, and Tokay;  
Why so can we, as well as they.  
No reason then, my dear good Dean,  
But you should travel home again.  
What though you mayn't in Ireland hope  
To find such folk as Gay and Pope;  
If you with rhymers here would share  
But half the wit that you can spare,  
I'd lay twelve eggs, that in twelve days,  
You'd make a doz'n of Popes and Gays.

Our weather's good, our sky is clear,  
We've ev'ry joy, if you were here;  
So lofty, and so bright a sky,  
Was never seen by Ireland's eye!  
I think it fit to let you know,  
This week I shall to Quilca go;  
To see Mc Fayden's horny brothers,  
First suck, and after bull their mothers.  
To see, alas! my wither'd trees!  
To see, what all the country sees!  
My stunted quicks, my famish'd beeves;  
My servants such a pack of thieves;  
My shatter'd firs, my blasted oaks;  
My house in common to all folks:  
No cabbage for a single snail;  
My turnips, carrots, parsnips fail;  
My no green pease, my few green sprouts;  
My mother always in the pouts:  
My horses rid, or gone astray;  
My fish all stol'n, or run away;  
My mutton lean, my pullets old,  
My poultry starv'd, the corn all sold.

A man, come now from Quilca, says,  
They've stol'n the locks from all your keys,  
But, what must fret and vex me more,  
He says, they stol'd the keys before.  
They've stol'n the knives from all the forks,  
And half the cows from half the sturks;  
Nay more, the fellow swears and vows,  
They've stol'n the sturks from half the cows.  
With many more accounts of woe,  
Yet, though the Devil be there, I'll go:  
'Twixt you and me, the reason's clear,  
Because I've more vexation here.



*An ODE to SPRING.*

*Supposed to have been written by the celebrated Vaneſſa, in conſequence of her paſſion for Dean Swift.*

**H**AIL, blushing goddess, beauteous spring,  
 Who, in thy jocund train, doſt bring  
 Loves and graces, ſmiling hours,  
 Balmy breezes, fragrant flowers,  
 Come, with tints of roſeate hue,  
 Nature's faded charms renew.

Yet why ſhould I thy preſence hail?  
 To me no more the breathing gale  
 Comes fraught with ſweets, no more the roſe  
 With ſuch tranſcendent beauty blows,  
 As when Cadenus bleſt the ſcene,  
 And ſhar'd with me theſe joys ſerene.  
 When, unperceiv'd, the lambent fire  
 Of friendship kindled new deſire;  
 Still liſt'ning to his tuneful tongue,  
 The truths, which angels might have ſung,  
 Divine impreſt their gentle ſway,  
 And ſweetly ſtole my ſoul away.  
 My guide, inſtructor, lover, friend,  
 (Dear names) in one idea blend;  
 Oh! ſtill conjoin'd, your incenſe riſe,  
 And waft ſweet odours to the ſkies.

*An ODE to WISDOM. By the ſame.*

**O**H! Pallas! I invoke thy aid!  
 Vouchſafe to hear a wretched maid,  
 By tender love depreſt;  
 'Tis juſt that thou ſhould'ſt heal the ſmart,  
 Inſlicted by thy ſubtle art,  
 And calm my troubled breaſt.

No random ſhot from Cupid's bow,  
 But by thy guidance, ſoft and ſlow,  
 It ſunk within my heart;  
 'Thus Love being arm'd with Wiſdom's force,  
 In vain I try to ſtop its courſe,  
 In vain repel the dart.

O Goddess, break the fatal league,  
 Let Love, with Folly and Intrigue,

*More*

More fit associates find;  
And thou alone, within my breast  
O! deign to sooth my griefs to rest,  
And heal my tortur'd mind.

*A Reflection on the Death of the Marquis of Tavistock.*

**H**OW sleep the brave, who sink to rest,  
With all their country's wishes blest!  
When spring, with dewy fingers cold,  
Returns to deck their hallow'd mold,  
She there shall dress a sweeter sod,  
Than fancy's feet have ever trod.

By fairy hands their knell is rung;  
By forms unseen their dirge is sung:  
There honour comes a pilgrim grey,  
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;  
And freedom shall awhile repair,  
To dwell a weeping hermit there.

*The R O O K E R Y.*

**O**H thou who dwell'st upon the bough,  
Whose tree does wave its verdant brow,  
And spreading shades the distant brook,  
Accept these lines, dear sister Rook!  
And when thou'st read my mournful lay,  
Extend thy wing and fly away,  
Left pinion-maim'd by fiery shot,  
Thou should'st like me bewail thy lot;  
Left in thy rook'ry be renew'd,  
The tragic scene which here I view'd.  
The day declin'd, the evening breeze  
Gently rock'd the silent trees,  
While spreading o'er my peopled nest,  
I hush'd my callow young to rest:  
When suddenly an hostile sound,  
Explosion dire! was heard around:  
And level'd by the hand of Fate,  
The angry bullets pierc'd my mate;  
I saw him fall from spray to spray,  
Till on the distant ground he lay:  
With tortur'd wing he beat the plain,  
And never caw'd to me again.

Many a neighbour, many a friend,  
 Deform'd with wounds, invol'd their end :  
 All screaming, omen'd notes of woe,  
 'Gainst man our unrelenting foe :  
 These eyes beheld my pretty brood,  
 Flutt'ring in their guiltless blood :  
 While trembling on the shatter'd tree,  
 At length the gun invaded me ;  
 But wayward Fate, severely kind,  
 Refus'd the death, I wish'd to find :  
 Oh ! farewell pleasure ; peace, farewell,  
 And with the gory raven dwell.  
 Was it for this I shun'd retreat,  
 And fix'd near man my social seat !  
 For this destroy'd the insect train,  
 That eat unseen the infant grain !  
 For this, with many an honest note,  
 Issuing from my artless throat,  
 I hear'd my lady, list'ning near,  
 Working in her elbow chair !

## E P I T A P H.

“ SWEETS to the sweet,” farewell ! nor, longer mourn  
 A luckless husband from your bosom torn :  
 No longer blame a father's treach'rous heart ;  
 Blameless yourself, and innocent of art—  
 Fav'rite of Heav'n ! in early life remov'd !  
 With angels live, and love, and be belov'd !  
 With angels feel what fate deny'd you here !  
 Bliss ; endless, as the friend and husband's tear ;  
 In all your virtues may the world agree !  
 Your failings—bury'd in the grave, and me.

## PROLOGUE to the ENGLISH MERCHANT.

*Spoken by Mr. K I N G.*

E A C H year how many English visit France,  
 To learn the language, and to learn to dance !  
 'Twixt Dover cliffs and Calais, in July,  
 Observe how thick the birds of passage fly !  
 Fair-weather fops in swarms, fresh-water sailors,  
 Cooks, mantua-makers, milliners and taylor.  
 Our bard too made a trip ; and stand'ers say,  
 Brought home among some more run goods, a play :

Here ! on this quay, prepar'd t' unload his cargo,  
If on the freight you lay not an embargo.

" What am I branded for a smuggler ?" cries  
Our little Bayes, with anger in his eyes.  
" No, English poets, English merchants made,  
" To the whole world of letters fairly trade :  
" With the rich stores of ancient Rome and Greece,  
" *Imported duty free*, may fill their piece :  
" Or, like Columbus, cross th' Atlantic ocean,  
" And set Peru and Mexico in motion ;  
" Turn Cherokees and Catabaws to shape ;  
" Or sail for *wit and humour* to the Cape."

Is there a *weaver* here from Spital Fields ?  
To his award our author fairly yields.

The *pattern*, he allows, is not quite new,  
And he imports the *raw materials* too.

Come whence they will, from Lyons, Genoa, Rome,  
'Tis English silks when wrought in English loom.  
Silks ! he recants ; and owns, with lowly mind,  
His manufacture is a coarser kind.

Be it drab, drugget, flannel, doily, frieze,  
Rug or whatever *winter-wear* you please,  
So it have leave to rank in any class,  
Pronounce it *English stuff*, and let it pass !

To Sir Godfrey Kneller, by the late Dr. Geake.

(A corrected Copy.)

WHILE meaner artists labour hard to trace  
The outward form, and features of a face,  
Your magic pencil, Kneller, takes the soul,  
And when you paint the man, you paint him whole.

On the CIRCUS at BATH.

By a Person of Quality.

YOUR half-round Circus by mere chance was right,  
Your rounded Circus is a bee-hive quite ;  
All grace is vanish'd, all proportion lost,  
Space has confin'd you, and good fortune crost ;  
Plac'd on a hill, to a fine prospect bare,  
At three sharp crannies enters all your air :  
Henceforth build crescents, blamelessly be dull,  
But never build again a *moon at full*.

ODE for his MAJESTY's Birth-Day, June 4, 1767.

**F**RRIEND to the poor!—for sure, O king,  
 That godlike attribute is thine—  
 Friend to the poor; to thee we sing,  
 To thee our annual offerings bring,  
 And bend at mercy's shrine.  
 In vain had nature deign'd to smile  
 Propitious on her fav'rite isle  
 Emerging from the main:  
 In vain the genial source of day  
 Selected each indulgent ray  
 For Britain's fertile plain:  
 In vain yon bright surrounding skies  
 Bade all their clouds in volumes rise,  
 Their soft'ring dews distill'd:  
 In vain the wide and teeming earth  
 Gave all her buried treasures birth,  
 And crown'd the laughing field:  
 For lo! some fiend, in evil hour,  
 Assuming famine's horrid mien,  
 Diffus'd her petrifying power  
 O'er thoughtless plenty's festive bower,  
 And blasted every green.  
 Strong panic terrors shook the land:  
 Th' obdurate breast, the griping hand  
 Were almost taught to spare;  
 For loud misrule, the scourge of crimes,  
 Mix'd with the madness of the times,  
 And rous'd a rustic war.  
 Whilst real want, with sigh sincere,  
 At home, in silence, dropp'd the tear,  
 Or rais'd th' imploring eye,  
 Foul riot's sons in torrents came,  
 And dar'd usurp thy awful name,  
 Thrice sacred misery!  
 Then GEORGE arose. His feeling heart  
 Inspir'd the nation's better part  
 With virtues like its own:  
 His power controul'd the insatiate train  
 Whose avarice grasp'd at private gain  
 Regardless of a people's groan.  
 Like snows beneath th' all-chearing ray  
 The rebel crowds dissolv'd away:  
 And justice, tho' the sword she drew,  
 Glanc'd lightly o'er th' offending crew,

And

And scarce selected, to avenge her woes,  
A single victim from a host of foes.  
Yes, mercy triumph'd; mercy shone confest,  
In her own noblest sphere, a monarch's breast.  
Forcibly mild did mercy shine  
Like the sweet month in which we pay  
Our annual vows at mercy's shrine,  
And hail our monarch's natal day.

*On Mr. GARRICK's Picture by a Bust of Shakespear. By Dr.  
H—rr—gt—n of Bath.*

**T**HE soul's chief virtues are in symbols shewn,  
By wisdom's bird is sage Minerva known;  
Idalian turtles speak love's gentle fire,  
The muse is mark'd by Phoebus' golden lyre.

*Art* may express yon venerable bust,  
And form each feature to resemblance just;  
But *Nature* pleas'd—with choicest tints design'd,  
*Thee!* happy symbol of her Shakespear's mind.

*The L O V E R and the F R I E N D.*

*Taken from the Bagatelles.*

I.

**E**NDU'D with all that could adorn,  
Or blest, the first and fairest born!  
A Soul! that looks superior down,  
Let giddy fortune smile or frown;  
With age's wisdom, not her years,  
Stella, all excellence appears;  
Then, who can blame me, if I blend  
The name of Lover with the Friend?

II.

Like Noah's dove, my busy breast  
Has rov'd to find a place of rest!  
Some faithful bosom, to repose,  
And hush, the family of woes.  
Then, do I dream? or, have I found  
The fair and hospitable ground?  
Ah! quit your sex's rules, and lend  
A Lover's wishes to the Friend.

III.

Absence I try'd,—but try'd in vain!  
It heals not, but upbraids my pain;



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For thee! I'll bear the sower's toil;  
 For thee! I'll consume the midnight oil;  
 Then, in your judgment, would I own  
 All that I read, and write, and know;  
 Can those who wish, like me, pretend  
 To part the Lover and the Friend?

## IV.

Come, then! and let us dare to prove  
 Disinterested sweets of love;  
 For, gen'rous love no dwelling finds  
 In poor and mercenary minds:  
 Laugh at life's idle flatter'ing things;  
 Look down with pity upon kings;  
 Careless! who like, or discommend,  
 Blest in the Lover and the Friend!

## V.

Oh! come, and we'll together haste,  
 O'er life's uncomfortable waste:  
 Bear the sharp thorn, to find the rose,  
 And smile at transitory woes;  
 Keep the bright goal of hope in view,  
 Nor, look behind, as others do;  
 'Till death, and only death, shall end  
 At once the Lover and the Friend.

## PROLOGUE TO THE TAYLORS.

*Spoken by SAMUEL JOHNS, Esq.*

*And supposed to be written by D— G—, Esq.*

**T**HIS night we add some heroes to our store,  
 Who never were, as heroes, seen before;  
 No blustering Romans, Trojans, Greeks, shall rage,  
 No knights, arm'd cap a-pee, shall croud our stage;  
 Nor shall our Henry's, Edwards, take the field,  
 Opposing sword to sword, and shield to shield;  
 With other instrument our troop appears;  
 Needles to thimbles shall, and sheers to speers;  
 With parchment gorgets, and in buckram arm'd,  
 Cold-blooded taylor's are to heroes warm'd;  
 And, slip-shod, slide to war.—No Lyons glare,  
 No eye-balls flashing fire, shall make you stare:  
 Each outside shall belye the stuff within;  
 A Roman spirit in each taylor's skin:—  
 A taylor-legg'd Pompey, Cassius, shall you see,  
 And the ninth-part of Brutus strut in me!

*What*

## For the YEAR 1844

What tho' no fabuds we draw, no daggars shake,  
 Yet can our warriors, *a girdle made* face to face  
*With a bare bodkin.*—Now be dunt, ye rapiers, and  
 And never but in honour call out taylor!  
 But are these heroes tragic? you will cry,  
 Oh, very tragic! and I'll tell you why—  
 Should female artists with the male combine,  
 And *mantua-makers* with the *taylor's* join;  
 Should all, too proud to work, their trades give o'er,  
 Nor to be sooth'd again by *Sir* more,  
 What horrors would ensue! First you, ye beaux,  
 At once lose all existence with your cloaths!  
 And you, ye fairs, where wou'd be your defense?  
 This is no golden age of innocence!  
 Should drunken bacchanals the graces meet,  
 And no police to guard the naked street,  
 Beauty is weak and passion bold and strong,  
 Oh then—But modesty restrains my tongue.  
 May this night's bard a skilful taylor be,  
 And like a well-made coat his tragedy.  
 Tho' close, yet easy, decent but not dull,  
 Short but not scanty, without buckram, FULL.

## The ACCEPTABLE SACRIFICE;

*A Fragment of MENANDER:*

*Translated by FRANCIS FAWKES, M. A.*

WHO'E'R approaches to the Lord of all,  
 And with his offerings desolates the stall;  
 Who brings a hundred bulls with garlands drest,  
 The purple mantle, or the golden vest;  
 Or ivory figures richly wrought around,  
 Or curious images with emeralds crown'd;  
 And hopes with these God's favour to obtain,  
 His thoughts are foolish and his hopes are vain.  
 He, only he, may trust his pray'r will rise,  
 And Heav'n accept his grateful sacrifice,  
 Who leads beneficent, a virtuous life;  
 Who wrongs no virgin, who corrupts no wife;  
 No robber he, no murd'rer of mankind,  
 No miser, servant to the sordid mind.  
 Dare to be just, my Pamphilus, disdain  
 The smallest trifle for the greatest gain:  
 For God is nigh thee, and his purer sight  
 In acts of goodness only takes delight;

He

## ANNUAL REGISTER

He feeds the labourer for his honest toil,  
And heaps his substance as he turns the soil.  
To him then humbly pay the rites divine,  
And not in garments, but in goodness shine.  
Guiltless of conscience thou may'st safely sleep,  
Tho' thunders bellow through the boundless deep.

*A translation of a little Sonnet written by PLATO, in his younger time  
of life, and preserved by Diogenes Laërtius.*

**T**AKE the gift that I bestow,  
Catch this apple that I throw,  
Part of the heap, my fallen foe,  
The heap I've treasur'd up for thee.

Take it, and my offer love  
If, beside, thou dost approve,  
In kind return to my blest arms  
Yield up the treasure of thy charms.

But if (how that But I hate!  
Be it not confirm'd by fate!)  
Thou favour'st it not my am'rous suit,  
Still take my present of the fruit.

Think when thou behold'st its bloom,  
What to-morrow 'twill become  
Think, that, if eaten not to-day,  
To teeth of Time 'twill fall a prey.

**EPITAPH on CLAUDIUS PHILLIPS.**

By Dr. JAMISON.

**P**HILLIPS! whose touch harmonious could remove  
The pangs of guilty power or hapless love,  
Rest here: oppress'd by poverty no more,  
Here find that calm thou gav'st so oft before.  
Sleep undisturb'd within this humble shrine,  
Till angels wake thee with a note like thine.

*Vases inscribed on a small Gothic altar in a Place of Retirement, built by ——— Powell Esq. in a Grove by the River Severn.*

**S**TAY, passenger, and tho' withip,  
Nor gold, nor glittering gems are seen,  
To strike thy dazzled eye,  
Yet enter, and thy ravi'd mind  
Beneath this humble roof shall find  
What gold will never buy.  
Within this solitary cell;  
Calm thought and sweet contentment dwell,  
Parents of bliss sincere;  
Peace spreads around her balmy wings,  
And banish'd from the court of kings,  
Has fix'd her mansion here.

*An Occasional Prologue, Spoken by Mr. Powell, at the Opening of the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden, on Monday, the 14th of Sept.*

**A**S when the merchant, to increase his store,  
For dubious seas advent'rous quits the shore,  
Still anxious for his freight, he trembling sees  
Rocks in each buoy, and tempests in each breeze;  
The curling wave to mountain billows swells,  
And every cloud a fancied storm foretells:  
Thus rashly launch'd on this theatric main,  
Our all on board, each phantom gives us pain:  
The catcall's note seems thunder in our ears,  
And every hiss a hurricane appears;  
In *Journal* squibs we lightning's blast espy,  
And meteors blaze in every critic's eye.

Spite of these terrors, still some hopes we view,  
Hopes ne'er can fail us—since they're plac'd in you.  
Your breath the gale, our voyage is secure,  
And safe the venture which your smiles insure,  
Tho' weak his skill, th' advent'rer must succeed,  
Where candour takes the *endeavour* for the deed.

For Brentford's state two kings could once suffice,  
In ours, behold! *four* kings of Brentford rise;  
All smelling to one nosegay's odorous savour,  
'The balmy nosegay of the—public favour.  
From hence alone our royal funds we draw,  
Your pleasure our support, your will our law.  
While such our government, we hope you'll own us;  
But, should we ever tyrants prove—dethrone us.

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Like brother monarchs, who, to coax the nation,  
 Begin their reigns with some fair proclamation;  
 We too should talk at least—of Reformation;  
 Declare that during our imperial sway,  
 No bard shall mourn his long-neglected play;  
 But then the play must have some wit, some spirit,  
 And we allow'd sole umpires of its merit.

For those deep sages of the judging pit,  
 Whose taste is too refin'd for modern wit,  
 From Rome's great theatre we'll call the piece,  
 And plant on Britain's stage the flowers of Greece.

If some there are our British bards can please,  
 Who taste the ancient wit of ancient days,  
 Be our's to save from time's devouring womb  
 Their works, and snatch their laurels from the tomb.

For you, ye fair, who sprightlier scenes may choose,  
 Where music decks in all her airs the muse,  
 Gay opera shall all its charms dispense,  
 Yet boast no tuneful triumph over sense:  
 The nobler bard shall still assert his right,  
 Nor Handel rob a Shakespeare of his night.

To greet their mortal brethren of our skies,  
 Here all the gods of pantomime shall rise:  
 Yet, midst the pomap and magic of machines,  
 Some plot may mark the meaning of our scenes:  
 Scenes which were held, in good king Rich's days,  
 By sages, no bad epilogues to plays.

If terms like these your suffrage can engage,  
 To fix our mimic empire of the stage;  
 Confirm our title, in your fair opinions,  
 And croud each night to people our dominions.

On the Right Hon. the Earl of Chesterfield's Remarks upon a late  
*Indisposition.*

By MICHAEL CLARKE, M. D.

Durrow in Ireland, Feb. 29.

*Je disais à la nuit sombre;  
 Tu vas maintenant dans ton ombre  
 Le cacher pour toujours;  
 Je redisais à l'Aurore,  
 La matinée que tu vas saluer  
 Ce sera le dernier de tes jours.*

IN noon day heat, a pilgrim spread  
 His limbs to warmth, and chaf'd his head;

Enjoy'd the sun, whose pow'ful ray  
Enliven'd once Promethean clay :  
Sudden he finds a shade of night  
Invade its strong meridian light :  
Soon feels a dreary damp, and sees  
The gloom advancing by degrees ;  
Till all its lucid orb was seiz'd  
With darkness, thick'ning as he gaz'd :  
Convulsive pangs his soul affright  
With terrors of eternal night :  
No hope that time may light restore ;  
And noon-day was to be no more.

Thus when, of late, pale sickness spread  
A dismal mist round Stanhope's head ;  
That head, whose prudence states rever'd,  
And ev'ry foe to virtue fear'd ;  
A threat'ning cloud hung o'er those eyes  
Whose vigour pierc'd thro' false disguise ;  
That tender heart began to grieve  
Whose chiefest joy was to relieve ;  
And faintly thrill'd that vital flood  
Which flow'd for universal good.

Swift Fame the dismal tidings bore,  
And Albion moan'd from shore to shore ;  
Her genius droop'd. In mournful lays  
Ierne's sons attempt his praise :  
O best of men ! whose conduct sage  
Appeas'd rebellion's horrid rage ;  
Full right he held the guiding helm ;  
Our lives he sav'd, who sav'd the realm,  
Propitious Heav'n, your aid bestow  
On him whose heart would pity show.

Eclipses are the sun's disease,  
When the dark moon obstructs his rays :  
As she goes off, he shines again,  
And re-assumes his splendid reign.

That dreadful cloud is blown away,  
Which darken'd Stanhope's lovely day :  
On ev'ry face a cheerful smile  
Shews joy renew'd thro' Britain's isle :  
To mirth Ierne's harp resounds ;  
To mirth each vocal hill rebounds.  
Her rural pipes his safety greet,  
In sprightly airs, and numbers sweet.  
Swift fly loud notes from silver strings,  
And ev'ry muse in concert sings.



# ANNUAL REGISTER

## PROLOGUE to *THE OXONIAN in TOWN*;

Spoken by *Mrs. W. W. W.*

*In the character of a gentleman's daughter, who has just*

**F**RESH from the school, behold us Oxford fair,  
No dupe to science, no dull slave of art;

As to our dress, faith ladies! to say truth,

It is a little awkward, and uncouth;

No sword, cockade, to lure you to our arms—

But then this airy rassel has its charms,

What mortal Oxford laundress can withstand

This, and the graces of a well-starch'd band?

In this array, our spark, with winning air,

Boldly accosts the froth-compelling fair;

Fast by the tub, with folded arms he stands,

And sees his surplice whiten in her hands;

And as she dives into the soapy floods,

Wishes almost—himself were in the suds.

Sometimes the ear he drives impetuous on,

Cut, lash, and flash, a very Phaeton,

Swift as the fiery couriers of the sun,

Up hill and down, his raw-bon'd hackneys run,

Leaving, with heat half dead, and dust half blind,

Turnpikes and bawling hosts unpaid behind.

You think perhaps we read—perhaps we may

The news, a pamphlet, or the last new play;

But for the scribblers of th' *Augustan* age,

*Horace*, and such queer mortals—not a page;

His brilliant sterling wit we justly hold

More brilliant far, transform'd to sterling gold,

Though *Euclid* we digest without much pain,

And solve his problems into brisk campaign.

Fir'd with this juice—why let the proctor come,

“Young men, 'tis late—'tis time you were at home,”

Zounds! are you here, we cry, with your dull rule

Like *Banquo's* ghost, to push us from our stools.

Such are the studies smarts pursue at college,

Oh! we are great proficient in such knowledge.

But now, no more from classic fields to glean,

The muse to *Covent-Garden* shifts the scene;

There shall I enter next, *jaus* cap and gown,

And play my part on this great stage the *Town*.

[*Bowing, and going, returns.*]

*J. Soft*

Soft ye, a word or two before I go ;  
Our piece is call'd a *Comedy*, you know.  
A two-act *Comedy* ! though *Romances*,  
That every comedy be just five acts.  
Hence parent dulness the vain title begs,  
For squalling, dancing monsters on five legs.  
The banthing of to-night, if rear'd by you,  
Shall run, like men and women, upon *Two*.

E P I L O G U E.

*Spoken by Mrs. MATROCKS.*

[*Enter as Lucy, with a Pack of Cards.*]

**H**ERE they are ladies !—Should these charming packs  
Be doubly loaded with a filthy tax ?  
“ My card to your's, my lord, a thousand pound ;”  
Oh ! charming sport !—Oh ! might I deal 'em round ?  
Yet will I use 'em, and, Oh ! deign to list,  
Tho' 'tis no lecture on the game of whist.

The future doom of gamblers to explore  
I, like the Sibyl's leaves, the cards turn o'er ;  
Nor think, ye fair, these books of fate deceive ;  
These only books 'tis modish to believe.

First with long staff, short coat, a swagg'ring spark,  
Some gambler, prentice, or attorney's clerk,  
His fortune asks—What card describes these cubs ?  
Oh ! here I have him in the *knave of clubs*.  
By clear construction of these pips I read,  
Thus he will play his cards, and thus succeed :  
At hazard, faro, brag, he joins the groupe,  
And ends a knave, as he commenc'd a dupe.  
And thence, his broken fortunes to repair,  
At Hounslow first, then Tyburn, takes the air.

Here, in the *king of diamonds*, pictur'd stands  
An heir, just warm in his dead father's lands.  
Now hey for cards and dice, his elbows shake ;  
The sympathizing trees and acres quake !  
His cooks lament, dogs howl, and grooms regret.  
Their fate depending on each desperate bett.  
Now dup'd, the bullet whizzes thro' his head,  
And shatters dust to dust, by lead to lead.

Lo ! next to my prophetic eye there starts  
A beauteous gamester, in the *queen of hearts* !  
The cards are dealt, the fatal pool is lost,  
And all her golden hopes for ever cross.

Yet still this card devoted fair I view,  
 Whate'er her luck, to *Honour* ever true.  
 So tender *there*, if debts crowd fast upon her,  
 She'll pawn her *Virtue*—to preserve her *Honour*.

Thrice happy were my art, could I foretell,  
 Cards would be soon abjur'd by each fond belle :  
 Yet I pronounce, who cherish still this vice,  
 And the pale vigils keep of cards and dice,  
 'Twill in their charms strange havock make, ye fair !  
 Which *rouge* in vain shall labour to repair :  
 Beauties shall grow mere hags ; toasts wither'd jades ;  
 Frightful, and ugly, as the *Queen of Spades*.

## P R O L O G U E

## To a PEEP BEHIND THE CURTAIN

## Or, THE NEW REHEARSAL.

**B**OLD is the man, and compos mentis scarce —  
 Who, in these nicer times, dares write a farce ;  
 A vulgar, long-forgotten taste renew ;  
 All now are comedies, five acts, or two.  
 Authors have ever in a canting strain,  
 Begg'd mercy for the bantlings of their brain :  
 That you, kind nurse, wou'd fondle 't on your lap,  
 And rear it with applause, that best of pap —  
 Thus babes have in their cradles 'scap'd a blow,  
 Tho' lame and rickety from top to toe :  
 Our bard, with prologue-outworks has not fenc'd him,  
 For all that I shall say, will make against him.  
 Imprimis, this his piece—a Farce we call it —  
 Ergo 'tis low—and ten to one you maul it !  
 Wou'd you, because tis low, no quarter give ?  
 Blackguards as well as gentlemen, shou'd live ;  
 'Tis downright *English* too—Nothing from *France*,  
 Except some beasts, which treat you with a dance.  
 With a burletta too we shall present you —  
 And, not *Italian*—that will discontent you.  
 Nay, what is worse—you'll see it, and must know it —  
 I *Thomas King*, of *King-street*, am the poet :  
 The murder's out—the murderer, detected,  
 May in one night, be try'd, condemn'd, dissected.  
 'Tis said, for scandal's tongue will never cease ;  
 That mischief's meant against our little piece :  
 Let me look round, I'll tell you how the case is —  
 There's not one frown a single brow disgraces ;  
 I never saw a sweeter set of faces !

Suppose *Old Nick*, before you righteous folk,  
Produce a farce, brimfull of mirth and joke;  
Tho' he, at other times, wou'd fire your blood;  
You'd clap his piece, and swear, 'twas *devilish* good!  
Malice propense! 'tis false! it cannot be—  
Light is my heart, from apprehensions free—  
If you would save *Old Nick*, you'll never damn poor me. }

E P I L O G U E.

**A**LL fable is figure—I your bard will maintain it,  
And least you don't know it, 'tis fit I explain it:  
The *Lyre* of our *Orpheus*, means your approbation;  
Which frees the poor poet from care and vexation:  
Shou'd want make his mistress too keen to dispute,  
Your smiles fill his pockets—and Madam is mute:  
Shou'd his wife, that's himself; for they two, art but one;  
Be in hell, that's in debt, and the money all gone;  
Your favour brings comfort, at once cures the evil,  
For 'scaping bumbailiffs, is 'scaping the devil.  
Nay, *Cerberus Critics* their fury will drop,  
For such barking monsters, your smiles are a sop:  
But how to explain what you most will require,  
That *Cows*, *Sheep*, and *Calves*, shou'd dance after the lyre,  
Without your kind favour, how scanty each meal!  
But with it comes dancing, *Beef*, *Mutton*, and *Veal*.  
For sing it, or say it, this truth we all see,  
Your applause will be ever *the true Beaume de Vie*.

PROLOGUE to the New Comedy of The WIDOW'D WIFE.

Spoken by Mr. HOLLAND.

**T**O gain the public ear, the man of rhimes  
Should always speak the language of the times;  
And little else hath been of late in hearing,  
Than terms and phrases of electioneering.  
Our author therefore sends me to assure ye,  
Worthy, and free electors of *old Drury*,  
How happy he should prove, if it content you,  
That he be one of those who represent you;  
The *state poetic*, laws and legislature,  
Like the *political*, in form and nature;  
Phœbus, the nine, and bards of reputation,  
King, peerage, commons, of the scribbling nation.

Now, from Parnassus' throne, the prince of wit,  
 It seems, hath issued out his royal writ  
 For a new member—no offence to give  
 To a late worthy representative ;  
 Who, ris'n to favour, hath from us retreated,  
 And 'midst the lords of t'other house is seated—  
 His service lost, presuming you may need him,  
 The present candidate would fain succeed him.

Not that he vainly boasts, on this occasion,  
 He met encouragement from your persuasion ;  
 Or that both friends, who love, and foes, who hate him,  
 Have been unanimous to nominate him.

'Tis for this loyal borough, his affection  
 And patriot zeal, that make him risk th' election :  
 To his constituents subject to controul,  
 With whose good leave he means to stand the poll ;  
 Trusting secure to their impartial choice,  
 The town uncanvass'd for a single voice :  
 Nay, brib'd no brother burges-bard of note,  
 Nor by corruption gain'd one critic's vote.

Too proud to beg, too modest to demand,  
 By merit only would he fall or stand :  
 Nor enmity nor friendship interfering,  
 He only asks a fair and candid hearing.  
 If, after that, you should with scorn reject him,  
 Or make one honest scruple to elect him,  
 He'll lay his unadvised scheme aside,  
 And frankly own himself not qualified.

#### EPILOGUE, *spoken by Mrs. CLIVE.*

W H A T E V E R discord and disorder reign,  
 Among the learned sons of Warwick-lane,  
 Should they throw squibs made up of latin scraps,  
 And come to pulling wigs, as women caps,  
 The sick escape—death will not lay about him,  
 He has more honour, than to work without 'em.  
 Should you (*to the pit*) whose skill and wisdom we acknow-  
 ledge,  
 The *fellows* of this old *dramatic college*,  
 (No matter what the cause of altercation)  
 Croud hither ev'ry night for disputation ;  
 The bard, half dead before, enjoys the sport,  
 Gets strength each day, and is the better for't.  
 Warm'd with this subject, let your fancies play,  
 And me, by licence, make a *doctor*, pray.

Sup.

Suppose this gown a suit of velvet, plain,  
With a gold button, and this fan—a cane;  
My *cap* becomes a *tye*, most wisely big;  
Oh! no—I had forgot—a smart *bag wig*,  
No *physic bushes* now are seen in town;  
For all the signs, you know, are taken down.  
Call me *licenciate*—*fellow*—what you will—  
I'll feel your pulses all, and prove my skill.  
The pulses of the boxes first I'll feel,  
And by their beating will their thoughts reveal.

(*she acts the doctor feeling a pulse.*)

Languid, and low—Wildman's old-fashion'd story  
Was much too *nervous*, to be set before ye:  
For twelve long years a tender wife forsaking,  
Worn out with wand'ring, and, what's worse, with raking,  
And then return—he was not worth the taking.  
As for the pulses of my friends above,  
They thump for joy—when spouses kiss and love.  
Bless their young hearts—what means this palpitation?  
Each miss's blood is now in agitation!  
Each quick pulsation for Narcissa beats;  
When she went off—they scarce could keep their seats.  
When Lombard talk'd of bribes—how lik'd you that?

(*to the pit.*)

Some pulses in this house went—pat, pat, pat.  
If this our night's prescription you have taken,  
Without wry faces, or your heads much shaken;  
If you perceive some character, and wit,  
With plot and humour—*quantum sufficit*;  
Mixt up with *sal volatile* of satire:  
Let it—*quotidie nocte repetatur*;  
'Tis by *our nostrums* you are kept alive;  
Pursue the regimen of doctor Clive.

## A PASTORAL. In the Modern Style.

### PASTORA and GALATEA.

**B**eneath the umbrageous shadow of a shade,  
Where glowing foliage on the surface play'd,  
And golden roses fann'd the silver breeze,  
In many a maze light echoing through the trees,  
Pastora tun'd the sweetly-panting string,  
And ruddy notes thus wak'd the flattering spring,  
While from th' alternate margin of an oak,  
A woodland Naiad thus meandering spoke.



## PASTORA.

The reed disports upon the sounding thorn,  
 And Philomel salutes the noon-tide morn,  
 The buzzing bees, poetic from their hive,  
 In smooth alliteration seem alive :  
 But ah! my virgin swain is chaster far  
 Than Cupid's painted shafts, or sparrows are,  
 Sparrows, that perch, like Sappho's, on my lay,  
 Or hop in concert with the dancing day.

## GALATEA.

What sound was that, which dawn'd a bleating hue,  
 And blush'd a sigh? Pastora, was it you?  
 Your notes sweet maid, this proverb still shall foil,  
 'The pot that's watch'd was never known to boil.'

## PASTORA.

Ah, no! whate'er thou art, or sigh, or word,  
 Or golden water fam'd, or talking bird;  
 Source of my joy, or genius of my notes,  
 Or Ocean's landscape stamp'd with lyric boats,  
 Ah, no! far hence thy aromatic strains  
 Recoil, and beautify our vaulted plains.

## GALATEA.

Thy dazzling harmony affects me so,  
 In azure symmetry I sigh—ah, no!  
 Ah, no! ah, no! the woods irradiate sing,  
 Ah, no! ah, no! for joy the grottoes ring;  
 E'en Heraclitus' vocal tears would flow,  
 To hear thee murmur thy melodious No!  
 Thy voice, 'tis true, Pastora, gilds the sky,  
 But woods and grottoes flutter in my eye.

## PASTORA.

When night pellucid warbles into day,  
 And morn sonorous floats upon the May.  
 With well-blown bugle through the wilds of air  
 I roam accordant, while the bounding hare  
 In covert claps her wings, to see me pass  
 Ethereal meadows of transparent grass.

## GALATEA.

Magnetic thunders now illumine the air,  
 And fragrant music variegates the year.  
 Light trips the dolphin through cerulean woods,  
 And spotless tygers harmonize the floods;

Ev'n Thetis smooths her brow, and laughs to see  
Kind nature weep, in symphony with me.

PASTORA.

This young conundrum let me first propose,  
It puzzles half our dainty belles and beaux.  
What makes my lays, in blue-ey'd order mine  
So far superior, when compar'd with thine?

GALATEA.

Expound me this, and I'll disclaim the prize,  
Whose lustre blushes with Peruvian dyes,  
When crowing foxes whistle in their dens,  
Or radiant hornpipes dance to cocks and hens,  
What makes sly Reynard and his cackling mate,  
That sav'd the capitol, resign to fate?

PASTORA.

But see, Aquarius fills his ample vase,  
And Taurus warbles to Vitruvian laws:  
So, crab-like Cancer all her speed assumes,  
And Virgo, still a maid, elastic blooms.  
My rose-lipt ewes in mystic wonder stand  
To hear me sing, and court my conscious hand.  
Adieu, my goats; for ne'er shall rural muse  
Your philosophic beards to broke refuse.

*An Ironical Eulogium on IGNORANCE. By Dr. GRANCY, of  
Durrow, in Ireland.*

*Quanto rectius est se plane nihil scire confiteri.*

**K**nowledge, that woeful source of strife,  
The pest and bane of human life,  
Deriv'd from Adam's fatal tree,  
To curse his wretched progeny;  
Has made all true enjoyments lose  
Than what our fellow-brutes possess;  
Who by unerring instinct move,  
And from its ~~states~~ never rove;  
But always steadily pursue  
What simple nature bids them do.

This true assertion must surprise,  
And shock the learned and the wise,  
Who look on all—with proud disdain,  
That want the stuff that loads their brain.

And keeps them ever by delusion  
In dark irregular confusion.

The surest calm that can allay  
The storms of life's tempestuous sea,  
Is found in undisturb'd repose,  
Whence every just contentment flows :  
Thus in the thoughtless, careless mind,  
The seat of real bliss we find.

O *Ignorance* ! thou darling child  
Of nature, like thy parent mild ;  
Thou precious gift, bestow'd at birth,  
To form our happiness on earth ;  
Involv'd in thee, we bid defiance  
To all the rocks and crags of science :  
In thy safe port secure we sleep,  
While *Learning* ploughs the toilsome deep ;  
Thy influ'nce makes the blockhead scribble  
Conundrums quaint, and far-fetch'd quibble ;  
Makes Anti-Christian —— preach,  
And cow-boys Greek and Latin teach ;  
Physicians gravely mix a potion,  
'That cures all ills by stopping motion ;  
The foggy lawyers make defence  
Against all rules of common sense ;  
Dull magistrates on benches nod,  
And vainly hold the useless rod :  
Make statesmen loll in splendor, brewing  
Their master's and the nation's ruin.

From love, the choicest boon that Heav'n  
Has by its kind indulgence giv'n,  
Is ev'ry store of sweetness flown,  
When secrets once are too well known :  
Thus, all the joys of life's short trance  
Consist in downright Ignorance.

*Knowledge* ! withdraw thy hated rays ;  
We love obscurity and ease :  
Extend thy glimm'ring light no more,  
But let us yawn, and sleep, and snore :  
Since not e'en Berkley's visions saw  
Th' intrinsic parts that form a straw ;  
Nor Newton, more than mortals wise,  
Who fathom'd earth, and seas, and skies,  
Cou'd ever truly understand  
The essence of one grain of sand.

For the YEAR 1767.

*The WINTER'S WALK.*

By SAMUEL JOHNSON, L. L. D.

**B**EHOLD, my fair, where'er we rove,  
What dreary prospects round us rise;  
The naked hill, the leafless grove,  
The hoary ground, the frowning skies!

Nor only through the wasted plain,  
Stern Winter, is thy force confess'd;  
Still wider spreads thy horrid reign,  
I feel thy pow'r usurp my breast.

Enliv'ning hope and fond desire,  
Resign the heart to spleen and care,  
Scarce frighted love maintains her fire,  
And rapture saddens to despair.

In groundless hope, and causeless fear,  
Unhappy man! behold thy doom  
Still changing with the changeful year,  
The slave of sunshine and of gloom.

Tir'd with vain joys, and false alarms,  
With mental and corporeal strife,  
Snatch me, my Stella, to thy arms,  
And screen me from the ills of life.

## An Account of Books for 1767.

**T**HE *History of the Life of King Henry the Second, and of the Age, in which he lived, in five Books: to which is prefixed, a History of the Revolutions of England from the Death of Edward the Confessor to the Birth of Henry the Second.* By George Lord Lyttelton. [3 vols. 4to.]

**A**S there is, perhaps, no study so delightful as that of history, so there is no history so useful as that of our own country. The very early accounts of England, as of all other antient nations, being founded on fable, the reading of any thing relating to those dark ages, may be considered merely as an amusement. But from the time that the different kingdoms of the heptarchy were united under one government; that the Anglo Saxon constitution began to be compleatly formed; and that many facts became properly ascertained; every part of the history of England becomes an object of consideration.

The noble author of the excellent work before us, has chosen one of the most critical, the most distinguished, and the most interesting periods, for the subject of his history. To his age of Henry the second he has prefixed a history of the revolutions which happened in England from the death of Edward the Confessor to the birth of that prince. And as the history of King Stephen is in-

cluded in the first book of the age of Henry the second, we have thereby a compleat history of England and of its continental connections, for that interesting period of above an hundred years. In this period we see the conquest of one mighty nation by another; the union and incorporation of both nations; the manner how by slow degrees they were melted into one; and their united acts under some of the greatest monarchs that ever lived. The noble writer traces out with the greatest accuracy, the degrees by which the Norman feudal system was engrafted upon, and interwoven with the Anglo Saxon constitution; from whence, through various modifications, proceeds that excellent form which we enjoy at present.

This is a part of our history, which requires the greatest labour, judgment, and knowledge, to investigate; and which, though essentially requisite to be known by every Englishman of consideration in his country, is the most involved in obscurity, the least generally understood, and the part as to which modern writers differ most in opinion. For this, many causes may be assigned; most of our writers have been influenced by some or other of the parties into which we have been so frequently divided, and which are perhaps so necessary for the preservation of a free state. From hence it has proceeded, that too

many

many of our historians have adopted favourite systems, to whichever thing that came in their way was obliged to submit, which, as it has lessened our character as historians, has equally prevented our acquisition of the most useful knowledge. It cannot however be denied, that the materials for this subject are often defective; many things are overlooked at the time of writing, as matters that are generally known, and that can never be forgotten, which if recorded would afford the greatest lights to posterity. It is probably owing to this want of precision in the antient writers, and to the fondness of system in the moderns, that we now find it so difficult to trace the history of our antient constitution, or to define the exact powers of the different parts of it; and from thence arise the great diversity of opinions relative to these subjects.

It happens fortunately, with respect to the work before us, that the age of Henry the second produced better writers than had appeared for several hundred years before or after that era, so that it may not perhaps be an absolute impropriety to call it the middle classical age. The noble author has also availed himself of some materials, which are to be found in few other periods of antient or modern times, viz. collections of letters, written on affairs of great moment, by some of the principal actors in those affairs, or persons employed by them, and deep in their confidence. From these he takes almost all the particulars of Henry's quarrel with Becket, and they serve to throw light on many other important transactions. His Lordship has neglected nothing that could eluci-

date his subject; he has examined the most antient records that are in being; the scarcest manuscripts; the pipe-rolls of the exchequer; and whatever else that could in any degree serve to remove error, or to ascertain fact; and from this laborious course of enquiry, we find the series of events in this history better ascertained, than perhaps in any other work of the kind that ever was published.

Henry the second was one of the greatest princes, in extent of dominion, in magnanimity and in abilities, that ever governed this nation. Whether we consider him as a hero, or a statesman; whether in the field giving law to his enemies, or at home administering justice to his people; we find him equally great, and his actions equally surprizing. His life is particularly instructive, from the uncommon variety of the events it contains; from its being distinguished by great virtues and great faults; by sudden and surprizing changes of fortune in the affairs of this kingdom; by the subjection of Wales, of Scotland, and of Ireland; and by a glory surpassing all military achievements, the reformation of government, and the establishment of good laws and wise institutions, beneficial to the public.

Though this period has been included in the general histories of other writers, yet it must be acknowledged, that in works of so vast an extent, there cannot be such a full detail of particulars, nor so much exactness and accuracy, as in those that are confined to narrower limits. It is only in the latter, that the several steps and preparatory measures, by which  
great



great actions are conducted, and great events are brought on, can be shewn with any clearness. Much, therefore, in this history will be new to many readers; and many matters, which have been already subjects of discussion, will here appear in a new light. In particular, the researches which the noble author has made into the antient laws and constitution of England, and the feudal institutions and tenures, will be found well worth the attention of every Englishman. The state of the church, of the royal revenues, of the exchequer, and of the military government, are treated with equal perspicuity and elegance, and new lights thrown upon some of them which they had not before received. The account his Lordship gives of the croisades, and the orders of knighthood, are highly curious and entertaining; and the warmth with which upon all occasions he vindicates the general rights of mankind, must procure him the suffrages of all lovers of liberty.

The present publication consists of three volumes in quarto; but the work is unfinished, three of the five books only, of which it consists, being contained in these volumes. The first volume contains, besides the history of the revolutions, which we have already taken notice of; the first book of the life of Henry the second, containing the history of that prince, from his birth till he ascended the throne; and includes the principal occurrences of the life of King Stephen. The second volume contains the second and third books of the history which bring

it down to the death of Becket in 1170.

The 3d volume consists of notes upon the second, and the authorities upon which the former volumes are founded. The history from the death of Becket in 1170, to the death of Henry, which happened in 1189, nineteen years afterwards, is wanting; but though we have no particular information upon the subject, we have some reason to hope it will soon make its appearance.

Upon the whole, whether we consider the work with respect to the labour attending it, the weight of the matter it contains, the clearness, accuracy, and perspicuity of its manner, or the elegance of its composition, we cannot help thinking it one of the best histories that has appeared in the English language, and a most valuable acquisition to the knowledge of our country.

From the nature of this work, it is scarce possible to make any abstracts of it, without mutilating or disgracing the original. We shall however, as we go along, occasionally touch upon some particular passages, which we apprehend are put in a new light, or where the noble author differs in opinion on material points from some other writers.

His Lordship observes that William the first was so far from grounding his title to the crown of England upon a supposed right of conquest, that he used his utmost endeavours to establish the notion of his being *heir to King Edward, from the appointment of that monarch*. And that he was crowned, not without the appearance and form

form of an election, or free acknowledgment of his claim : for the archbishop of York and the bishop of Coutance, who officiated in the ceremony, separately demanded of the nobility, prelates, and people of both nations, (English and Normans) who were present and assisting, *whether they consented that he should reign over them?* and, with joyful acclamations, they answered, that *they did*. Before he ascended the throne, he made a compact with his new subjects, by his coronation oath, the same with that of the Saxon kings.—

“ A distinction is to be made between the *government* of William the first, which was very tyrannical, and the *constitution* established under him in this kingdom, which was no absolute monarchy, but an ingraftment of the feudal tenures and other customs of Normandy upon the ancient Saxon laws of Edward the Confessor. He more than once swore to maintain those laws, and in the fourth year of his reign confirmed them in parliament ; yet not without great alterations, to which the whole legislature agreed, by a more compleat introduction of the strict feudal law, as it was practised in Normandy ; which produced a different political system, and changed both power and property in many respects ; though the first principles of that law, and general notions of it, had been in use among the English some ages before. But that the liberty of the subject was not so destroyed by these alterations, as some writers have supposed, plainly appears by the very statutes that

William enacted, in one of which we find an express declaration,  
 “ That all the freemen in his  
 “ kingdom should hold and enjoy  
 “ their lands and possessions free  
 “ from all unjust exaction and  
 “ from all tallage ; so that no-  
 “ thing should be exacted or taken  
 “ of them but their free service,  
 “ which they by right owed to  
 “ the crown and were bound to  
 “ perform.” It is further said,  
 “ That this was ordained and  
 “ granted to them as an heredi-  
 “ tary right for ever, *by the com-  
 “ mon council of the kingdom :*”  
 which very remarkable statute is justly styled by a learned author, Nathanael Bacon, *the first Magna Charta of the Normans*. And it extended no less to the *English* than to the *Normans*.”

The noble writer is of opinion, that the English were not reduced so low by William the Conqueror, even at the end of his reign (as some writers have supposed) as to be mere abject drudges and slaves to the Normans. In proof of which he shews, that the very year after his death they raised an army of *thirty thousand men*, in support of his son William Rufus, against his brother Robert and the whole force of the Normans ; which army served him bravely and faithfully in his distress, and to them he chiefly owed his preservation. So that their force was sufficient to maintain that prince of the royal family, who courted them most, upon the throne of this kingdom, against all the efforts of the contrary faction : a very remarkable fact, which almost retrieved the honour of the nation.

The account his Lordship gives  
 of

of the accession of Henry the first, and the great things he did for public liberty, contains some curious and uncommon observations.

“The nation resolved to give the crown to a prince, who should acquire and hold it under no other claim than a *compact* with his people: and though it would be difficult to justify their proceeding, either in conscience, or law, their policy may perhaps be accounted not unwise; as it made the title of the king become security for the liberty of the subject. To give that liberty a more solid and lasting establishment, they demanded a *charter*; which Henry granted soon after his coronation, as he had sworn to do before he was crowned. By this he restored the Saxon laws which were in use under Edward the Confessor, but with such alterations, or (as he styled them) *emendations*, as had been made in them by his father with the advice of his parliament; at the same time annulling all evil customs and illegal exactions, by which the realm had been unjustly oppressed. Some of those grievances were specified in the charter, and the redress of them was there expressly enacted. It also contained very considerable mitigations of those feudal rights, claimed by the king over his tenants, and by them over theirs, which either were the most burthensome in their own nature, or had been made so by an abusive extension. In short, all the liberty, that could well be consistent with the safety and interest of the lord in his fief, was allowed to the vassal by this charter, and the profits due to the former were settled ac-

cording to a determined and moderate rule of law. To use the words of one of our greatest antiquaries, Sir Henry Spelman, *It was the original of King John's Magna Charta, containing most of the articles of it, either particularly expressed, or in general, under the confirmation it gives to the laws of Edward the Confessor.* So mistaken are they, who have supposed that all the privileges granted in *Magna Charta* were innovations extorted by the arms of rebels from King John! a notion which seems to have been first taken up, not so much out of ignorance, as from a base motive of adulation to some of our princes in latter times, who, endeavouring to grasp at absolute power were desirous of any pretence to consider these laws, which stood in their way, as violent encroachments made by the barons on the ancient rights of the crown: whereas they were in reality restitutions and sanctions of ancient rights enjoyed by the nobility and people of England in former reigns; or limitations of powers which the king had illegally and arbitrarily stretched beyond their due bounds. In some respects this charter of Henry the first was more advantageous to liberty, than *Magna Charta* itself.”

The account which our noble author gives of the military art, in the times of which he treats; together with his observations on the state of naval affairs in England, before, and during that period; are so curious that we shall transcribe the whole in his own words.

“The military art, during the times of which I write, was in many particulars the same with

with that of the ancient Romans. We are informed by a contemporary German historian, that, in the methods of encamping, and of besieging towns or castles, the emperor Frederick Barbarossa followed their rules. And the histories of the holy war, written within the same age, describe the sieges made in Asia, by the English and French, agreeably to those carried on under the discipline of that nation. We have one composed by an Englishman, Geoffry de Vinesauf, that gives a particular relation of the siege of Acre, or Ptolemais, to which he accompanied King Richard the First. It appears from thence, that the besiegers, among other machines which had been used by the Romans, had moveable towers, built of wood, and of such a height, that the tops of them overlooked the battlements of the city. They were covered with raw hides, to prevent their being burnt; and had also a network of ropes which hung before them, and was intended to deaden the violence of the stones, that were thrown against them from the engines of the besieged. Those engines were called by this author *petrariæ*, but were the *balistæ* of the ancients; and, according to his account of them, their force was prodigious: they threw stones of a vast weight, and were employed by the besiegers to batter the walls, as by the besieged to defend them. He likewise mentions the cross-bow among the weapons made use of in that siege. It had been introduced into England by William the Conqueror, who greatly availed himself of it, at the battle of Hastings: but the second Lateran council

having forbidden it in wars between Christian nations, it was laid aside in this country, during the reigns of King Stephen and of Henry the Second. Nevertheless Richard the First, at his return out of Palestine, brought it again into France, very fatally for himself, as he was killed soon afterwards by an arrow shot out of that engine.

The manner of fortifying towns and castles, as well as the methods both of attack and defence, were still much the same as had been used by the Romans: but the armies differed much from those of that people; for their principal strength was in the cavalry; whereas, among the Romans, it was in the legions, which were chiefly composed of infantry. And this variation produced others, in the manner of fighting, and of ranging the troops. Yet, upon many occasions, the horsemen dismounted to fight on foot; and this seems to have been done by the English more frequently than by most other nations. The infantry, for the most part, were archers and slingers; nor were there any in the world more excellent at that time than those belonging to this island, the Normans having communicated their skill to the Saxons, and the Welsh being famous for strength, and dexterity in drawing the bow. The offensive arms of the cavalry were lances and swords: but they also used battle-axes, and maces of different sorts; and some fought with ponderous mallets or clubs of iron. I cannot better describe their defensive armour, than by translating the words of a contemporary historian, who has given an account of the manner

manner in which the order of knighthood was conferred on the father of King Henry the Second.

“They put him on (says that author) an incomparable habergeon, composed of double plates or scollops of steel, which no arrow or lance could penetrate. They gave him cuishes, or boots of iron, made equally strong. They put gilt spurs on his feet, and hung on his neck a shield, or buckler, on which lions of gold were painted. On his head they placed a helmet, which glittered all over with precious stones, and was so well forged, that no sword could cleave or pierce it.”

This armour, it may be presumed, was richer than that of ordinary knights, and of more excellent workmanship in the temper of the steel; but in other respects much the same. The habergeons, or coats of mail, were different from the cuirasses used in later times, being formed of double plates of iron, and covering the arms and shoulders of the knights, as well as their bodies. Under these they wore other coats, of leather, or of taffety, quilted with wool. The several parts of the outward armour were so artfully joined, that the whole man was defended by it from head to foot, and rendered almost invulnerable, except by contusions, or by the point of a lance or sword running into his eye, through the holes that were left for sight in the vizor of the helmet: but if it happened that the horse was killed or thrown down, or that the rider was dismounted, he could make but little resistance, and was either taken prisoner, or slain on the ground

with short daggers, which were usually worn by the horsemen for that purpose. It being customary for all who were taken in war to ransom themselves with sums of money, which were generally paid to those who took them in proportion to the rank of the captives, good quarter was given.

There is a remarkable passage relating to this subject, in Ordericus Vitalis, a writer contemporary with King Henry the First. He tells us, that, in a battle between Louis le Gros and that prince, of which an account has been given in a former part of this work, nine hundred knights were engaged, and only two of them killed: “because (says the historian) they were cloathed all over with iron, and from their fear of God, and the acquaintance they had contracted by living together, they spared one another, and rather desired to take than kill those who fled.” Some battles in Italy, which Machiavel has described as fought by the mercenary bands of that country, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were of the same kind. But it must be observed, that one of the reasons here given by Ordericus Vitalis, why so few of the knights, or men at arms, were slain in this action, viz. that they spared one another, out of regard to the acquaintance they had contracted by living together, did not hold in engagements between different nations, that were not so connected as the French and Normans; nor in civil wars, where the animosity is increased, not diminished, by the knowledge which the adverse parties have of each other: and therefore in these we do not find that

the battles were so harmless: yet the greatest slaughter was generally made of the foot, who were neither so well armed for defence as the knights, nor able to pay so high a price for their ransoms.

Roger de Hoveden speaks of horses covered with armour in the reign of Richard the First: but I find no mention thereof in the times of which I write; and that they were not usually so armed in the reign of Henry the First, may be proved from an action before related, between Odo de Borleng, and the barons of Normandy, who had revolted against that prince, in which all the horses of the rebels were killed by the arrows of the English, though not one of the riders was wounded.

In the above-recited passage, concerning the arms that were given to Geoffry Plantagenet, when he received the order of knighthood, it is said, "they brought him a lance of ash armed with the steel of Poitou, and a sword from the royal treasure; where it had been laid up from old times, being the workmanship of Galan, the most excellent of all swordsmiths, who had exerted in forging it his utmost art and labour." A skilful swordsmith was then so necessary to a warrior, that it is no wonder the name of one who excelled in his profession should be thus recorded in history, and a sword of his making deposited in the treasury of a king. It must be observed, that, in those days, a superior degree of bodily strength gave a double advantage: for the strongest knight could wear the heaviest armour; whereby he was better secured than others against

the weapons of an enemy; and at the same time he could wield the most ponderous weapons, which the armour of others was unable to resist. This advantage was still increased, if his sword was finely tempered, and his defensive arms were rendered more impenetrable by the skill of the armourer in preparing the steel. Thus some extraordinary acts of personal valour, which are related in our ancient histories, and seem to us quite incredible, may indeed be true. A single man, in a narrow pass, may have defended it against a great number of assailants; and the success of a battle may have sometimes been decided by the particular prowess of a few knights, or men at arms. Geoffry de Vinesauf, in his account of the crusade against Saladin, makes the officers of the Turkish forces say to that prince, in excuse of their having been beaten in an engagement with the English, *that they could not hurt the enemy, who were not armed as they were, but with impenetrable armour, which yielded to no weapons; so that in assaulting them they seemed to strike against flint.* The same author describes the Turks in another part of his book, as being armed very slightly, but bearing a quiver full of arrows, a club set thick with sharp spikes, a sword, a light javelin, and a short dagger or knife. Yet it appears, from his own relations of several battles, that with these weapons they often killed a great number of the Christians: and therefore we must understand the passage before-cited with some allowance for a degree of exaggeration. We also find that the armour of the knights in those days was not always



were proof against arrows from Welsh or English bows. And such violent strokes were given with maces and clubs of iron, as no helmets could resist. Besides the heavy cavalry, there was a sort of light-horse, that only wore an habergeon and scull-cap of that metal. Some of the infantry had also scull-caps and jaquettes of mail, with targets of wood, or light breast-plates. It was customary for knights to bear their coats of arms painted, either upon the rims, or in the middle of their shields; and their helmets were adorned with different crests, which, together with the arms, remained to their families. Some good authors have ascribed the origin of this custom, from whence the modern science of heraldry was derived, to the institution of tilts and tournaments, in the tenth century: but others date it from the crusade under Godfrey of Bouillon, when the confusion arising from so great a number of noblemen of different nations serving together, made them invent these distinctions. A late ingenious French writer has very justly observed, that wearing such ensigns on their shields, and appropriating them to distinguish particular families, could not have been the general practice in Europe, till after the death of William the Conqueror: for, if it had, his son Robert must have known him by his armour, and could not have ignorantly thrown him to the ground, as hath been related in the book prefixed to this history.

Tilts and tournaments, we are told, were first introduced into Germany by the emperor Henry, surnamed the Fowler, who

died in the year nine hundred and thirty six; and who, among other ordinances relating to those sports, forbade the admitting of any person to joust, who could not prove a nobility of four descents. Soon afterwards they were brought into England by King Edgar; and, in the following century, were established all over France. Geoffry de Preuilly, a baron of Anjou, is mentioned, in some of the histories or chronicles of that age, as the first who introduced them into that kingdom: but Father Daniel rather thinks, that he only drew up a code of laws, by which they were regulated; and that those regulations had been settled by the king and the nobility in their assemblies.

These entertainments are justly called, by some of our ancient historians, *military exercises and preludes of war*. For they were of very great use to instruct the nobility in all the methods of fighting which prevailed at that time, but especially in the dextrous management of their horses and lances. They also kept up a martial disposition, and an eager emulation for military glory, in time of peace. But, as they were frequently attended with accidents fatal to the lives of the combatants, Pope Innocent the Second and Eugenius the Third made canons against them, by which all who should die in them were denied Christian burial. Yet, notwithstanding the severity of this prohibition, they continued in France; and a few of them were held under King Stephen in England; but Henry the Second, from the humanity of his nature; or, perhaps, to shew his respect for the authority of the church,

church, where the interest of the state did not absolutely oppose it, most strictly forbade them. His sons revived the practice of them, especially his successor, Richard; whose ardour for them was violent; because no person excelled in them more than himself: nor did they entirely cease in England till the latter end of the sixteenth century: for, in the year fifteen hundred and seventy two, among other pomps for the entertainment of the duke of Anjou, Queen Elizabeth held a tournament in the tilt-yard at London, where Sir Philip Sidney won the prize: and carousals, another mode of them, but not so dangerous, continued in use under James and Charles the First. It must be likewise remarked, that although tournaments were prohibited by King Henry the Second, the exercises practised there, and the emulation excited by them, were not intermitted during the course of his reign. A contemporary writer informs us, in giving an account of the city of London, that, on every Sunday in Lent, the sons of the citizens sallied forth in troops from the gates, mounted on war-horses, and armed with shields and lances, or, instead of lances, with javelins, the iron of which was taken off, in order to exercise themselves in a representation and image of war, by mock-fights, and other acts of military contention. He adds too, that many courtiers, from the neighbouring palace, and young gentlemen of noble families, who had not yet been knighted, came to combat with them, on these occasions. It cannot be doubted,

that those noblemen, who had been honoured with knighthood, had proper places of exercise, for keeping up their skill in horsemanship, and the dexterity they had acquired in the management of their arms. The abovementioned author says further, that on every holiday, throughout the whole summer, it was usual for the young citizens to go out into the fields, and practise archery, wrestling, throwing of stones and missile weapons, with other such martial sports. And, during the festival of Easter, they represented a kind of naval fight on the river Thames.

The most particular and authentic account I have met with of the navies in those days, and also of the manner of fighting at sea, is in the before-cited history of Geoffry de Vinesauf. From his description it appears, that the ships of war were all *gallies*; but he says, that in his time they had generally no more than two rows of oars: and he adds, that the vessel, which the Romans called *Liburna*, was then named a galley; being long, narrow, and low-built. To the prow was affixed a piece of wood, commonly then called a *spur*, but by the ancients, a *rostrum*; which was designed to strike and pierce the ships of the enemy: but there were also lesser gallies, with only one tier of oars: which being shorter, and therefore moved with greater facility, were fitter for throwing wild-fire, and made use of to that purpose. The same writer has related all the circumstances of a sea-fight, which the Christians, who were going to the siege of Ptolemais, had with the Turks, on that coast. He

tells us, that when the fleets were advancing to engage, that of the Christians was drawn up, not in a strait line of battle, but in a crescent or half moon; to the intent, that, if the enemy should attempt to break in, they might be inclosed in that curve, and consequently overpowered. In the front of the half-moon (that is, at the two ends of the curve) the Christians placed their strongest galleys, that they might attack with more alacrity, and better repel the attacks of the enemy. On the upper deck of each galley the soldiers belonging to it were drawn up in a circle, with their bucklers closely joined; and on the lower deck the rowers sat all together, so that those who were to fight, and were placed above for that purpose, might have the more room. The action began, on both sides, with a discharge of their missile weapons: then the Christians rowed forwards, as swiftly as they could, and shocked the enemy's galleys with the spurs or beaks of theirs: after which they came to close fighting; the opposite oars were mixed and entangled together; they fixed the galleys to each other by grappling irons thrown out on both sides; and fired the planks with a kind of burning oil, commonly called *Greek wild-fire*. The account which the same historian gives of *that wild-fire* is worth transcribing. His words are these:

*"With a pernicious stench and livid flames it consumes even flint and iron: nor can it be extinguished by water: but by sprinkling sand upon it the violence of it may be abated; and vinegar poured upon it will put it out."*

We know of none such at present. The composition was first discovered by Callinicus, an architect, who came from Syria to Constantinople; and the Greek emperors, for some time, kept the secret to themselves. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his treatise on the administration of the empire, which he dedicated to his son, advises that prince to answer the barbarians, who should desire him to give them any of the *Greek fire*, that he was not allowed to part with it, *because an angel, who gave it to Constantine the Great, commanded him to refuse it to all other nations*. While this advice was adhered to, the wild-fire proved of great use to the defence of the empire; several fleets, which came to invade Constantinople, having been burnt and destroyed by it: but it appears by the passage above-quoted, that in the twelfth century the secret was known to many other nations, and even to the Mahometans. I find also that it was used in the attack and defence of towns and castles.

The Saxon chronicle tells us, that King Alfred, to oppose the invasions of the Danes, ordered a number of ships, or rather galleys, to be built upon a new model, different from those which were used by that nation, or by the Frisians; being higher than any of theirs, and almost twice as long; better sailors, more steady, and more proper for war. Of these some had sixty oars, and others more. Experience shewed that they were superior to any of those ships, with which the northern corsairs had infested the coasts of England, till this admirable prince, whose genius

and application to whatever might conduce to the benefit of the public instructed his subjects in all kinds of useful knowledge, made this improvement in the naval architecture of the Anglo-Saxons. His son, and grandsons, after the wise example he had set them, kept up very strong fleets, which not only protected, but enlarged their dominions. And (if we may believe the accounts of some ancient historians) his great grandson Edgar raised the maritime force of England to such a degree, as cannot be paralleled in the history of any other nation. They tell us, that this monarch had three several fleets, each of twelve hundred sail, and all stout ships, which were stationed to guard the different coasts of his kingdom; and that every year he cruised in each of these squadrons, so as to make, within that time, the whole tour of the island. If these ships had been built upon the same model as Alfred's, the number of rowers aboard of them, allowing but one to each oar, would have exceeded two hundred thousand, besides the mariners that were necessary to manage the sails, and soldiers for battle. But supposing that three in four of them were of a much smaller size, and carried no more than four and twenty men each, which was the lowest complement of any that we read of in those days, the number is still greater than England, not united either with Scotland or Wales, could possibly furnish, to be kept, as it is said these were, in constant employment. I am therefore surprised that Mr. Selden, in one of his most important and elaborate works, should seem to have given credit to this account, which

certainly is exaggerated very far beyond truth: though it is probable that King Edgar had a much stronger fleet, and more constantly maintained on all the coasts of his kingdom, than most of his predecessors; because we find that he enjoyed a settled peace, through the whole course of his reign, unmolested by any of the people of the North, or other foreign states. Yet he had not been dead above six or seven years, when the naval power of the English was so strangely reduced, or so ill managed, that a Danish squadron of seven ships was able to insult some parts of their coast, and to plunder their town of Southampton. Nor did the loss and dishonour which the nation had sustained by this descent, excite them to restore, or better regulate, their maritime forces. For, ten years afterwards, Ethelred, or rather those who had the direction of publick business, during the tender years of that prince, could find no means of delivering the kingdom from these invaders, but by giving them money; for the raising of which a new tax, called *danegeld*, was imposed on the people.

The natural effect of this timid measure was to draw on other invasions. They accordingly happened; and more compositions of the same nature were exacted, each new payment being higher than the foregoing: so that from ten thousand they came to eight and forty thousand pounds; a great sum in those days! One vigorous effort was indeed made by Ethelred, in the year one thousand and eight, to free himself and his people from this infamous tribute; by a general tax on all the land of the kingdom, for the fitting out of a

fleet,

fleet, which might effectually guard it against the Danes. Every three hundred and ten hides of land was charged to furnish a galley of three rows of oars, and every eight hides to provide a coat of mail and a helmet, which armour was for the soldiers, designed to be employed as marines, aboard of the fleet. This was done with the advice and consent of the parliament, or *witten-gemote*; and the Saxon chronicle tells us, that the number of ships built and equipt the next year, by means of this imposition, was greater than any, that the English nation had ever furnished under any former king. Mr. Selden observes, that, according to a computation made in Camden's *Britannia* from rolls of that age, the number of hides of land in England did not exceed two hundred and forty three thousand, six hundred; which makes the number of ships obtained by this hidage seven hundred and eighty five. This apparently was a fleet sufficient to have maintained the sovereignty of our seas against any other nation. Yet, by violent tempests and wicked treachery, it was soon destroyed; and the wretched expedient of compounding with the Danes was again taken up; which at last proceeded so far, that, in the year one thousand and twelve, the English nobility, after paying the tribute (though too late to prevent the enemy from over-running and subduing a great part of the kingdom) hired a squadron of Danish ships to guard their coasts against the attack of other corsairs. All England being soon afterwards subjected to Canute, that prince, in the year one thousand and eighteen, dismissed all his Danish fleet, ex-

cept forty ships, which he retained to secure his new-acquired dominions: but, in the year one thousand and twenty eight, he carried with him to Norway fifty five ships of war, which his English thanes provided for him, and by which he was enabled to conquer that kingdom. His son and successor, Harold Harefoot, who reigned only four years, laid a tax upon the English, to maintain constantly in his service sixteen ships of war, allowing eight marks to each rower, according to the establishment settled by Canute. His brother, Hardicanute, increased that number to sixty two, with the same allowance to each rower; for the defraying of which there was paid, in the second year of that king, twenty one thousand and ninety nine pounds: but presently afterwards he reduced the number of ships to thirty two, and the charge to eleven thousand and forty eight pounds. In truth, it was not necessary that these Danish princes should keep any great naval forces for the defence of this island; as they themselves had the dominion of those northern countries, from whence the former invasions and descents had been made: and as no other power, then existing, could pretend to dispute with them the empire of the ocean.

Historians relate that Earl Godwin, to appease the anger of his sovereign, Hardicanute, for the share he had in the death of Alfred, that prince's brother, presented him with a ship, the beak of which was of gold, and which carried eighty soldiers, of whom every one had on each arm a golden bracelet, that weighed sixteen ounces; on his head an iron helmet, gilt with gold,

gold, as were also the other parts of his armour; on his left shoulder a Danish battle-axe, and in his hand a javelin: which circumstances I here mention, not so much on account of the richness of the gift, as to shew the number of soldiers that, in those days, served aboard of ships of war, and how they were armed. For it may reasonably be supposed, that this galley was equipt in much the same manner as others were at that time, except the peculiar magnificence of the gold in the beak and in the ornaments of the soldiers.

What was the ordinary strength of the royal navy, from the times of William the Conqueror to those of Henry the Second inclusively, or to what number of ships it was increased upon extraordinary exigences, we are not well informed. But it appears from a passage in the *Red book of the Exchequer*, that the *Cinque Ports*, during those times, were obliged by their tenures, to provide fifty two ships, and twenty four men in each ship, for fifteen days, at their own charges, to defend the coasts, when required. And not only these, but other maritime, and even some inland towns, held by the same kind of service. This seems to have been the constant support of the navy: but upon extraordinary occasions danegeld was levied: and, although at the end of that century the name was lost, a like provision was often made, in every age, by our parliaments, for the defence of the British seas and security of the kingdom.

It has been mentioned in a former part of this work, that the English fleet in the channel did Wil-

liam Rufus good service against his brother; a great number of Normans, who were coming over to support the pretensions of the latter, having been destroyed in their passage, by the ships that guarded the coast of Sussex; which so intimidated Robert, that he durst not attempt another embarkation. A sufficient fleet was likewise sent by Henry the First, at the beginning of his reign, to oppose that prince in his passage between Normandy and England: but a part of it joined him; which enabled him to land without difficulty; and a peace being soon concluded between the two brothers, this island remained exempt from the invasions of foreigners, or any alarm of that nature, till the war excited against Henry by the son of Duke Robert obliged him again to provide for the defence of his realm, by a proper exertion of its maritime power.

During the reign of Stephen the English navy declined much in its strength, and we cannot wonder that it did: for the long intestine war, which desolated the kingdom, ruined its commerce: without which it is impossible for any prince to maintain a naval power. This was restored, and, probably, augmented, by Henry the Second; yet it seems, that, till the latter part of his reign, he made no efforts to fit out any powerful fleets: because, being master of almost all the French coast, and in close alliance with the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, he feared no invasion. For the kings of Denmark had given up all intentions of renewing their claim to England; nor did their subjects, or any other of the northern nations, continue those piratical



tical expeditions, which had been so troublesome to the English in former times. It seemed therefore unnecessary for Henry the Second to guard his coasts by great fleets; and, being busied upon the continent, he chiefly turned his thoughts to the increasing and strengthening of his land-force, which he might better make use of, either to defend or enlarge his territories in France. Geoffry de Vinesauf tells us, that after king Richard the First had made himself master of Cyprus, when all his galleys were arrived in one of the ports of that island, the number of them, including five which he had taken from the Cypriots and added to his own, amounted to a hundred; whereof sixty were superior to the common armed galleys. And in another place he says, that a fleet so fine, and so well provided, had never been seen before. Besides the galleys, Richard had with him, when he sailed from the harbour of Messina in Sicily, a hundred and fifty great ships, which he used as transports. These, we are told, he had selected from all the shipping in the ports of England, Normandy, Poitou, and his other maritime territories. That most of the galleys were built before the death of his father I think very probable; for they could not otherwise have been ready to put to sea in so short a time after. A manuscript chronicle of the age of Henry the Third, cited by Spelman in his Glossary, says, that fifty of these were *triremes*, viz. galleys of three rows of oars; and that, among the other ships, thirteen, distinguished there by the name of *busses*, carried, each of them, three masts. Upon the whole I presume, that the more numerous

fleets, mentioned before in the English history, consisted of vessels much smaller than this of Richard."

The following remarks on the feudal system are equally new and curious.

"It was a general maxim of the feudal law, that a forfeiture of the property of the lord in the fief, and of all his dominion over his vassal, was as necessary an effect of any great breach or neglect of the duty which he owed to his vassal, as the forfeiture of the fief was of a similar crime or neglect in the vassal. Indeed this principle, which is so consonant to natural equity and natural liberty, was the corner stone of the whole policy settled in England by the Normans. So that our kings, considered as feudal lords of this kingdom, were bound no less to protect their vassals in all their just rights and privileges, than their vassals were to serve them; and a failure, on either side, in these reciprocal duties, destroyed the connection, and dissolved the obligations of the party offended. The inferior vassals, in all degrees of subinfeudation, were likewise, by virtue of the above-mentioned maxim, entirely freed from the bond of their homage and fealty to their respective lords, if these did not acquit themselves of what they owed to them, agreeably to the nature and conditions of their original compact. It is therefore very apparent, that the spirit of this system was most abhorrent from tyranny, and that the plan of it, in all its several parts, was designed as much to resist any oppressive exertion of power within, as any attacks from foreign enemies."

We shall now give our readers his Lordship's curious account of the

the martyrdom of Becket, as it was called.

“ While he (Becket) was thus preparing himself for that martyrdom which he said he expected, the archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury had gone over to Normandy, and at the feet of the king implored his justice and clemency, for themselves, for his whole clergy, and for his kingdom. When he had heard their complaints he was extremely incensed, and said, that, *if all who consented to his son's coronation were to be excommunicated; by the eyes of God, he himself should not be excepted.* The archbishop however entreated him to proceed with discretion and temper in this business. But not being able to master the violence of his passion, he broke out into furious expressions of anger, saying, “ that a  
 “ man whom he had raised from the  
 “ dust trampled upon the whole  
 “ kingdom, dishonoured the whole  
 “ royal family, had driven him and  
 “ his children from the throne, and  
 “ triumphed there unresisted; and,  
 “ *that he was very unfortunate to*  
 “ *have maintained so many cowardly*  
 “ *and ungrateful men in his court,*  
 “ *none of whom would revenge him of*  
 “ *the injuries he sustained from one*  
 “ *turbulent priest.*” Having thus vented his rage, he thought no more of what he had said; but, unhappily for him, his words were taken notice of, by some of those pests of a court, who are ready to catch at every occasion of serving the passions of a prince to the prejudice of his honour and interest. Four gentlemen of his bedchamber, knights and barons of the kingdom, Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracey, Hugh de More-

ville, and Richard Brito, making no difference between a sally of anger, and a settled intention to command a wicked action, thought they should much oblige the king by murdering Becket. Nevertheless it appears, that they rather desired to induce that prelate, by threats and pretended orders from the king, to take off the censures which he had laid on the bishops; or, in case of his refusal, to carry him forcibly out of the kingdom: but if, from his resistance, they could not succeed in either of these purposes, they resolved, and even bound themselves by an execrable oath, to put him to death. Thus determined they passed hastily over to England, without the king's knowledge, and went to a castle belonging to Ranulf de Broc, about six miles from Canterbury, where they staid all the night, in consultation with him and Robert his brother, by what methods they should execute their flagitious undertaking. Ranulf had under his orders a band of soldiers, who had been employed for some time in guarding the coast. They agreed to take along with them a number of these, sufficient to hinder the citizens of Canterbury, or any of the knights of Becket's household, from attempting to aid him, and on the following day, being the twenty ninth of December in the year eleven hundred and seventy, they came to Canterbury, concealing their arms as much as was possible, and dividing their followers into many small parties, that they might give no alarm. Presently afterwards the four knights entered the castle unarmed, and a message being sent by them to acquaint the archbishop

shop

shop, that they were come to speak with him on the part of the king their master, he admitted them into his chamber, where they found him in conversation with some of his clergy. They sat down before him without returning his salutation; and, after a long silence, Reginald Fitzurse said to him, "We bring you orders from the king. Will you hear them in publick, or in private?" Becket answered, "that should be as pleased them best." Fitzurse then desiring him to dismiss all his company, he bid them leave the room; but the porter kept the door open; and after the above-mentioned gentleman had delivered a part of what he called the king's orders, Becket, fearing some violence from the rough manner in which he spoke, called in again all the clergy who were in the antichamber, and told the four knights, that whatever they had to inform him of might be said in their presence. Whereupon Fitzurse commanded him in the name of the king to release the excommunicated and suspended bishops. He said, the pope, not he, had passed that sentence upon them, nor was it in his power to take it off. They replied, it was inflicted by his procurement. To which he boldly made answer, that if the pope had been pleased thus to revenge the injury done to the church, he confessed, *it did not displease him*. These words gave occasion to very bitter reproaches from the rage of Fitzurse. He charged the bishop with having violated the reconciliation so lately concluded, and having formed a design to tear the crown from the

head of the young king. Becket made answer, that *saving the honour of God, and his own soul*, he earnestly desired to place many more crowns upon the head of that prince, instead of taking this off, and loved him more tenderly than any other man could, except his royal father.

A vehement dispute then arose between Fitzurse and him, about some words which he affirmed the king to have spoken, on the day when his peace was made, permitting him to obtain what reparation or justice he could from the pope, against those bishops who had invaded the rights of his see, and even promising to assist him therein; for the truth of which he appealed to Fitzurse himself, as having been present. But that gentleman constantly denied that he had heard it, or any thing like it, and urged the great improbability that the king should have consented to give up his friends to Becket's revenge for what they did by his orders. And certainly, if it was true, one cannot but wonder, that the archbishop should not have mentioned it in any one of his letters, and particularly in the account which he wrote to the pope of all that passed on that day! The words he repeated there, as spoken by Henry, even admitting that they were given without any exaggeration, would not authorise the construction he now put upon them. But that he himself did not believe he had such a commission appears from the apprehensions he expressed to his Holiness, in a subsequent letter, of the offence that he should give to the king by these acts, and from the ex-

extraordinary care he took to conceal his intention till after he had performed it.

Their conversation concerning this matter being ended, the four knights declared to him, it was the king's command, that he and all who belonged to him should depart out of the kingdom: for that neither he nor his should any longer enjoy the peace he had broken. He replied, that he would never again put the sea between him and his church: adding, that it would not have been for the honour of the king to have sent such an order. They said, they would prove that they brought it from the king, and urged, as a reason for it, Becket's having opprobriously cast out of the church, at the instigation of his own furious passions, the ministers and domestick servants of the king; whereas he ought to have left their examination and punishment to the royal justice. He answered with warmth, that if any man whatsoever presumed to infringe the laws of the holy Roman see, or the rights of the church of Christ, and did not voluntarily make satisfaction, he would not spare such an offender, nor delay any longer to pronounce ecclesiastical censures against him. They immediately rose up, and going nearer to him said, "*We give you notice that you have spoken to the peril of your head.*" His answer was, "*Are you come to kill me? I have committed my cause to the supreme judge of all, and am therefore unmoved at your threats. Nor are your swords more ready to strike than my mind is to suffer martyrdom.*" At these

words one of them turned to the ecclesiasticks there present, and in the name of the king commanded them to secure the person of Becket; declaring, they should answer for him, if he escaped. Which being heard by him, he asked the knights, "Why any of them should imagine he intended to fly? *Neither for fear of the king, nor of any man living, will I (said he) be driven to flight. I came not hither to fly, but to stand the malice of the impious, and the rage of assassins.*" Upon this they went out, and commanded the knights of his household, at the peril of their lives, to go with them, and wait the event in silence and tranquillity. Proclamation was likewise made to the same effect in the city. After their departure John of Salisbury reprov'd the primate for having spoken to them so sharply, and told him, he would have done better, if he had taken counsel of his friends what answer to make. But he replied, "There is no want of more counsel. What I ought to do I well know." Intelligence being brought to him that the four knights were arming, he said with an air of unconcern, "What matters it? let them arm." Nevertheless some of his servants shut and barred the abbey-gate: after which the monks who were with him, alarmed at his danger, led him into the church, where the evening service was performing, by a private way through the cloysters.

The knights were now come before the gate of the abbey, and would have broken it open with instruments they had brought for that

that purpose : but Robert de Broc, to whom the house was better known, showed them a passage through a window, by which they got in, and, not finding Becket in any chamber of the palace, followed him to the cathedral. When the monks within saw them coming, they hastened to lock the door; but the archbishop forbade them to do it, saying, "*You ought not to make a castle of the church. It will protect us sufficiently without being shut : nor did I come hither to resist, but to suffer.*" Which they not regarding, he himself opened the door, called in some of the monks, who stood without, and then went up to the high altar.

The knights, finding no obstacle, rushed into the choir, and, brandishing their weapons exclaimed, "Where is Thomas Becket? where is that traitor to the king and kingdom?" at which he making no answer, they called out more loudly, "Where is the archbishop?" He then turned, and coming down the steps of the altar, "Here am I, no traitor, but a priest. What would you have with me? I am ready to suffer in the name of him who redeemed me with his blood. God forbid that I should fly for fear of your swords, or recede from justice." They once more commanded him to take off the excommunication and suspension of the bishops. He replied, "No satisfaction has yet been made; nor will I absolve them. Then (said they) thou shalt instantly die, according to thy desert. I am ready to die (answered he) that the church may obtain liberty

*and peace in my blood. But in the name of God, I forbid you to hurt any of my people."* They now rushed upon him, and endeavoured to drag him out of the church, with an intention (as they afterwards declared themselves) to carry him in bonds to the king; or, if they could not do that, to kill him in a less sacred place: but he clinging fast to one of the pillars of the choir, they could not force him from thence. During the struggle he shook William de Tracey so roughly, that he almost threw him down; and as Reginald Fitzurse pressed harder upon him than any of the others, he thrust him away, and called him *pimp*. This opprobrious language more enraged that violent man; he lifted up his sword against the head of Becket, who then bowing his neck, and joining his hands together, in a posture of prayer, recommended his own soul, and the cause of the church, to God, and to the saints of that cathedral. But one of the monks of Canterbury interposing his arm to ward off the blow, it was almost cut off; and the archbishop also was wounded in the crown of his head. He stood a second stroke, which likewise fell on his head, in the same devout posture, without a motion, word, or groan: but, after receiving a third, he fell prostrate on his face; and all the accomplices pressing now to a share in the murder, a piece of his skull was struck off by Richard Brito. Lastly, Hugh the subdeacon who had joined himself to them at Canterbury, scooped out the brains of the dead archbishop with the point of a sword, and scat-

scattered them over the pavement.

Thus in the fifty-third year of his age, was assassinated Thomas Becket; a man of great talents, of elevated thoughts, and of invincible courage; but of a most violent and turbulent spirit; excessively passionate, haughty, and vain-glorious; in his resolutions inflexible, in his resentments implacable. It cannot be denied that he was guilty of a wilful and premeditated perjury: that he opposed the necessary course of public justice, and acted in defiance of the laws of his country; laws which he had most solemnly acknowledged and confirmed: nor is it less evident, that, during the heat of this dispute, he was in the highest degree ungrateful to a very kind master, whose confidence in him had been boundless, and who from a private condition had advanced him to be the second man in his kingdom. On what motives he acted can be certainly judged of by him alone, *to whom all hearts are open*. He might be misled by the prejudices of a bigotted age, and think he was doing an acceptable service to God, in contending, even to death, for the utmost excess of ecclesiastical and papal authority. Yet the strength of his understanding, his conversation in courts and camps, among persons whose notions were more free and enlarged, the different colour of his former life, and the suddenness of the change which seemed to be wrought in him upon his election to Canterbury, would make one suspect, as many did in the times wherein he lived, that he only be-

came the champion of the church from an ambitious desire of sharing its power; a power more independent on the favour of the king, and therefore more agreeable to the haughtiness of his mind, than that which he had enjoyed as a minister of the crown. And this suspicion is increased by the marks of cunning and falseness, which are evidently seen in his conduct on some occasions. Neither is it impossible, that, when first he assumed his new character, he might act the part of a zealot, merely or principally from motives of arrogance and ambition; yet, afterwards, being engaged, and inflamed by the contest, work himself up into a real enthusiasm. The continual praises of those with whom he acted, the honours done him in his exile by all the clergy of France, and the vanity which appears so predominant in his mind, may have conduced to operate such a change. He certainly shewed in the latter part of his life a spirit as fervent as the warmest enthusiast's; such a spirit indeed as constitutes *heroism*, when it exerts itself in a cause beneficial to mankind. Had he defended the established laws of his country, and the fundamental rules of civil justice, with as much zeal and intrepidity as he opposed them, he would have deserved to be ranked with those great men, whose virtues make one easily forget the alloy of some natural imperfections: but, unhappily, his good qualities were so misapplied, that they became no less hurtful to the public weal of the kingdom, than the worst of his vices.



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**T**HE Royal Prophet, speaking of the divine law, says, that it was a light to the eyes of the understanding, which imparted wisdom to the most simple.

It were much to be wished, that what David thus said of the laws of God, could, almost with any allowance, be said of the laws of men; so that while the universal justice, and extensive principles, on which they were founded, should enlighten and enlarge the understanding of the wisest, their comprehensive clearness and perspicuity should give immediate information and knowledge to the most simple; and that mankind should fear to break them, from a consciousness of their apparent and undoubted equity, and a reverential sense of the benefits which they continually imparted. If even ordinary rulers, who are invested with an authority merely judicial and executive, pretend to claim some resemblance to the Deity, in the casual dispensation of law; it should certainly be the part of great legislators of nations, to endeavour to resemble him in the permanent establishment of it.

It is unfortunate, that few human bodies of law, if any, can be said to possess perspicuity, together with a strict regard to universal justice. Those in which the *salus populi* is, as it ought always

to be, principally consulted, are often exceedingly dark, doubtful, and intricate; whilst those, on the other hand, in which any degree of clearness is to be found, owe it chiefly to the will of the sovereign being preposterously adopted, as a measure of the subjects right.

Of these two evils, want of perspicuity, and want of a strict regard to universal justice; the former must be allowed to be the most tolerable, as it may be conquered by an extraordinary degree of application in some of the members of the community, while the assistance consequent on security and created by it, will furnish others with the means, occasionally to purchase their knowledge and advice. The latter evil nothing can compensate for, except the temporary hope of an extraordinary degree of wisdom and goodness in the sovereign; endowments little to be expected and seldom to be found in men, liable from their cradles to imbibe the poison of flattery, and the intoxication of power.

It must not however be dissimbled, but that in the former case, the necessity of such a tedious and tiresome application, by one part of the members of the community, to acquire a knowledge of the laws of their country, and the consequent loss of time and money, which the others must be at to pay for the fruits of their labours, which in fact, is to purchase the protection of those laws, are too apt to weaken, and in time totally to wear out of mens minds, that affection and reverential awe, which we ought to bear towards the laws of our country. This habitual affection and awe is infinitely preferable

able to the multiplicity of penal sanctions, which are the reproach of most systems of laws.

In this situation of things, we must owe no trivial obligation to any gentleman of abilities equal to the task, who will take the pains to remove any part of the obscurity in which our system of laws is involved, and thereby contribute to render the whole more intelligible. It will increase this obligation if we reflect, that the law has been long looked on, as the most disagreeable of all studies; and of so dry, disgusting, heavy a nature, that students of vivacity and genius were deterred from entering upon it, and those of a quite contrary cast were looked upon as the fittest to encounter the great difficulties which attended a science, which, however excellent in its principles, lay in such a state of rudeness and disorder.

These obligations we owe to Mr. Blackstone, who has entirely cleared the law of England from the rubbish in which it was buried; and now shews it to the public, in a clear, concise, and intelligible form. This masterly writer has not confined himself to discharge the task of a mere juriconsult; he takes a wider range, and unites the historian and politician with the lawyer. He traces the first establishment of our laws, develops the principles on which they are grounded, examines their propriety and efficacy, and sometimes points out wherein they may be altered for the better.

It is not to be denied, but that many law-writers have before wrote treatises, which were very much to the purpose; their insti-

tutes, their digests, their abridgements, and their dictionaries, have all their use. But Mr. Blackstone is the first who has treated the law of England as a liberal science. His commentaries besides affording equal instruction, are infinitely better calculated to render that instruction agreeable. His book may vie with the purity and elegance of the writers of the Roman law in its best age. They are not, therefore, the subjects of England only, or those that understand our language, that are likely to be benefitted by this work. It will probably be translated into others of the European languages; and become a diffusive benefit, by bringing other nations acquainted with the advantages of a free constitution.

Mr. Blackstone acquaints us in his preface, that he gave private lectures on the laws of England in the university of Oxford, before Mr. Viner had left funds to establish public ones; a circumstance greatly to his honour, as so able a lawyer could not fail of employing his talents to much greater advantage at the bar. Upon the death of Mr. Viner, the university elected him first Vinerian professor; and as this election was an honour to the university; so it was a happiness to the memory of Mr. Viner, that they had such a man to elect.

Mr. Blackstone introduces what he more immediately calls his commentaries or lectures, with four sections. The first is on the study of the law, in which after mentioning many motives of a private nature, for its being made more or less part of almost every man's education, he very judiciously

ously points out one of a more public consideration. After remarking, that all gentlemen of fortune are in consequence of their property, liable to be called upon to establish the rights, to estimate the injuries, to weigh the accusations, and sometimes to dispose of the lives of their fellow-subjects, by serving upon juries: That in this situation they have frequently a right to decide, and that upon their oaths, questions of nice importance, in the solution of which some legal skill is requisite; especially where the law and the fact, as it often happens, are intimately blended together; he pertinently adds: "And the general incapacity, even of our best juries, to do this with any tolerable propriety, has greatly debased their authority; and has unavoidably thrown more power into the hands of judges, to direct, controul, and even reverse their verdicts, than perhaps the constitution intended." This section concludes with a curious history of the many struggles, between our and the Roman (commonly called by way of excellence, the civil) law, and the great victory lately gained by the former, by its being put, in consequence of Mr. Viner's will, upon an equal footing with the latter in one of our universities.

The second section of the introduction, is on the nature of laws in general. In this section, the British constitution is proved to be the best for the bulk of the people; not only in spite, but rather in consequence, of the share of monarchical power residing in the prince, and of aristocratical lodged in the nobles.

The third section is on the laws

of England in general; and the fourth treats of the countries subject to those laws.

What Mr. Blackstone seems more properly to consider as his commentaries, is divided into two books; the first concerning the rights or duties of persons; the second concerning the rights of things, or those rights which a man may acquire, in and to such external things, as are unconnected with his person.

The first book treats, in many different chapters, of the following subjects. Of the absolute rights of individuals; the parliament; the king and his title; the king's royal family; the council belonging to the king; the king's duties; the king's prerogative; the king's revenue;—subordinate magistrates; the people, whether aliens, denizens, or natives; the clergy; the civil state; the military and maritime states; masters and servants; husband and wife; parent and child; guardian and ward; corporations.

The second book treats, in many different chapters likewise, of property in general; of real property; and first of corporeal hereditaments; of incorporeal hereditaments; of the feudal system; of the ancient English tenures; of the modern English tenures; of freehold estates of inheritance; of freeholds not of inheritance; of estates less than freehold; of estates upon condition; of estates in possession, remainder, and reversion; of estates in severalty, joint tenancy, coparcenary, and common; of the title to things real in general; of title by descent; of title by purchase; and first, by escheat; of title by conveyance;

pancy; of title by proscription; of title by forfeiture; of title by alienation; of alienation by deed; of alienation by matter of record; of alienation by special custom; of alienation by devise; of things personal; of property in things personal; of title to things personal, by occupancy; of title by prerogative, and forfeiture; of title by custom; of title by succession, marriage, and judgement; of title by gift, grant, and contract; of title by bankruptcy; of testament, and administration.

These divisions will, we apprehend, be found to be what the author intended them, neither too large nor comprehensive on the one hand, nor too trifling or minute on the other; both circumstances equally productive of confusion. It must be added, that no book perhaps was ever published, that brought down the matter of which it treated so near the time of publication, without the assistance of notes, as this does.

It now remains that we give some specimens of the work. The judicious and elegant account he gives of the nature and origin of property, is so curious, that we need make no apology for inserting it at length.

“There is nothing which so generally strikes the imagination, and engages the affections of mankind, as the right of property; or that sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe. And yet there are very few that will give themselves the trouble to consider the original and foundation of this right. Pleased as we are with the

possession, we seem afraid to look back to the means by which it was acquired, as if fearful of some defect in our title; or at best we rest satisfied with the decision of the laws in our favour, without examining the reason or authority upon which those laws have been built. We think it enough that our title is derived by the grant of the former proprietor, by descent from our ancestors, or by the last will and testament of the dying owner; not caring to reflect that (accurately and strictly speaking) there is no foundation in nature or in natural law, why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land; why the son should have a right to exclude his fellow-creatures from a determinate spot of ground, because his father had done so before him; or why the occupier of a particular field or of a jewel, when lying on his death-bed and no longer able to maintain possession, should be entitled to tell the rest of the world which of them should enjoy it after him. These enquiries, it must be owned, would be useless and even troublesome in common life. It is well if the mass of mankind will obey the laws when made, without scrutinizing too nicely into the reasons of making them. But when law is to be considered not only as matter of practice, but also as a rational science, it cannot be improper or useless to examine more deeply the rudiments and grounds of these positive constitutions of society.

In the beginning of the world, we are informed by holy writ, the all-bountiful creator gave to man  
“dominion over all the earth; and  
“over the fish of the sea, and

U

“over

“over the fowl of the air, and  
 “over every living thing that  
 “moveth upon the earth.” This  
 is the only true and solid founda-  
 tion of man’s dominion over exter-  
 nal things, whatever airy meta-  
 physical notions may have been  
 started by fanciful writers upon  
 this subject. The earth therefore,  
 and all things therein, are the ge-  
 neral property of all mankind, ex-  
 clusive of other beings, from the  
 immediate gift of the creator.  
 And, while the earth continued  
 bare of inhabitants, it is reasona-  
 ble to suppose, that all was in  
 common among them, and that  
 every one took from the public  
 flock to his own use such things  
 as his immediate necessities re-  
 quired.

These general notions of pro-  
 perty were then sufficient to an-  
 swer all the purposes of human  
 life; and might perhaps still have  
 answered them, had it been pos-  
 sible for mankind to have remain-  
 ed in a state of primaeval simplici-  
 ty: as may be collected from the  
 manners of many American na-  
 tions when first discovered by the  
 Europeans; and from the ancient  
 method of living among the first  
 Europeans themselves, if we may  
 credit either the memorials of  
 them preserved in the golden age  
 of the poets, or the uniform ac-  
 counts given by historians of those  
 times, wherein “*erant omnia com-  
 munia et indivisa omnibus, veluti  
 unum cunctis patrimonium esset.*”  
 Not that this communion of goods  
 seems ever to have been applica-  
 ble, even in the earliest ages, to  
 ought but the *substance* of the  
 thing; nor could be extended to  
 the *use* of it. For, by the law of  
 nature and reason, he who first

began to use it, acquired therein  
 a kind of transient property, that  
 lasted so long as he was using it,  
 and no longer: or, to speak with  
 greater precision, the *right* of pos-  
 session continued for the same time  
 only that the *act* of possession last-  
 ed. Thus the ground was in com-  
 mon, and no part of it was the  
 permanent property of any man in  
 particular: yet whoever was in  
 the occupation of any determinate  
 spot of it, for rest, for shade, or  
 the like, acquired for the time a  
 sort of ownership, from which it  
 would have been unjust, and con-  
 trary to the law of nature, to have  
 driven him by force; but the in-  
 stant that he quitted the use or oc-  
 cupation of it, another might seize  
 it without injustice. Thus also a  
 vine or other tree might be said to  
 be in common, as all men were  
 equally entitled to its produce;  
 and yet any private individual  
 might gain the sole property of  
 the fruit, which he had gathered  
 for his own repast. A doctrine  
 well illustrated by Cicero, who  
 compares the world to a great  
 theatre, which is common to the  
 public, and yet the place which  
 any man has taken is for the time  
 his own.

But when mankind increased in  
 number, craft, and ambition, it  
 became necessary to entertain con-  
 ceptions of more permanent do-  
 minion; and to appropriate to in-  
 dividuals not the immediate *use*  
 only, but the very *substance* of the  
 thing to be used. Otherwise in-  
 numerable tumults must have a-  
 risen, and the good order of the  
 world been continually broken and  
 disturbed, while a variety of per-  
 sons were striving who should get  
 the first occupation of the same  
 thing,

thing, or disputing which of them had actually gained it. As human life also grew more and more refined, abundance of conveniences were devised to render it more easy, commodious, and agreeable; as, habitations for shelter and safety, and raiment for warmth and decency. But no man would be at the trouble to provide either, so long as he had only an usufructuary property in them, which was to cease the instant that he quitted possession;—if, as soon as he walked out of his tent, or pulled off his garment, the next stranger who came by would have a right to inhabit the one, and to wear the other. In the case of habitations in particular, it was natural to observe, that even the brute creation, to whom every thing else was in common, maintained a kind of permanent property in their dwellings, especially for the protection of their young; that the birds of the air had nests, and the beasts of the field had caverns, the invasion of which they esteemed a very flagrant injustice, and would sacrifice their lives to preserve them. Hence a property was soon established in every man's house and home-stall; which seem to have been originally mere temporary huts or moveable cabins, suited to the design of Providence for more speedily peopling the earth, and suited to the wandering life of their owners, before any extensive property in the soil or ground was established. And there can be no doubt, but that moveables of every kind became sooner appropriated than the permanent substantial soil: partly because they were more susceptible of a long oc-

cupancy, which might be continued for months together without any sensible interruption, and at length by usage ripen into an established right; but principally because few of them could be fit for use, till improved and meliorated by the bodily labour of the occupant: which bodily labour, bestowed upon any subject which before lay in common to all men, is universally allowed to give the fairest and most reasonable title to an exclusive property therein.

The article of food was a more immediate call, and therefore a more early consideration. Such, as were not contented with the spontaneous product of the earth, sought for a more solid refreshment in the flesh of beasts, which they obtained by hunting. But the frequent disappointments, incident to that method of provision, induced them to gather together such animals as were of a more tame and sequacious nature; and to establish a permanent property in their flocks and herds, in order to sustain themselves in a less precarious manner, partly by the milk of the dams, and partly by the flesh of the young. The support of these their cattle made the article of *water* also a very important point. And therefore the book of Genesis (the most venerable monument of antiquity, considered merely with a view to history) will furnish us with frequent instances of violent contentions concerning wells; the exclusive property of which appears to have been established in the first digger or occupant, even in such places where the ground and herbage remained yet in common. Thus



we find Abraham, who was but a sojourner, asserting his right to a well in the country of Abimelech, and exacting an oath for his security, "because he had digged that well." And Isaac, about ninety years afterwards, re-claimed this his father's property; and, after much contention with the Philistines, was suffered to enjoy it in peace.

All this while the soil and pasture of the earth remained still in common as before, and open to every occupant: except perhaps in the neighbourhood of towns, where the necessity of a sole and exclusive property in lands (for the sake of agriculture) was earlier felt, and therefore more readily complied with. Otherwise, when the multitude of men and cattle had consumed every convenience on one spot of ground, it was deemed a natural right to seize upon and occupy such other lands as would more easily supply their necessities. This practice is still retained among the wild and uncultivated nations that have never been formed into civil states, like the Tartars and others in the east; where the climate itself, and the boundless extent of their territory, conspire to retain them still in the same savage state of vagrant liberty, which was universal in the earliest ages; and which Tacitus informs us continued among the Germans till the decline of the Roman empire. We have also a striking example of the same kind in the history of Abraham and his nephew Lot. When their joint substance became so great, that pasture and other conveniences grew scarce, the natural conse-

quence was that a strife arose between their servants; so that it was no longer practicable so dwell together. This contention Abraham thus endeavoured to compose: "let there be no strife, I pray thee, between thee and me, is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." This plainly implies an acknowledged right in either, to occupy whatever ground he pleased, that was not pre-occupied by other tribes. And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, even as the garden of the Lord. Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan, and journeyed east; and Abraham dwelt in the land of Canaan.

Upon the same principle was founded the right of migration, or sending colonies to find out new habitations, when the mother-country was overcharged with inhabitants; which was practised as well by the Phenicians and Greeks, as the Germans, Scythians, and other northern people. And, so long as it was confined to the stocking and cultivation of desert uninhabited countries, it kept strictly within the limits of the law of nature. But how far the seizing on countries already peopled, and driving out or massacring the innocent and defenceless natives, merely because they differed from their invaders in language, in religion, in customs, in government, or in colour

low; how far such a conduct was consonant to nature, to reason, or to christianity, deserved well to be considered by those, who have rendered their names immortal by thus civilizing mankind.

As the world by degrees grew more populous, it daily became more difficult to find out new spots to inhabit, without encroaching upon former occupants; and, by constantly occupying the same individual spot, the fruits of the earth were consumed, and its spontaneous produce destroyed, without any provision for a future supply or succession. It therefore became necessary to pursue some regular method of providing a constant subsistence; and this necessity produced, or at least promoted and encouraged, the art of agriculture. And the art of agriculture, by a regular connexion and consequence, introduced and established the idea of a more permanent property in the soil, than had hitherto been received and adopted. It was clear that the earth would not produce her fruits in sufficient quantities, without the assistance of tillage: but who would be at the pains of tilling it, if another might watch an opportunity to seize upon and enjoy the product of his industry, art, and labour? had not therefore a separate property in lands, as well as moveables, been vested in some individuals, the world must have continued a forest; and men have been mere animals of prey; which, according to some philosophers, is the genuine state of nature. Whereas now (so graciously has Providence interwoven our duty and our happiness together) the result of this very necessity has

been the enobling of the human species, by giving it opportunities of improving its *rational* faculties, as well as of exerting its *natural*. Necessity begat property; and, in order to insure that property, recourse was had to civil society, which brought along with it a long train of inseparable concomitants; states, government, laws, punishments, and the public exercise of religious duties. Thus connected together, it was found that a part only of society was sufficient to provide, by their manual labour, for the necessary subsistence of all; and leisure was given to others to cultivate the human mind, to invent useful arts, and to lay the foundations of science.

The only question remaining is, how this property became actually vested; or what it is that gave a man an exclusive right to retain in a permanent manner that specific land, which before belonged generally to every body, but particularly to nobody. And, as we before observed that occupancy gave the right to the temporary use of the soil, so it is agreed upon all hands that occupancy gave also the original right to the permanent property in the *substance* of the earth itself; which excludes every one else but the owner from the use of it. There is indeed some difference among the writers on natural law, concerning the reason why occupancy should convey this right, and invest one with this absolute property: Grotius and Puffendorff insisting, that this right of occupancy is founded upon a tacit and implied assent of all mankind, that the first occupant should become the owner; and Barbeyrac, Titius, Mr. Locke,

and others, holding, that there is no such implied assent, neither is it necessary that there should be; for that the very act of occupancy, alone, being a degree of bodily labour, is from a principle of natural justice, without any consent or compact, sufficient of itself to gain a title. A dispute that favours too much of nice and scholastic refinement! However, both sides agree in this, that occupancy is the thing by which the title was in fact originally gained; every man seizing to his own continued use such spots of ground as he found most agreeable to his own convenience, provided he found them unoccupied by any one else.

Property, both in lands and moveables, being thus originally acquired by the first taker, which taking amounts to a declaration that he intends to appropriate the thing to his own use, it remains in him, by the principles of universal law, till such time as he does some other act which shews an intention to abandon it: for then it becomes, naturally speaking, *publici juris* once more, and is liable to be again appropriated by the next occupant. So if one is possessed of a jewel, and casts it into the sea, or a public highway, this is such an express dereliction, that a property will be vested in the first fortunate finder that will seize it to his own use. But if he hides it privately in the earth, or other secret place, and it is discovered, the finder acquires no property therein; for the owner hath not by this act declared any intention to abandon it, but rather the contrary: and if he loses or drops

it by accident, it cannot be collected from thence, that he designed to quit the possession; and therefore in such case the property still remains in the loser, who may claim it again of the finder. And this, we may remember, is the doctrine of the law of England, with relation to treasure trove.

But this method, of one man's abandoning his property, and another's seizing the vacant possession, however well founded in theory, could not long subsist in fact. It was calculated merely for the rudiments of civil society, and necessarily ceased among the complicated interests and artificial refinements of polite and established governments. In these it was found, that what became inconvenient or useless to one man was highly convenient and useful to another; who was ready to give in exchange for it some equivalent, that was equally desirable to the former proprietor. Thus mutual convenience introduced commercial traffic, and the reciprocal transfer of property by sale, grant, or conveyance: which may be considered either as a continuance of the original possession which the first occupant had; or as an abandoning of the thing by the present owner, and an immediate successive occupancy of the same by the new proprietor. The voluntary dereliction of the owner, and delivering the possession to another individual, amount to a transfer of the property; the proprietor declaring his intention no longer to occupy the thing himself, but that his own right of occupancy shall be vested in the new acquirer. Or, taken in the other light,

light, if I agree to part with an acre of my land to Titius, the deed of conveyance is an evidence of my having abandoned the property, and Titius, being the only or first man acquainted with such my intention, immediately steps in and seises the vacant possession: thus the consent expressed by the conveyance gives Titius a good right against me; and possession, or occupancy, confirms that right against all the world besides.

The most universal and effectual way, of abandoning property, is by the death of the occupant: when, both the actual possession and intention of keeping possession ceasing, the property, which is founded upon such possession and intention, ought also to cease of course. For, naturally speaking, the instant a man ceases to be, he ceases to have any dominion: else, if he had a right to dispose of his acquisitions one moment beyond his life, he would also have a right to direct their disposal for a million of ages after him; which would be highly absurd and inconvenient. All property must therefore cease upon death, considering men as absolute individuals, and unconnected with civil society: for then, by the principles before established, the next immediate occupant would acquire a right in all that the deceased possessed. But as, under civilized governments, which are calculated for the peace of mankind, such a constitution would be productive of endless disturbances, the universal law of almost every nation (which is a kind of secondary law of nature) has either given the dying person a

power of continuing his property, by disposing of his possessions by will; or, in case he neglects to dispose of it, or is not permitted to make any disposition at all, the municipal law of the country then steps in, and declares who shall be the successor, representative, or heir of the deceased; that is, who alone shall have a right to enter upon this vacant possession, in order to avoid that confusion, which its becoming again common would occasion. And farther, in case no testament be permitted by the law, or none be made, and no heir can be found so qualified as the law requires, still, to prevent the robust title of occupancy from again taking place, the doctrine of escheats is adopted in almost every country; whereby the sovereign of the state, and those who claim under his authority, are the ultimate heirs, and succeed to those inheritances, to which no other title can be formed.

The right of inheritance, or descent to the children and relations of the deceased, seems to have been allowed much earlier than the right of devising by testament. We are apt to conceive at first view that it has nature on its side; yet we often mistake for nature what we find established by long and inveterate custom. It is certainly a wise and effectual, but clearly a political, establishment; since the permanent right of property, vested in the ancestor himself, was no *natural*, but merely a *civil*, right. It is true, that the transmission of one's possessions to posterity has an evident tendency to make a man a good citizen and a useful member of

society : it sets the passions on the side of duty, and prompts a man to deserve well of the public, when he is sure that the reward of his services will not die with himself, but be transmitted to those with whom he is connected by the dearest and most tender affections. Yet, reasonable as this foundation of the right of inheritance may seem, it is probable that its immediate origin arose not from speculations altogether so delicate and refined ; and, if not from fortuitous circumstances, at least from a plainer and more simple principle. A man's children or nearest relations are usually about him on his death-bed, and are the earliest witnesses of his decease. They became therefore generally the next immediate occupants, till at length in process of time this frequent usage ripened into general law. And therefore also in the earliest ages, on failure of children, a man's servants born under his roof were allowed to be his heirs ; being immediately on the spot when he died. For we find the old patriarch Abraham expressly declaring, that “ since God had given him no seed, his steward Eliezer, one born in his house, was his heir.”

While property continued only for life testaments were useless and unknown ; and, when it became inheritable, the inheritance was long indefeasible, and the children or heirs at law were incapable of exclusion by will. Till at length it was found, that so strict a rule of inheritance made heirs disobedient and headstrong, defrauded creditors of their just debts, and prevented many pro-

vident fathers from dividing or charging their estates as the exigence of their families required. This introduced pretty generally the right of disposing one's property, or a part of it, by *testament* ; that is, by written or oral instructions properly *witnessed* and authenticated, according to the *pleasure* of the deceased ; which we therefore emphatically stile his *will*. This was established in some countries much later than in others. With us in England, till modern times, a man could only dispose of one third of his moveables from his wife and children ; and, in general, no will was permitted of lands till the reign of Henry the eighth ; and then only of a certain portion : for it was not till after the restoration that the power of devising real property became so universal as at present.

Wills therefore and testaments, rights of inheritance and successions, are all of them creatures of the civil or municipal laws, and accordingly are in all respects regulated by them ; every distinct country having different ceremonies and requisites to make a testament completely valid : neither does any thing vary more than the right of inheritance under different national establishments. In England particularly, this diversity is carried to such a length, as if it had been meant to point out the power of the laws in regulating the succession to property, and how futile every claim must be that has not its foundation in the positive rules of the state. In personal estates the father may succeed to his children ; in landed pro-

property he never can be their immediate heir, by any the remotest possibility: in general only the eldest son, in some places only the youngest, in others all the sons together, have a right to succeed to the inheritance: in real estates males are preferred to females, and the eldest male will usually exclude the rest; in the division of personal estates, the females of equal degree are admitted together with the males, and no right of primogeniture is allowed.

This one consideration may help to remove the scruples of many well-meaning persons, who set up a mistaken conscience in opposition to the rules of law. If a man disinherits his son, by a will duly executed, and leaves his estate to a stranger, there are many who consider this proceeding as contrary to natural justice: while others so scrupulously adhere to the supposed intention of the dead, that if a will of lands be attested by only *two* witnesses instead of *three*, which the law requires, they are apt to imagine that the heir is bound in conscience to relinquish his title to the devisee. But both of them certainly proceed upon very erroneous principles: as if, on the one hand, the son had by nature a right to succeed to his father's lands; or as if, on the other hand, the owner was by nature intitled to direct the succession of his property after his own decease. Whereas the law of nature suggests, that on the death of the possessor the estate should again become common, and be open to the next occupant, unless otherwise ordered for the

sake of civil peace by the positive law of society. The positive law of society, which is with us the municipal law of England, directs it to vest in such person as the last proprietor shall by will, attended with certain requisites, appoint; and, in defect of such appointment, to go to some particular person, who, from the result of certain local constitutions, appears to be the heir at law. Hence it follows, that, where the appointment is regularly made, there cannot be a shadow of right in any one but the person appointed: and, where the necessary requisites are omitted, the right of the heir is equally strong and built upon as solid a foundation, as the right of the devisee would have been, supposing such requisites were observed.

But, after all, there are some few things, which, notwithstanding the general introduction and continuance of property, must still unavoidably remain in common; being such wherein nothing but an usufructuary property is capable of being had; and therefore they still belong to the first occupant, during the time he holds possession of them, and no longer. Such (among others) are the elements of light, air, and water; which a man may occupy by means of his windows, his gardens, his mills, and other conveniencies: such also are the generality of those animals which are said to be *ferae naturae*, or of a wild and untameable disposition; which any man may seize upon and keep for his own use or pleasure. All these things, so long as they remain in possession, every man has a right to enjoy



enjoy without disturbance ; but if once they escape from his custody, or he voluntarily abandons the use of them, they return to the common stock, and any man else has an equal right to seize and enjoy them afterwards.

Again ; there are other things, in which a permanent property *may* subsist, not only as to the temporary use, but also the solid substance ; and which yet would be frequently found without a proprietor, had not the wisdom of the law provided a remedy to obviate this inconvenience. Such are forests and other waste grounds, which were omitted to be appropriated in the general distribution of lands : such also are wrecks, estrays, and that species of wild animals, which the arbitrary constitutions of positive law have distinguished from the rest by the well-known appellation of game. With regard to these and some others, as disturbances and quarrels would frequently arise among individuals, contending about the acquisition of this species of property by first occupancy, the law has therefore wisely cut up the root of dissension, by vesting the things themselves in the sovereign of the state ; or else in his representatives, appointed and authorized by him, being usually the lords of manors. And thus the legislature of England has universally promoted the grand ends of civil society, the peace and security of individuals, by steadily pursuing that wise and orderly maxim, of assigning to every thing capable of ownership a legal and determinate owner."

We shall conclude with the account which our learned writer

gives of the Feodal System ; which, though a subject often handled, appears new in his hands.

" It is impossible to understand, with any degree of accuracy, either the civil constitution of this kingdom, or the laws which regulate its landed property, without some general acquaintance with the nature and doctrine of feuds, or the feodal law ; a system so universally received throughout Europe, upwards of twelve centuries ago, that Sir Henry Spelman does not scruple to call it the law of nations in our western world. This chapter will be therefore dedicated to this inquiry. And though, in the course of our observations in this and many other parts of the present book, we may have occasion to search pretty highly into the antiquities of our English jurisprudence, yet surely no industrious student will imagine his time mis-employed, when he is led to consider that the obsolete doctrines of our laws are frequently the foundation, upon which what remains is erected ; and that it is impracticable to comprehend many rules of the modern law, in a scholarlike scientific manner, without having recourse to the antient. Nor will these researches be altogether void of rational entertainment as well as use : as in viewing the majestic ruins of Rome or Athens, of Balbec or Palmyra, it administers both pleasure and instruction to compare them with the draughts of the same edifices, in their pristine proportion and splendor.

The constitution of feuds had its original from the military policy of the northern or Celtic nations, the Goths, the Huns, the Franks,

Franks, the Vandals, and the Lombards, who all migrating from the same *officina gentium*, as Crag very justly entitles it, poured themselves in vast quantities into all the regions of Europe, at the declension of the Roman empire. It was brought by them from their own countries, and continued in their respective colonies as the most likely means to secure their new acquisitions: and, to that end, large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering general to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. These allotments were called *feoda*, feuds, fiefs, or fees; which last appellation in the northern languages signifies a conditional stipend or reward. Rewards or stipends they evidently were; and the condition annexed to them was, that the possessor should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given; for which purpose he took the *juramentum fidelitatis*, or oath of fealty: and in case of the breach of this condition and oath, by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting the lord in battle, the lands were again to revert to him who granted them.

Allotments thus acquired, naturally engaged such as accepted them to defend them: and, as they all sprang from the same right of conquest, no part could subsist independent of the whole; wherefore all givers as well as receivers were mutually bound to defend each others possessions. But, as that could not effectually be done in a tumultuous irregular way, go-

vernment," and to that purpose subordination, was necessary. Every receiver of lands, or feudatory, was therefore bound, when called upon by his benefactor, or immediate lord of his feud or fee, to do all in his power to defend him. Such benefactor or lord was likewise subordinate to and under the command of his immediate benefactor or superior; and so upwards to the prince or general himself. And the several lords were also reciprocally bound, in their respective gradations, to protect the possessions they had given. Thus the feudal connection was established, a proper military subjection was naturally introduced, and an army of feudatories were always ready enlisted, and mutually prepared to muster, not only in defence of each man's own several property, but also in defence of the whole, and of every part of this their newly acquired country: the prudence of which constitution was soon sufficiently visible in the strength and spirit, with which they maintained their conquests.

The universality and early use of this feudal plan, among all those nations which in complaisance to the Romans we still call barbarous, may appear from what is recorded of the Cimbri and Teutones, nations of the same northern original as those whom we have been describing, at their first irruption into Italy about a century before the christian æra. They demanded of the Romans, "*ut martius populus aliquid sibi terrae daret, quasi stipendium:*" "*caeterum, ut vellet, manibus atque armis suis uteretur.*" The sense of which may be thus rendered; they desired stipendiary lands

lands (that is, feuds) to be allowed them, to be held by military and other personal services, whenever their lords should call upon them. This was evidently the same constitution, that displayed itself more fully about seven hundred years afterwards; when the Salii, Burgundians, and Franks broke in upon Gaul, the Visigoths on Spain, and the Lombards upon Italy, and introduced with themselves this northern plan of polity, serving at once to distribute, and to protect, the territories they had newly gained. And from hence it is probable that the emperor Alexander Severus took the hint, of dividing lands conquered from the enemy among his generals and victorious soldiery, on condition of receiving military service from them and their heirs for ever.

Scarce had these northern conquerors established themselves in their new dominions, when the wisdom of their constitutions, as well as their personal valour, alarmed all the princes of Europe; that is, of those countries which had formerly been Roman provinces, but had revolted, or were deserted by their old masters, in the general wreck of the empire. Wherefore most, if not all, of them thought it necessary to enter into the same or a similar plan of policy. For whereas, before, the possessions of their subjects were perfectly *allodial*; (that is, wholly independent, and held of no superior at all) now they parcelled out their royal territories, or persuaded their subjects to surrender up and retake their own landed property, under the like feudal obligation of military fealty. And thus, in the compass of a very few

years, the feudal constitution, or the doctrine of tenure, extended itself over all the western world. Which alteration of landed property, in so very material a point, necessarily drew after it an alteration of laws and customs: so that the feudal laws soon drove out the Roman, which had hitherto universally obtained, but now became for many centuries lost and forgotten; and Italy itself (as some of the civilians, with more spleen than judgment, have expressed it) *belluinas, atque ferinas, immanesque Longobardorum leges accepit*.

But this feudal polity, which was thus by degrees established over all the continent of Europe, seems not to have been received in this part of our island, at least not universally and as a part of the national constitution, till the reign of William the Norman. Not but that it is reasonable to believe, from abundant traces in our history and laws, that even in the times of the Saxons, who were a swarm from what Sir William Temple calls the same northern hive, something similar to this was in use: yet not so extensively, nor attended with all the rigour that was afterwards imported by the Normans. For the Saxons were firmly settled in this island, at least as early as the year 600: and it was not till two centuries after, that feuds arrived to their full vigour and maturity, even on the continent of Europe.

This introduction however of the feudal tenures into England by King William, does not seem to have been effected immediately after the conquest, nor by the mere arbitrary will and power of the conqueror; but to have been consented to by the great council of the nation long after his

his title was established. Indeed, from the prodigious slaughter of the English nobility at the battle of Hastings, and the fruitless insurrections of those who survived, such numerous forfeitures had accrued, that he was able to reward his Norman followers with very large and extensive possessions : which gave a handle to the monkish historians, and such as have implicitly followed them, to represent him as having by right of the sword seized on all the lands of England, and dealt them out again to his own favourites. A supposition, grounded upon a mistaken sense of the word *conquest* ; which, in it's feudal acceptation, signifies no more than *acquisition* : and this has led many hasty writers into a strange historical mistake, and one which upon the slightest examination will be found to be most untrue. However, certain it is, that the Normans now began to gain very large possession in England : and their regard for the feudal law, under which they had long lived, together with the king's recommendation of this policy to the English, as the best way to put themselves on a military footing, and thereby to prevent any future attempts from the continent, were probably the reasons that prevailed to effect its establishment here. And perhaps we may be able to ascertain the time of this great revolution in our landed property with a tolerable degree of exactness. For we learn from the Saxon Chronicle, that in the nineteenth year of King William's reign an invasion was apprehended from Denmark ; and the military constitution of the Saxons being then laid aside, and no other introduced

in its stead, the kingdom was wholly defenceless : which occasioned the king to bring over a large army of Normans and Bretons, who were quartered upon every landholder, and greatly oppressed the people. This apparent weakness, together with the grievances occasioned by a foreign force, might co-operate with the king's remonstrances, and the better incline the nobility to listen to his proposals for putting them in a posture of defence. For, as soon as the danger was over, the king held a great council to inquire into the state of the nation ; the immediate consequence of which was the compiling of the great survey called *Domesday book*, which was finished in the next year : and in the latter end of that very year the king was attended by all his nobility at Sarum ; where all the principal landholders submitted their lands to the yoke of military tenure, became the king's vassals, and did homage and fealty to his person. This seems to have been the æra of formally introducing the feudal tenures by law ; and probably the very law, thus made at the council of Sarum, is that which is still extant, and conched in these remarkable words : “ *statuimus, ut omnes liberi homines foedere et sacramento affirmant, quod intra et extra universum regnum Angliæ Wilhelmo regi domino suo fideles esse volunt ; terras et honores illius omni fidelitate ubique servare cum eo, et contra inimicos et alienigenas defendere.*” The terms of this law (as Sir Martin Wright has observed) are plainly feudal : for, first, it requires the oath of fealty, which made in the sense of

of the feudists every man that took it a tenant or vafal ; and, fecondly, the tenants obliged themfelves to defend their lords territories and titles againft all enemies foreign and domeftic. But what puts the matter out of difpute is another law of the fame collection, which exacts the performance of the military feudal fervices, as ordained by the general council. “ *Omnes co-*  
“ *mites, et barones, et milites, et*  
“ *fer-vientes, et univerfi liberi ho-*  
“ *mines totius regni noftri praedi-cti,*  
“ *habeant et teneant fe femper bene*  
“ *in armis et in equis, ut decet et*  
“ *oportet : et fint femper prompti et*  
“ *bene parati ad fer-vitium suum*  
“ *integrum nobis explendum et pera-*  
“ *gendum cum opus fuerit ; fecundum*  
“ *quod nobis debent de feodis et tene-*  
“ *mentis fuis de jure facere ; et ficut*  
“ *illis ftatuimus per commune conci-*  
“ *lium totius regni noftri praedi-cti.*”

This new polity therefore feems not to have been *imposed* by the conqueror, but nationally and freely *adopted* by the general afsembly of the whole realm, in the fame manner as other nations of Europe had before adopted it, upon the fame principle of felf-feeurity. And, in particular, they had the recent example of the French nation before their eyes ; which had gradually furrendered up all its allodial or free lands into the king’s hands, who reftored them to the owners as a *beneficium* or feud, to be held to them and fuch of their heirs as they previously nominated to the king : and thus by degrees all the allodial eftates of France were converted into feuds, and the freemen became the vafals of the crown. The only difference between this change of tenures in France, and that in Eng-

land, was, that the former was effected gradually, by the confent of private perfons ; the latter was done at once, all over England, by the common confent of the nation.

In confequence of this change, it became a fundamental maxim and neceffary principle (though in reality a mere fiction) of our Englifh tenures, “ that the king is “ the univerfal lord and original “ proprietor of all the lands in “ his kingdom ; and that no man “ doth or can poffefs any part of “ it, but what has mediately or “ immediately been derived as a “ gift from him, to be held upon “ feudal fervices.” For, this being the real cafe in pure, original, proper feuds, other nations who adopted this fystem were obliged to act upon the fame fuppoftition, as a fubftruction and foundation of their new polity, though the fact was indeed far otherwife. And indeed by thus confenting to the introduction of feudal tenures, our Englifh ancestors probably meant no more than to put the kingdom in a ftate of defence by eftablifhing a military fystem ; and to oblige themfelves (in refpect of their lands) to maintain the king’s title and territories, with equal vigour and fealty, *as if* they had received their lands from his bounty upon thefe exprefs conditions, as pure, proper, beneficiary feudatories. But, whatever their meaning was, the Norman interpreters, fkilld in all the niceties of the feudal conftitutions, and well underftanding the import and extent of the feudal terms, gave a very different conftruction to this proceeding ; and thereupon took a handle to introduce not only the rigorous doc-  
trines

trines which prevailed in the dutchy of Normandy, but also such fruits and dependencies, such hardships and services, as were never known to other nations; as if the English had in fact, as well as theory, owed every thing they had to the bounty of their sovereign lord.

Our ancestors therefore, who were by no means beneficiaries, but had barely consented to this fiction of tenure from the crown, as the basis of a military discipline, with reason looked upon these deductions as grievous impositions, and arbitrary conclusions from principles that, as to them, had no foundation in truth. However, this king, and his son William Rufus, kept up with a high hand all the rigours of the feudal doctrines: but their successor, Henry I, found it expedient, when he set up his pretensions to the crown, to promise a restitution of the laws of King Edward the Confessor, or antient Saxon system; and accordingly, in the first year of his reign, granted a charter, whereby he gave up the greater grievances, but still reserved the fiction of feudal tenure, for the same military purposes which engaged his father to introduce it. But this charter was gradually broke through, and the former grievances were revived and aggravated, by himself and succeeding princes; till in the reign of King John they became so intolerable, that they occasioned his barons, or principal feudatories, to rise up in arms against him: which at length produced the famous great charter at Runingmead, which, with some alterations, was confirmed by his son

Henry III. And, though its immunities (especially as altered on its last edition by his son) are very greatly short of those granted by Henry I, it was justly esteemed at the time a vast acquisition to English liberty. Indeed, by the farther alteration of tenures that has since happened, many of these immunities may now appear, to a common observer, of much less consequence than they really were when granted: but this, properly considered, will shew, not that the acquisitions under John were small, but that those under Charles were greater. And from hence also arises another inference; that the liberties of Englishmen are not (as some arbitrary writers would represent them) mere infringements of the king's prerogative, extorted from our princes by taking advantage of their weakness; but a restoration of that antient constitution, of which our ancestors had been defrauded by the art and finesse of the Norman lawyers, rather than deprived by the force of the Norman arms.

Having given this short history of their rise and progress, we will next consider the nature, doctrine, and principal laws of feuds; wherein we shall evidently trace the groundwork of many parts of our public polity, and also the original of such of our own tenures, as were either abolished in the last century, or still remain in force.

The grand and fundamental maxim of all feudal tenure is this; that all lands were originally granted out by the sovereign, and are therefore holden, either mediately or immediately, of the crown. The grantor was called the



the proprietor, or *lord*; being he who retained the dominion or ultimate property of the feud or fee: and the grantee, who had only the use and possession, according to the terms of the grant, was stiled the feudatory or *vasal*, which was only another name for the tenant or holder of the lands; though, on account of the prejudices we have justly conceived against the doctrines that were afterwards grafted on this system, we now use the word *vasal* opprobriously, as synonymous to slave or bondman. The manner of the grant was by words of gratuitous and pure donation, *dedi et concessi*; which are still the operative words in our modern infeudations or deeds of feoffment. This was perfected by the ceremony of corporal investiture, or open and notorious delivery of possession in the presence of the other vassals, which perpetuated among them the aera of the new acquisition, at a time when the art of writing was very little known: and therefore the evidence of property was reposed in the memory of the neighbourhood; who, in case of a disputed title, were afterwards called upon to decide the difference, not only according to external proofs, adduced by the parties litigant, but also by the internal testimony of their own private knowledge.

Besides an oath of *fealty*, or profession of faith to the lord, which was the parent of our oath of allegiance, the vassal or tenant upon investiture did usually *homage* to his lord; openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered, and holding up his hands both together between those of the lord,

who sat before him; and there professing that "he did become his *man*, from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honour:" and then he received a kiss from his lord. Which ceremony was denominated *homagium*, or *manhood*, by the feudists, from the stated form of words, *devenio vester homo*.

When the tenant had thus professed himself to be the man of his superior or lord, the next consideration was concerning the *service*, which, as such, he was bound to render, in recompense for the land he held. This, in pure, proper, and original feuds, was only twofold: to follow, or do *suit* to, the lord in his courts in time of peace; and in his armies or warlike retinue, when necessity called him to the field. The lord was, in early times, the legislator and judge over all his feudatories: and therefore the vassals of the inferior lords were bound by their fealty to attend their domestic courts baron, (which were instituted in every manor or barony, for doing speedy and effectual justice to all the tenants) in order as well to answer such complaints as might be alleged against themselves, as to form a jury or homage for the trial of their fellow-tenants; and upon this account, in all the feudal institutions both here and on the continent, they are distinguished by the appellation of the peers of the court; *pares curtis*, or *pares curiae*. In like manner the barons themselves, or lords of inferior districts, were denominated peers of the king's court, and were bound to attend him upon summons, to hear causes of greater consequence in the king's presence

hence and under the direction of his grand justiciary; till in many countries the power of that officer was broken and distributed into other courts of judicature, the peers of the king's court still reserving to themselves (in almost every feudal government) the right of appeal from those subordinate courts in the last resort. The military branch of service consisted in attending the lord to the wars, if called upon, with such a retinue, and for such a number of days, as were stipulated at the first donation, in proportion to the quantity of the land.

At the first introduction of feuds, as they were gratuitous, so also they were precarious and held at the *will* of the lord, who was the sole judge whether his vassal performed his services faithfully. Then they became certain, for one or more *years*. Among the ancient Germans they continued only from year to year; an annual distribution of lands being made by their leaders in their general councils or assemblies. This was professedly done, lest their thoughts should be diverted from war to agriculture; lest the strong should inroach upon the possessions of the weak; and lest luxury and avarice should be encouraged by the erection of permanent houses, and too curious an attention to convenience and the elegant superfluities of life. But, when the general migration was pretty well over, and a peaceable possession of their new-acquired settlements had introduced new customs and manners; when the fertility of the soil had encouraged the study of husbandry, and an affection for the spots they had cul-

tivated began naturally to arise in the tillers; a more permanent degree of property was introduced, and feuds began now to be granted for the *life* of the feudatory. But still feuds were not yet *hereditary*; though frequently granted, by the favour of the lord, to the children of the former possessor; till in process of time it became unusual, and was therefore thought hard, to reject the heir, if he were capable to perform the services: and therefore infants, women, and professed monks, who were incapable of bearing arms, were also incapable of succeeding to a genuine feud. But the heir, when admitted to the feud which his ancestor possessed, used generally to pay a fine of acknowledgment to the lord, in horses, arms, money, and the like, for such renewal of the feud: which was called a *relief*, because it re-established the inheritance; or in the words of the feudal writers, "*certam et caducam hereditatem releuabat.*" This relief was afterwards, when feuds became absolutely hereditary, continued on the death of the tenant, though the original foundation of it had ceased.

For in process of time feuds came by degrees to be universally extended, beyond the life of the first vassal, to his *sons*, or perhaps to such one of them, as the lord should name; and in this case the form of the donation was strictly observed: for if a feud was given to a man and his *sons*, all his sons succeeded him in equal portions; and as they died off, their shares reverted to the lord, and did not descend to their children, or even to their surviving brothers,

thers, as not being specified in the donation. But when such a feud was given to a man, and his *heirs*, in general terms, then a more extended rule of succession took place; and when a feudatory died, his male descendants *in infinitum* were admitted to the succession. When any such descendant, who thus had succeeded, died, his male descendants were also admitted in the first place; and, in defect of them, such of his male collateral kindred as were of the blood or lineage of the first feudatory, but no others. For this was an unalterable maxim in feudal succession, that “none was capable of inheriting a feud, but such as was of the blood of, that is, lineally descended from, the first feudatory.” And the descent, being thus confined to males, originally extended to all the males alike; all the sons, without any distinction of primogeniture, succeeding to equal portions of the father’s feud. But this being found upon many accounts inconvenient, (particularly, by dividing the services, and thereby weakening the strength of the feudal union) and *honorary* feuds (or titles of nobility) being now introduced, which were not of a divisible nature, but could only be inherited by the eldest son; in imitation of these, *military* feuds (or those we are now describing) began also in most countries to descend according to the same rule of primogeniture, to the eldest son, in exclusion of all the rest.

Other qualities of feuds were, that the feudatory could not alienate or dispose of his feud; neither could he exchange, nor yet mortgage, nor even devise it by will,

without the consent of the lord. For, the reason of conferring the feud being the personal abilities of the feudatory to serve in war, it was not fit he should be at liberty to transfer this gift, either from himself, or his posterity who were presumed to inherit his valour, to others who might prove less able. And, as the feudal obligation was looked upon as reciprocal, the feudatory being entitled to the lord’s protection, in return for his own fealty and service; therefore the lord could no more transfer his feignory or protection without the consent of his vassal, than the vassal could his feud without consent of his lord: it being equally unreasonable, that the lord should extend his protection to a person to whom he had exceptions, and that the vassal should owe subjection to a superior not of his own choosing.

These were the principal, and very simple, qualities of the genuine or original feuds; being then all of a military nature, and in the hands of military persons: though the feudatories being under frequent incapacities of cultivating and manuring their own lands, soon found it necessary to commit part of them to inferior tenants; obliging them to such returns in service, corn, cattle, or money, as might enable the chief feudatories to attend their military duties without distraction: which returns, or *redditus*, were the original of rents. And by this means the feudal polity was greatly extended; these inferior feudatories (who held what are called in the Scots law “*re-re-fiefs*”) being under similar obligations of fealty, to do suit of court, to answer the stipulated renders or rent-service, and

and to promote the welfare of their immediate superiors or lords. But this at the same time demolished the antient simplicity of feuds; and an inroad being once made upon their constitution, it subjected them, in a course of time, to great varieties and innovations. Feuds came to be bought and sold, and deviations were made from the old fundamental rules of tenure and succession; which were held no longer sacred, when the feuds themselves no longer continued to be purely military. Hence these tenures began now to be divided into *feoda propria et impropria*, proper and improper feuds; under the former of which divisions were comprehended such, and such only, of which we have before spoken; and under that of improper or derivative feuds were comprized all such as do not fall within the other description: such, for instance, as were originally bartered and sold to the feudatory for a price; such as were held upon base or less honourable services, or upon a rent, in lieu of military service; such as were in themselves alienable, without mutual licence; and such as might descend indifferently either to males or females. But, where a difference was not expressed in the creation, such new-created feuds did in all other respects follow the nature of an original, genuine, and proper feud.

But as soon as the feudal system came to be considered in the light of a civil establishment, rather than as a military plan, the ingenuity of the same ages, which perplexed all theology with the subtilty of scholastic disquisitions, and bewildered philosophy in the

mazes of metaphysical jargon, began also to exert its influence on this copious and fruitful subject: in pursuance of which, the most refined and oppressive consequences were drawn from what originally was a plan of simplicity and liberty, equally beneficial to both lord and tenant, and prudently calculated for their mutual protection and defence. From this one foundation, in different countries of Europe, very different superstructures have been raised: what effect it has produced on the landed property of England will appear in the following chapters.

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*An Essay on the History of Civil Society. By Adam Ferguson, L. S. D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. In one volume quarto.*

**I**T concerns man so much to know himself well, and he is at the same time so various a being, that he cannot be exhibited to himself, by too many observers and in too many situations. There is not indeed any condition, whether of riches or poverty, figure or obscurity, society or solitariness, civilization or rudeness, in which something useful may not be gleaned towards the improvement and exertion, we may even say the discovery of those powers, with which nature has so liberally endowed him. Nor is there any observer, (and we are all observers of one another) from the sedentary hermit, to the giddiest of the multitude, who has not perhaps made some observation which was before unnoticed. The subject is so extensive that it can never be exhausted,

haunted, and the recline himself may hit upon some peculiarity in the human frame, by an acquaintance with which the rest of mankind may be greatly benefited.

Civil society is now, whatever it might have been originally, the general state of man; so that it is the most interesting situation, that he can possibly be considered in. There is a peculiar propriety, in this consideration's becoming the object of a moral philosopher's discussion. No one can be more fitly calculated for examining thoroughly into, and describing expressively, man in that state, than he who is chosen by a learned body, as the most fit to point out and enforce those moral duties, of which the social form is principal a part. The learned author has accordingly handled this subject in the most masterly manner; the work abounds with subtle thought, ingenious sentiment, and extensive knowledge, and is written with a force, perspicuity, and elegance, which is seldom met with in modern performances.

Strong as this testimony in favour of the subject before us, and this prejudice in favour of the author who has handled it, may appear; the reading of a very few pages of the work will, we think, sufficiently justify our opinion. Mr. Ferguson has given us almost every thing relative to this subject, which has been already advanced by others, (except their whims and caprices) in such a light as to make it almost entirely his own. He has added many things originally his own, which would alone be sufficient to entitle him to the praise of a very deep and subtle investigator of the human mind. The title, with-

out any sacrifice from method, is such as was due to the dignity of the subject, and might have been expected from his rank in the republic of letters.

The work is divided into six parts, each of which branches into several sections. The first part treats of the general characteristics of human nature; the second, of the history of rude nations; the third, of the history of policy and arts; the fourth, of consequences that result from the advancement of civil and commercial arts; the fifth, of the decline of nations; the sixth, of corruption and political slavery. The propriety of this division is too obvious to require its being pointed out; and that of the several parts into sections does not yield to it.

Many of the authors who have written on man, and those too some of the most ingenious, have set out by considering him as an animal, solitary by nature; and others, not satisfied with this blindness to what we read and see of his condition, in almost all ages and countries, have no less preposterously made him a mischievous one. Nay one in particular, has thrown out doubts of his having been originally a monkey or baboon.

Mr. Ferguson, instead of adopting either of those capital mistakes, (by which we mean, the two first, the last being too ridiculous for serious animadversion) has refuted them both in the most masterly manner; by which he has achieved more for the dignity of human nature, as well as for the interests of mankind, than had been done by all the writers who had gone before him in this walk.

Not-

Notwithstanding the pleasure we have received from this performance, and the esteem with which we regard the author; we cannot take leave of him without expressing our surprize, that so able and zealous an advocate for benevolence should have lavished so much praise on the Spartan government; a government, which besides many other enormities in the very frame of it, not only tolerated, but enjoined the most inhuman cruelties to be inflicted on its innocent captives; that endeavoured to eradicate from its members all social tenderness and domestic endearment, and on every occasion to stifle the voice of nature, and the cries of humanity.\*

We are now to give a specimen of Mr. Ferguson's work; and the best we think we can give, will be some extracts from his sections 'of the question relating to the state of nature,' and 'of the moral sentiments' in treating of which he has so eminently distinguished himself; and which, as they will serve to give an idea of the work, will also greatly contribute to the entertainment, if not instruction, of such of our readers as have not seen the original. We are sorry that we are obliged for want of room to leave out any part of them.

*Extracts from the section of the question relating to the state of nature.*

Natural productions are generally formed by degrees. Vegetables grow from a tender shoot,

and animals from an infant state. The latter being destined to act, extend their operations as their powers increase: they exhibit a progress in what they perform, as well as in the faculties they acquire. This progress in the case of man is continued to a greater extent than in that of any other animal. Not only the individual advances from infancy to manhood, but the species itself from rudeness to civilization. Hence the supposed departure of mankind from the state of their nature; hence our conjectures and different opinions of what man must have been in the first age of his being. The poet, the historian, and the moralist, frequently allude to this ancient time; and under the emblems of gold or of iron, represent a condition, and a manner of life, from which mankind have either degenerated, or on which they have greatly improved. On either supposition, the first state of our nature must have borne no resemblance to what men have exhibited in any subsequent period; historical monuments, even of the earliest date, are to be considered as novelties; and the most common establishments of human society are to be classed among the incroachments which fraud, oppression, or a busy invention, have made upon the reign of nature, by which the chief of our grievances or blessings were equally with-held.

Among the writers who have attempted to distinguish, in the human character, its original qualities, and to point out the limits

\* See a curious account of the antient Lacedemonians, in the 3d vol. of our Register, for the year 1760.



between nature and art, some have represented mankind in their first condition, as possessed of mere animal sensibility, without any exercise of the faculties that render them superior to the brutes, without any political union, without any means of explaining their sentiments, and even without possessing any of the apprehensions and passions which the voice and the gesture are so well fitted to express. Others have made the state of nature to consist in perpetual wars, kindled by competition for dominion and interest, where every individual had a separate quarrel with his kind, and where the presence of a fellow-creature was the signal of battle.—

If both the earliest and the latest accounts collected from every quarter of the earth, represent mankind as assembled in troops and companies; and the individual always joined by affection to one party, while he is possibly opposed to another; employed in the exercise of recollection and foresight; inclined to communicate his own sentiments, and to be made acquainted with those of others; these facts must be admitted as the foundation of all our reasoning relative to man. His mixed disposition to friendship or enmity, his reason, his use of language and articulate sounds, like the shape and the erect position of his body, are to be considered as so many attributes of his nature: they are to be retained in his description, as the wing and the paw are in that of the eagle and the lion, and as different degrees of fierceness, vigilance, timidity, or speed, are

made to occupy a place in the natural history of different animals.

If the question be put, What the mind of man could perform, when left to itself, and without the aid of any foreign direction? we are to look for our answer in the history of mankind. Particular experiments which have been found so useful in establishing the principles of other sciences, could probably, on this subject, teach us nothing important, or new: we are to take the history of every active being from his conduct in the situation to which he is formed, not from his appearance in any forced or uncommon condition; a wild man therefore, caught in the woods, where he had always lived apart from his species, is a singular instance, not a specimen of any general character. As the anatomy of an eye which had never received the impressions of light, or that of an ear which had never felt the impulse of sounds, would probably exhibit defects in the very structure of the organs themselves, arising from their not being applied to their proper functions; so any particular case of this sort would only shew in what degree the powers of apprehension and sentiment could exist where they had not been employed, and what would be the defects and imbecilities of a heart in which the emotions that pertain to society had never been felt.

Mankind are to be taken in groups, as they have always subsisted. The history of the individual is but a detail of the sentiments and thoughts he has entertained in the view of his species;

cies: and every experiment relative to this subject should be made with entire societies, not with single men. We have every reason however, to believe, that in the case of such an experiment made, we shall suppose with a colony of children transplanted from the nursery, and left to form a society apart, untaught and undisciplined, we should only have the same things repeated, which, in so many different parts of the earth, have been translated already. The members of our little society would feed and sleep, would herd together and play, would have a language of their own, would quarrel and divide, would be to one another the most important objects of the scene, and, in the ardour of their friendships and competitions, would overlook their personal danger, and suspend the care of their self-preservation. Has not the human race been planted like the colony in question? who has directed their course? whose instruction have they heard? or whose example have they followed?—

It would be ridiculous to affirm, as a discovery, that the species of the horse was probably never the same with that of the lion; yet, in opposition to what has dropped from the pens of eminent writers, we are obliged to observe, that men have always appeared among animals a distinct and a superior race; that neither the possession of similar organs, nor the approximation of shape, nor the use of the hand, nor the continued intercourse with this sovereign artist, has enabled any other species to blend their nature or their inventions with his; that in his rudest

state, he is found to be above them; and in his greatest degeneracy, never descends to their level. He is, in short, a man in every condition; and we can learn nothing of his nature from the analogy of other animals. If we would know him, we must attend to himself, to the course of his life, and the tenor of his conduct. With him the society appears to be as old as the individual, and the use of the tongue as universal as that of the hand or the foot. If there was a time in which he had his acquaintance with his own species to make, and his faculties to acquire, it is a time of which we have no record, and in relation to which our opinions can serve no purpose, and are supported by no evidence.—

We speak of art as distinguished from nature; but art itself is natural to man. He is in some measure the artificer of his own frame, as well as his fortune, and is destined, from the first age of his being, to invent and contrive. He applies the same talents to a variety of purposes, and acts nearly the same part in very different scenes. He would be always improving on his subject, and he carries this intention where-ever he moves, through the streets of the populous city, or the wilds of the forest. To whatever length he has carried his artifice, there he seems to enjoy the conveniences that suit his nature, and to have found the condition to which he is destined. The tree which an American, on the banks of the Oroonoko, has chosen to climb, for the retreat and the lodgement of his family, is to him a convenient dwelling. The sofa, the vaulted dome, and the

colonade, do not more effectually content their native inhabitant.

If we are asked therefore, Where the state of nature is to be found? we may answer, It is here; and it matters not whether we are understood to speak in the island of Great Britain, at the Cape of Good Hope, or the Straits of Magellan. While this active being is in the train of employing his talents, and of operating on the subjects around him, all situations are equally natural. If we are told, that vice, at least, is contrary to nature; we may answer, it is worse; it is folly and wretchedness. But if nature is only opposed to art, in what situation of the human race are the footsteps of art unknown? In the condition of the savage, as well as in that of the citizen, are many proofs of human invention; and in either is not any permanent station, but a mere stage through which this travelling being is destined to pass. If the palace be unnatural, the cottage is so no less; and the highest refinements of political and moral apprehension, are not more artificial in their kind, than the first operations of sentiment and reason.

If we admit that man is susceptible of improvement, and has in himself a principle of progression, and a desire of perfection, it appears improper to say, that he has quitted the state of his nature, when he has begun to proceed; or that he finds a station for which he was not intended, while, like other animals, he only follows the disposition, and employs the powers that nature has given.

The latest efforts of human in-

vention are but a continuation of certain devices which were practised in the earliest ages of the world, and in the rudest state of mankind. What the savage projects, or observes, in the forest, are the steps which led nations, more advanced, from the architecture of the cottage to that of the palace, and conducted the human mind from the perceptions of sense to the general conclusions of science.

*Extracts from the section on moral sentiment.*

Upon a slight observation of what passes in human life, we should be apt to conclude, that the care of subsistence is the principal spring of human actions. This consideration leads to the invention and practice of mechanical arts; it serves to distinguish amusement from business; and, with many, scarcely admits into competition any other subject of pursuit or attention. The mighty advantages of property and fortune, when stripped of the recommendations they derive from vanity, or the more serious regards to independence and power, only mean a provision that is made for animal enjoyment; and if our solicitude on this subject were removed, not only the toils of the mechanic, but the studies of the learned, would cease; every department of public business would become unnecessary; every senate-house would be shut up, and every place deserted.

Is man therefore, in respect to his object, to be classed with the mere brutes, and only to be distinguished

tinguished by faculties that qualify him to multiply contrivances for the support and convenience of animal life, and by the extent of a fancy that renders the care of animal preservation to him more burdensome than it is to the herd with which he shares in the bounty of nature? If this were his case, the joy which attends on success, or the griefs which arise from disappointment, would make the sum of his passions. The torrent that wasted, or the inundation that enriched his possessions, would give him all the emotion with which he is seized, on the occasion of a wrong by which his fortunes are impaired, or of a benefit by which they are preserved and enlarged. His fellow-creatures would be considered merely as they affected his interest. Profit or loss would serve to mark the event of every transaction; and the epithets *useful* or *detrimental* would serve to distinguish his mates in society, as they do the tree which bears plenty of fruit, from that which serves only to cumber the ground, or intercept his view.

This, however, is not the history of our species. What comes from a fellow-creature is received with peculiar attention; and every language abounds with terms that express somewhat in the transactions of men, different from success and disappointment. The bosom kindles in company, while the point of interest in view has nothing to inflame; and a matter frivolous in itself, becomes important, when it serves to bring to light the intentions and characters of men. The foreigner, who

believed that Othello, on the stage, was enraged for the loss of his handkerchief, was not more mistaken, than the reasoner who imputes any of the more vehement passions of men to the impressions of mere profit or loss.

Men assemble to deliberate on business; they separate from jealousies of interest; but in their several collisions, whether as friends or as enemies; a fire is struck out which the regards to interest or safety cannot confine. The value of a favour is not measured when sentiments of kindness are perceived; and the term *misfortune* has but a feeble meaning, when compared to that of *insult* and *wrong*.

As actors or spectators, we are perpetually made to feel the difference of human conduct, and from a bare recital of transactions which have passed in ages and countries remote from our own, are moved with admiration and pity, or transported with indignation and rage. Our sensibility on this subject gives their charm; in retirement, to the relations of history, and to the fictions of poetry; sends forth the tear of compassion, gives to the blood its briskest movement, and to the eye its liveliest glances of displeasure or joy. It turns human life into an interesting spectacle, and perpetually solicits even the indolent to mix, as opponents or friends, in the scenes which are acted before them. Joined to the powers of deliberation and reason, it constitutes the basis of a moral nature; and whilst it dictates the terms of praise and of blame, serves to class our fellow-creatures by the most admirable

rable and engaging, or the most odious and contemptible, denominations.

It is pleasant to find men, who, in their speculations, deny the reality of moral distinctions, forget in detail the general positions they maintain, and give loose to ridicule, indignation, and scorn, as if any of these sentiments could have place, were the actions of men indifferent; and with acrimony pretend to detect the fraud by which moral restraints have been imposed, as if to censure a fraud were not already to take a part on the side of morality.

Can we explain the principles upon which mankind adjudge the preference of characters, and upon which they indulge such vehement emotions of admiration or contempt? If it be admitted that we cannot, are the facts less true? or must we suspend the movements of the heart until they who are employed in framing systems of science have discovered the principle from which those movements proceed? If a finger burn, we care not for information on the properties of fire: if the heart be torn, or the mind overjoyed, we have not leisure for speculations on the subject of moral sensibility.—

If it be true, that men are united by instinct, that they act in society from affections of kindness and friendship; if it be true, that even prior to acquaintance and habitude, men, as such, are commonly to one another objects of attention, and some degree of regard; that while their prosperity is beheld with indifference, their afflictions are considered with com-

miseration; if calamities be measured by the numbers and the qualities of men they involve; and if every suffering of a fellow-creature draws a croud of attentive spectators; if even in the case of those to whom we do not habitually wish any positive good, we are still averse to be the instruments of harm; it should seem, that in these various appearances of an amicable disposition, the foundations of a moral apprehension are sufficiently laid, and the sense of a right which we maintain for ourselves, is by a movement of humanity and candour extended to our fellow-creatures.

What is it that prompts the tongue when we censure an act of cruelty or oppression? What is it that constitutes our restraint from offences that tend to distress our fellow-creatures? It is probably, in both cases, a particular application of that principle, which, in presence of the sorrowful, sends forth the tear of compassion; and a combination of all those sentiments, which constitute a benevolent disposition; and if not a resolution to do good, at least an aversion to be the instrument of harm.

It may be difficult, however, to enumerate the motives of all the censures and commendations which are applied to the actions of men. Even while we moralize, every disposition of the human mind may have its share in forming the judgment, and in prompting the tongue. As jealousy is often the most watchful guardian of chastity, so malice is often the quickest to spy the failings of our neighbour. Envy, affectation, and vanity, may dictate

the verdicts we give, and the worst principles of our nature may be at the bottom of our pretended zeal for morality ; but if we only mean to inquire, why they who are well disposed to mankind, apprehend, in every instance, certain rights pertaining to their fellow-creatures, and why they applaud the consideration that is paid to those rights, we cannot perhaps assign a better reason, than that the person who applauds, is well disposed to the welfare of the parties to whom his applauses refer.

When we consider, that the reality of any amicable propensity in the human mind has been frequently contested ; when we recollect the prevalence of interested competitions, with their attendant passions of jealousy, envy, and malice ; it may seem strange to alledge, that love and compassion are the most powerful principles in the human breast : but they are destined, on many occasions, to urge with the most irresistible vehemence ; and if the desire of self-preservation be more constant, and more uniform, these are a more plentiful source of enthusiasm, satisfaction, and joy. With a power, not inferior to that of resentment and rage, they hurry the mind into every sacrifice of interest, and bear it undismayed through every hardship and danger.

The disposition on which friendship is grafted, glows with satisfaction in the hours of tranquillity, and is pleasant, not only in its triumphs, but even in its sorrows. It throws a grace on the external air, and, by its expression on the countenance, compensates for the want of beauty, or gives a charm

which no complexion or features can equal. From this source the scenes of human life derive their principal felicity ; and their imitations in poetry, their principal ornament. Descriptions of nature, even representations of a vigorous conduct, and a manly courage, do not engage the heart, if they be not mixed with the exhibition of generous sentiments, and the pathetic, which is found to arise in the struggles, the triumphs, or the misfortunes of a tender affection. The death of Polites, in the *Æneid*, is not more affecting than that of many others who perished in the ruins of Troy ? but the aged Priam was present when this last of his sons was slain ; and the agonies of grief and sorrow force the parent from his retreat, to fall by the hand that shed the blood of his child. The pathetic of Homer consists in exhibiting the force of affections, not in exciting mere terror and pity ; passions he has never perhaps, in any instance, attempted to raise.—

After all, it must be confessed, that if a principle of affection to mankind, be the basis of our moral approbation and dislike, we sometimes proceed in distributing applause or censure, without precisely attending to the degree in which our fellow-creatures are hurt or obliged ; and that, besides the virtues of candour, friendship, generosity, and public spirit, which bear an immediate reference to this principle, there are others which may seem to derive their commendation from a different source. Temperance, prudence, fortitude, are those qualities likewise admired from a principle of regard



regard to our fellow-creatures? Why not, since they render men happy in themselves, and useful to others? He who is qualified to promote the welfare of mankind, is neither a sot, a fool, nor a coward. Can it be more clearly expressed, that temperance, prudence, and fortitude, are necessary to the character we love and admire? I know well why I should wish for them in myself; and why likewise I should wish for them in my friend, and in every person who is an object of my affection. But to what purpose seek for reasons of approbation, where qualities are so necessary to our happiness, and so great a part in the perfection of our nature? We must cease to esteem ourselves, and to distinguish what is excellent, when such qualifications incur our neglect.

A person of an affectionate mind, possessed of a maxim, "That he himself, as an individual, is no more than a part of the whole that demands his regard, has found, in that principle, a sufficient foundation for all the virtues; for a contempt of animal pleasures, that would supplant his principal enjoyment; for an equal contempt of danger or pain, that come to stop his pursuits of public good. "A vehement and steady affection magnifies its object, and lessens every difficulty or danger that stands in the way." "Ask those who have been in love," says Epictetus, "they will know that I speak truth."

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*An Essay on Crimes and Punishments; translated from the Ita-*

*lian: with a Commentary attributed to Monsieur de Voltaire; translated from the French. One vol. 8vo.*

**T**HE merit of the essay before us is so generally known and allowed, that it may seem unnecessary to inform our readers, that it has gained the attention of all ranks of people in almost every part of Europe; and that few books on any subject have ever been more generally read, or more universally applauded. This work was written in Italian by the Marquis Beccaria of Milan. The translator informs us in his preface, that it was read at different times to a society of learned men in that city, at whose desire it was published. He also tells us, that it passed through six editions in the original language, in eighteen months; that it was translated into French, and that the translation, was also re-printed several times.

Though the author seems to have been studiously careful not to give any room for offence in point of expression, yet the freedom he has taken with the established forms of government in Italy, made it prudent not to put his name to this book; from the same cause, he has since thought proper to quit his native country, and has for a considerable time past made Paris the place of his abode. The commentary which is joined to this essay is attributed to Voltaire; and it seems to bear such evident marks of his peculiar manner, as leave little room to doubt his being the author of it.

A few specimens of the writer's argu-

arguments, and of his manner of handling his subject, will be more pleasing to our readers, than any comment we should make on it. In his introduction, he makes the following general reflections.

“If we look into history we shall find, that laws, which are, or ought to be, conventions between men in a state of freedom, have been, for the most part, the work of the passions of a few, or the consequences of a fortuitous, or temporary necessity; not dictated by a cool examiner of human nature, who knew how to collect in one point, the actions of a multitude, and had this only end in view, *the greatest happiness of the greatest number*. Happy are those few nations, who have not waited, till the slow succession of human vicissitudes, should, from the extremity of evil, produce a transition to good; but, by prudent laws, have facilitated the progress from one to the other! and how great are the obligations due from mankind to that philosopher, who from the obscurity of his closet, had the courage to scatter amongst the multitude the seeds of useful truths, so long unfruitful!

The art of printing has diffused the knowledge of those philosophical truths, by which the relations between sovereigns and their subjects, and between nations, are discovered. By this knowledge, commerce is animated, and there has sprung up a spirit of emulation and industry, worthy of rational beings. These are the produce of this enlightened age; but the cruelty of punishments, and the irregularity of proceedings in criminal cases, so principal a part of the legislation, and so much ne-

glected throughout Europe, has hardly ever been called in question. Errors, accumulated through many centuries, have never yet been exposed by ascending to general principles; nor has the force of acknowledged truths been ever opposed to the unbounded licentiousness of ill-directed power, which has continually produced so many authorized examples of the most unfeeling barbarity. Surely, the groans of the weak, sacrificed to the cruel ignorance, and indolence, of the powerful; the barbarous torments lavished, and multiplied with useless severity, for crimes either not proved, or in their nature impossible; the filth, and horrors of a prison increased by the most cruel tormentor of the miserable, uncertainty, ought to have roused the attention of those, whose business is to direct the opinions of mankind.”

In the second chapter, “of the right to punish,” he proceeds as follows,

“Every punishment, which does not arise from absolute necessity, says the great Montesquieu, is tyrannical. A proposition which may be made more general, thus: Every act of authority of one man over another, for which there is not an absolute necessity, is tyrannical. It is upon this then, that the sovereign’s right to punish crimes is founded; that is, upon the necessity of defending the public liberty, entrusted to his care, from the usurpation of individuals; and punishments are just in proportion, as the liberty, preserved by the sovereign, is sacred and valuable.

Let us consult the human heart, and there we shall find the foundation

dition of the sovereign's right to punish; for no advantage in moral policy can be lasting, which is not founded on the indelible sentiments of the heart of man. Whatever law deviates from this principle will always meet with a resistance, which will destroy it in the end; for the smallest force, continually applied, will overcome the most violent motion communicated to bodies.

No man ever gave up his liberty, merely for the good of the public. Such a chimera exists only in romances. Every individual wishes, if possible, to be exempt from the compacts that bind the rest of mankind.

The multiplication of mankind, though slow, being too great for the means, which the earth, in its natural state, offered to satisfy necessities, which every day became more numerous, obliged men to separate again, and form new societies. These naturally opposed the first, and a state of war was transferred from individuals to nations.

Thus it was necessity, that forced men to give up a part of their liberty; it is certain then, that every individual would chuse to put into the public stock the smallest portion possible; as much only as was sufficient to engage others to defend it. The aggregate of these, the smallest portions possible, forms the right of punishing: all that extends beyond this is abuse, not justice.

Observe, that by *justice* I understand nothing more, than that bond, which is necessary to keep the interest of individuals united; without which, men would return to their original state of barbarity.

All punishments, which exceed the necessity of preserving this bond, are in their nature unjust. We should be cautious how we associate with the word *justice*, an idea of any thing real, such as a physical power, or a being that actually exists. I do not, by any means, speak of the justice of God, which is of another kind, and refers immediately to rewards and punishments in a life to come.

Whoever reads, with a philosophic eye, the history of nations, and their laws, will generally find, that the ideas of virtue and vice, of a good or a bad citizen, change with the revolution of ages; not in proportion to the alteration of circumstances, and consequently conformable to the common good; but in proportion to the passions and errors by which the different law-givers were successively influenced. He will frequently observe, that the passions and vices of one age, are the foundation of the morality of the following; that violent passion, the offspring of fanaticism and enthusiasm, being weakened by time, which reduces all the phenomena of the natural and moral world to an equality, become, by degrees, the prudence of the age, and an useful instrument in the hands of the powerful or artful politician. Hence the uncertainty of our notions of honour and virtue; an uncertainty which will ever remain, because they change with the revolutions of time, and names survive the things they originally signified; they change with the boundaries of states, which are often the same both in physical and moral geography.

Pleasure and pain are the only springs

springs of action in beings endowed with sensibility. Even amongst the motives which incite men to acts of religion, the invisible legislator has ordained rewards and punishments. From a partial distribution of these, will arise that contradiction, so little observed, because so common ; I mean, that of punishing by the laws, the crimes which the laws have occasioned. If an equal punishment be ordained for two crimes that injure society in different degrees, there is nothing to deter men from committing the greater, as often as it is attended with greater advantage.—

The foregoing reflections authorise me to assert, that crimes are only to be measured by the injury done to society.

They err, therefore, who imagine that a crime is greater, or less, according to the intention of the person by whom it is committed ; for this will depend on the actual impression of objects on the senses, and on the previous disposition of the mind ; both which will vary in different persons, and even in the same person at different times, according to the succession of ideas, passions, and circumstances. Upon that system, it would be necessary to form, not only a particular code for every individual, but a new penal law for every crime. Men, often with the best intention, do the greatest injury to society, and with the worst, do it the most essential services.

Others have estimated crimes rather by the dignity of the person offended, than by their consequences to society. If this were the true standard, the smallest irreverence to the divine Being ought

to be punished with infinitely more severity, than the assassination of a monarch.

In short, others have imagined, that the greatness of the sin should aggravate the crime. But the fallacy of this opinion will appear on the slightest consideration of the relations between man and man, and between God and man. The relations between man and man, are relations of equality. Necessity alone hath produced, from the opposition of private passions and interests, the idea of public utility, which is the foundation of human justice. The other are relations of dependance, between an imperfect creature and his creator, the most perfect of beings, who has reserved to himself the sole right of being both lawgiver, and judge ; for he alone can, without injustice, be, at the same time, both one and the other. If he hath decreed eternal punishments for those who disobey his will, shall an insect dare to put himself in the place of divine justice, or pretend to punish for the Almighty, who is himself all-sufficient ; who cannot receive impressions of pleasure, or pain, and who alone, of all other beings, acts without being acted upon ? The degree of sin depends on the malignity of the heart, which is impenetrable to finite beings. How then can the degree of sin serve as a standard to determine the degree of crimes ? If that were admitted, men may punish when God pardons, and pardon when God condemns ; and thus act in opposition to the Supreme Being.—

We have proved, then, that crimes are to be estimated by *the injury done to society*. This is one of those palpable truths, which, though

though evident to the meanest capacity, yet, by a combination of circumstances, are only known to a few thinking men in every nation, and in every age. But opinions, worthy only of the despotism of Asia, and passions, armed with power and authority, have, generally by insensible and sometimes by violent impressions on the timid credulity of men, effaced those simple ideas, which perhaps constituted the first philosophy of infant society. Happily the philosophy of the present enlightened age seems again to conduct us to the same principles, and with that degree of certainty, which is obtained by a rational examination, and repeated experience.—

The opinion, that every member of society has a right to do any thing, that is not contrary to the laws, without fearing any other inconveniences, than those which are the natural consequences of the action itself, is a political dogma, which should be defended by the laws, inculcated by the magistrates, and believed by the people; a sacred dogma, without which there can be no lawful society; a just recompence for our sacrifice of that universal liberty of action, common to all sensible beings, and only limited by our natural powers. By this principle, our minds become free, active, and vigorous; by this alone we are inspired with that virtue which knows no fear, so different from that plant prudence, worthy of those only who can bear a precarious existence.—

I do not know of any exception to this axiom, that Every man has a right to do every thing which is not contrary to the laws, and which is consistent with the general utility.

trary magistrates, be necessary in any government, it proceeds from some fault in the constitution. The uncertainty of crimes hath sacrificed more victims to secret tyranny, than have ever suffered by public and solemn cruelty.

What are, in general, the proper punishments for crimes? Is the punishment of death really useful, or necessary for the safety, or good order of society? Are tortures and torments consistent with justice, or do they answer the end proposed by the laws? Which is the best method of preventing crimes? Are the same punishments equally useful at all times? What influence have they on manners? These problems should be solved with that geometrical precision, which the mist of sophistry, the seduction of eloquence, and the timidity of doubt are unable to resist.

If I have no other merit than that of having first presented to my country, with a greater degree of evidence, what other nations have written, and are beginning to practise, I shall account myself fortunate; but if, by supporting the rights of mankind, and of invincible truth, I shall contribute to save from the agonies of death one unfortunate victim of tyranny, or of ignorance, equally fatal; his blessing and tears of transport will be a sufficient consolation to me for the contempt of all mankind."

We wish that the extent of our plan could admit of our giving more extracts from this favourite writer; his unbounded philanthropy, and the eloquence and tenderness with which he pleads the cause of humanity, must always procure him the most favourable reception.

sent under the direction of his grand justiciary; till in many countries the power of that officer was broken and distributed into other courts of judicature, the peers of the king's court still reserving to themselves (in almost every feudal government) the right of appeal from those subordinate courts in the last resort. The military branch of service consisted in attending the lord to the wars, if called upon, with such a retinue, and for such a number of days, as were stipulated at the first donation, in proportion to the quantity of the land.

At the first introduction of feuds, as they were gratuitous, so also they were precarious and held at the will of the lord, who was the sole judge whether his vassal performed his services faithfully. Then they became certain, for one or more years. Among the ancient Germans they continued only from year to year, an annual distribution of lands being made by their leaders in their general councils or assemblies. This was professedly done, lest their thoughts should be diverted from war to agriculture; lest the strong should encroach upon the possessions of the weak; and lest luxury and avarice should be encouraged by the erection of permanent houses, and too curious an attention to convenience and the elegant superfluities of life. But, when the general migration was pretty well over, and a peaceable possession of their new-acquired settlements had introduced new customs and manners; when the fertility of the soil had encouraged the study of husbandry, and an affection for the spots they had cul-

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tivated began naturally to settle on the tillers, a more permanent degree of property was introduced, and feuds began now to be granted for the life of the feudatory. But still feuds were not yet hereditary; though frequently granted by the favour of the lord, to the children of the former possessor, till in process of time it became unusual, and was therefore thought hard, to reject the heir, if he were capable to perform the services; and therefore infants, women, and professed monks, who were incapable of bearing arms, were also incapable of succeeding to a genuine feud. But the heir, when admitted to the feud which his ancestor possessed, used generally to pay a fine of acknowledgment to the lord, in money, land, or the like; for such a renewal of the feud was called a *relief*, because it renewed the inheritance, or in the words of the feudal writers was "*certam et caducam hereditatem re-levabat*." This relief was afterwards, when feuds became absolutely hereditary, continued on the death of the tenant, though the original foundation of it had ceased.

For in process of time feuds came by degrees to be universally extended, beyond the life of the first vassal, to his sons, or perhaps to such one of them, as the lord should name; and in this case the form of the donation was strictly observed: for if a feud was given to a man and his sons, all his sons succeeded him in equal portions; and as they died off, their shares reverted to the lord, and did not descend to their children, or even to their surviving bro-

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thers.



them, as not being specified in the usual form. But when such a feud was given to a man, and his heirs, in general terms, then a more extended rule of succession took place, and when a feudatory died, his male descendants or *agnates* were admitted to the succession. When any such descendant, who thus had succeeded, died, his male descendants were also admitted in the first place; and, in defect of them, such of his male collateral kindred as were of the blood or lineage of the first feudatory, but no others. For this was an unalterable maxim in feudal succession, that "none was capable of inheriting a feud, but such as was of the blood of, that is, lineally descended from, the first feudatory." And the descent, being thus confined to males, originally extended to all the males alike; all the sons, without any distinction of primogeniture, succeeding to equal portions of the father's feud. But this being found upon many accounts inconvenient, (particularly, by dividing the services, and thereby weakening the strength of the feudal union) and *honorary* feuds (or titles of nobility) being now introduced, which were not of a divisible nature, but could only be inherited by the eldest son; in imitation of these, *military* feuds (or those we are now describing) began also in most countries to descend according to the same rule of primogeniture, to the eldest son, in exclusion of all the rest.

Other qualities of feuds were, that the feudatory could not alienate or dispose of his feud; neither could he exchange, nor yet mortgage, nor even devise it by will,

without the consent of the lord. For, the reason of conferring the feud being the personal abilities of the feudatory to serve in war, it was not fit he should be at liberty to transfer this gift, either from himself, or his posterity who were presumed to inherit his valour, to others who might prove less able. And, as the feudal obligation was looked upon as reciprocal, the feudatory being entitled to the lord's protection, in return for his own fealty and service; therefore the lord could no more transfer his feignory or protection without the consent of his vassal, than the vassal could his feud without consent of his lord: it being equally unreasonable, that the lord should extend his protection to a person to whom he had exceptions, and that the vassal should owe subjection to a superior not of his own choosing.

These were the principal, and very simple, qualities of the genuine or original feuds; being then all of a military nature, and in the hands of military persons; though the feudatories being under frequent incapacities of cultivating and manuring their own lands, soon found it necessary to commit part of them to inferior tenants; obliging them to such returns in service, corn, cattle, or money, as might enable the chief feudatories to attend their military duties without distraction; which returns, or *reddits*, were the original of rents. And by this means the feudal polity was greatly extended; these inferior feudatories (who held what are called in the Scots law "*re-re-fiefs*") being under similar obligations of fealty, to do suit of court, to answer the stipulated renders or rent-services, and

and to promote the welfare of their immediate superiors or lords. But this at the same time demolished the antient simplicity of feuds; and an inroad being once made upon their constitution, it subjected them, in a course of time, to great varieties and innovations. Feuds came to be bought and sold, and deviations were made from the old fundamental rules of tenure and succession; which were held no longer sacred, when the feuds themselves no longer continued to be purely military. Hence these tenures began now to be divided into *feoda propria et impropria*, proper and improper feuds; under the former of which divisions were comprehended such, and such only, of which we have before spoken; and under that of improper or derivative feuds were comprized all such as do not fall within the other description: such, for instance, as were originally bartered and sold to the feudatory for a price; such as were held upon base or less honourable services, or upon a rent, in lieu of military service; such as were in themselves alienable, without mutual licence; and such as might descend indifferently either to males or females. But, where a difference was not expressed in the creation, such new-created feuds did in all other respects follow the nature of an original, genuine, and proper feud.

But as soon as the feudal system came to be considered in the light of a civil establishment, rather than as a military plan, the ingenuity of the same ages, which perplexed all theology with the subtilty of scholastic disquisitions, and bewildered philosophy in the

mazes of metaphysical jargon, began also to exert its influence on this copious and fruitful subject: in pursuance of which, the most refined and oppressive consequences were drawn from what originally was a plan of simplicity and liberty, equally beneficial to both lord and tenant, and prudently calculated for their mutual protection and defence. From this one foundation, in different countries of Europe, very different superstructures have been raised: what effect it has produced on the landed property of England will appear in the following chapters.

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*An Essay on the History of Civil Society. By Adam Ferguson, L. S. D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. In one volume quarto.*

It concerns man so much to know himself well, and he is at the same time so various a being, that he cannot be exhibited to himself, by too many observers and in too many situations. There is not indeed any condition, whether of riches or poverty, figure or obscurity, society or solitude, civilization or rudeness, in which something useful may not be gleaned towards the improvement and exertion; we may even say the discovery of those powers, with which nature has so liberally endowed him. Nor is there any observer, (and we are all observers of one another) from the sedentary hermit, to the giddiest of the multitude, who has not perhaps made some observation which was before unnoticed. The subject is so extensive that it can never be exhausted.

X. 2

haunted, and the recluse himself may hit upon some peculiarity in the human frame, by an acquaintance with which the rest of mankind may be greatly benefitted.

Civil society is now, whatever it might have been originally, the general state of man; so that it is the most interesting situation, that he can possibly be considered in. There is a peculiar propriety, in this consideration's becoming the object of a moral philosopher's discussion. No one can be more fitly calculated for examining thoroughly into, and describing expressively, man in that state, than he who is chosen by a learned body, as the most fit to point out and enforce those moral duties, of which the social form so principal a part. The learned author has accordingly handled this subject in the most masterly manner; the work abounds with subtle thought, ingenious sentiment, and extensive knowledge, and is written with a force, perspicuity, and elegance, which is seldom met with in modern performances.

Strong as this testimony in favour of the subject before us, and this prejudice in favour of the author who has handled it, may appear; the reading of a very few pages of the work will, we think, sufficiently justify our opinion. Mr. Ferguson has given us almost every thing relative to this subject, which has been already advanced by others, (except their whims and caprices) in such a light as to make it almost entirely his own. He has added many things originally his own, which would alone be sufficient to entitle him to the praise of a very deep and subtle investigator of the human mind. The title, with-

out any sacrifice from method, is such as was due to the dignity of the subject, and might have been expected from his rank in the republic of letters.

The work is divided into six parts, each of which branches into several sections. The first part treats of the general characteristics of human nature; the second, of the history of rude nations; the third, of the history of policy and arts; the fourth, of consequences that result from the advancement of civil and commercial arts; the fifth, of the decline of nations; the sixth, of corruption and political slavery. The propriety of this division is too obvious to require its being pointed out; and that of the several parts into sections does not yield to it.

Many of the authors who have written on man, and those too some of the most ingenious, have set out by considering him as an animal, solitary by nature; and others, not satisfied with this blindness to what we read and see of his condition, in almost all ages and countries, have no less propitiously made him a mischievous one. Nay one in particular, has thrown out doubts of his having been originally a monkey or baboon.

Mr. Ferguson, instead of adopting either of those capital mistakes, (by which we mean, the two first, the last being too ridiculous for serious animadversion) has refuted them both in the most masterly manner; by which he has achieved more for the dignity of human nature, as well as for the interests of mankind, than had been done by all the writers who had gone before him in this walk.

Not-

Notwithstanding the pleasure we have received from this performance, and the esteem with which we regard the author; we cannot take leave of him without expressing our surprize, that so able and zealous an advocate for benevolence should have lavished so much praise on the Spartan government; a government, which besides many other enormities in the very frame of it, not only tolerated, but enjoined the most inhuman cruelties to be inflicted on its innocent captives; that endeavoured to eradicate from its members all social tenderness and domestic endearment, and on every occasion to stifle the voice of nature, and the cries of humanity.\*

We are now to give a specimen of Mr. Ferguson's work; and the best we think we can give, will be some extracts from his sections 'of the question relating to the state of nature,' and 'of the moral sentiments' in treating of which he has so eminently distinguished himself; and which, as they will serve to give an idea of the work, will also greatly contribute to the entertainment, if not instruction, of such of our readers as have not seen the original. We are sorry that we are obliged for want of room to leave out any part of them.

*Extracts from the section of the question relating to the state of nature.*

Natural productions are generally formed by degrees. Vegetables grow from a tender shoot,

and animals from an infant state. The latter being destined to act, extend their operations as their powers increase: they exhibit a progress in what they perform, as well as in the faculties they acquire. This progress in the case of man is continued to a greater extent than in that of any other animal. Not only the individual advances from infancy to manhood, but the species itself from rudeness to civilization. Hence the supposed departure of mankind from the state of their nature; hence our conjectures and different opinions of what man must have been in the first age of his being. The poet, the historian, and the moralist, frequently allude to this ancient time; and under the emblems of gold or of iron, represent a condition, and a manner of life, from which mankind have either degenerated, or on which they have greatly improved. On either supposition, the first state of our nature must have borne no resemblance to what men have exhibited in any subsequent period; historical monuments, even of the earliest date, are to be considered as novelties; and the most common establishments of human society, are to be classed among the incroachments which fraud, oppression, or a busy invention, have made upon the reign of nature, by which the chief of our grievances or blessings were equally withheld.

Among the writers who have attempted to distinguish, in the human character, its original qualities, and to point out the limits

\* See a curious account of the ancient Lacedaemonians, in the 2d vol. of our Register, for the year 1760.

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cies: and every experiment relative to this subject should be made with entire societies, not with single men. We have every reason however, to believe, that in the case of such an experiment made, we shall suppose with a colony of children transplanted from the nursery, and left to form a society apart, untaught and undisciplined, we should only have the same things repeated, which, in so many different parts of the earth, have been transacted already. The members of our little society would feed and sleep, would herd together and play, would have a language of their own, would quarrel and divide, would be to one another the most important objects of the scene, and, in the ardour of their friendships and competitions, would overlook their personal danger, and suspend the care of their self-preservation. Has not the human race been planted like the colony in question? who has directed their course? whose instruction have they heard? or whose example have they followed?—

It would be ridiculous to affirm, as a discovery, that the species of the horse was probably never the same with that of the lion; yet, in opposition to what has dropped from the pens of eminent writers, we are obliged to observe, that men have always appeared among animals a distinct and a superior race; that neither the possession of similar organs, nor the approximation of shape, nor the use of the hand, nor the continued intercourse with this sovereign artist, has enabled any other species to blend their nature or their inventions with his; that in his rudest

state, he is found to be above them; and in his greatest degeneracy, never descends to their level. He is, in short, a man in every condition; and we can learn nothing of his nature from the analogy of other animals. If we would know him, we must attend to himself, to the course of his life, and the tenor of his conduct. With him the society appears to be as old as the individual, and the use of the tongue as universal as that of the hand or the foot. If there was a time in which he had his acquaintance with his own species to make, and his faculties to acquire, it is a time of which we have no record, and in relation to which our opinions can serve no purpose, and are supported by no evidence.—

We speak of art as distinguished from nature; but art itself is natural to man. He is in some measure the artificer of his own frame, as well as his fortune, and is destined, from the first age of his being, to invent and contrive. He applies the same talents to a variety of purposes, and acts nearly the same part in very different scenes. He would be always improving on his subject, and he carries this intention where-ever he moves, through the streets of the populous city, or the wilds of the forest.— To whatever length he has carried his artifice, there he seems to enjoy the conveniencies that suit his nature, and to have found the condition to which he is destined. The tree which an American, on the banks of the Oroonoko, has chosen to climb, for the retreat and the lodgement of his family, is to him a convenient dwelling. The sofa, the vaulted dome, and the colo-



# ANNUAL MEETING

1. 1000 2. 1000 3. 1000 4. 1000 5. 1000 6. 1000 7. 1000 8. 1000 9. 1000 10. 1000 11. 1000 12. 1000 13. 1000 14. 1000 15. 1000 16. 1000 17. 1000 18. 1000 19. 1000 20. 1000 21. 1000 22. 1000 23. 1000 24. 1000 25. 1000 26. 1000 27. 1000 28. 1000 29. 1000 30. 1000 31. 1000 32. 1000 33. 1000 34. 1000 35. 1000 36. 1000 37. 1000 38. 1000 39. 1000 40. 1000 41. 1000 42. 1000 43. 1000 44. 1000 45. 1000 46. 1000 47. 1000 48. 1000 49. 1000 50. 1000 51. 1000 52. 1000 53. 1000 54. 1000 55. 1000 56. 1000 57. 1000 58. 1000 59. 1000 60. 1000 61. 1000 62. 1000 63. 1000 64. 1000 65. 1000 66. 1000 67. 1000 68. 1000 69. 1000 70. 1000 71. 1000 72. 1000 73. 1000 74. 1000 75. 1000 76. 1000 77. 1000 78. 1000 79. 1000 80. 1000 81. 1000 82. 1000 83. 1000 84. 1000 85. 1000 86. 1000 87. 1000 88. 1000 89. 1000 90. 1000 91. 1000 92. 1000 93. 1000 94. 1000 95. 1000 96. 1000 97. 1000 98. 1000 99. 1000 100. 1000

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He admits that man is suscep-  
tible of improvement, and has in  
himself a principle of progression,  
and a desire of perfection; it ap-  
pears improper to say, that he has  
exceeded the state of his nature,  
when he has begun to proceed; or  
that he finds a station for which  
he was not intended, while, like  
other animals, he only follows the  
impulsion, and employs the pow-  
ers that nature has given.

The faithful efforts of human in-

next to the fact a continuation of  
 certain duties which were prac-  
 tised in the earli-ages of the  
 world, and in the rudest state of  
 mankind. What the savage pro-  
 jects, or observes, in the forest,  
 are the steps which led nations,  
 more advanced, from the archi-  
 tecture of the cottage to that of  
 the palace, and conducted the hu-  
 man mind from the perceptions of  
 sense to the general conclusions  
 of reason.

... *... action on moral* ...

From a slight observation of the conduct of human life, we are apt to conclude, that the love of dissipation is the principle of human actions. This consideration leads to the invention and practice of mechanical arts: it serves to distinguish amusement from business; and, with many, perfectly admits into competition any other subject of pursuit or attention. The mighty events, even of property and fortune, which depend on the recommendations they derive from vanity, or the more serious regards to independence and power, only mean a provision that is made for animal enjoyment; and if our fondness for this subject were removed, not only the toils of the mechanic, but the studies of the learned, would cease; every department of public business would become unnecessary; every senate-house would be shut up, and every place deserted.

Is man therefore, in respect to his object, to be classed with the mere brutes, and only to be distinguished

tinguished by faculties that qualify him to multiply contrivances for the support and convenience of animal life, and by the extent of a fancy that renders the care of animal preservation to him more burdensome than it is to the herd with which he shares in the bounty of nature? If this were his case, the joy which attends on success, or the griefs which arise from disappointment, would make the sum of his passions. The torrent that wasted, or the inundation that enriched his possessions, would give him all the emotion with which he is seized, on the occasion of a wrong by which his fortunes are impaired, or of a benefit by which they are preserved and enlarged. His fellow-creatures would be considered merely as they affected his interest. Profit or loss would serve to mark the event of every transaction; and the epithets *useful* or *detrimental* would serve to distinguish his mates in society, as they do the tree which bears plenty of fruit, from that which serves only to cumber the ground, as intercept his view.

This, however, is not the history of our species. What comes from a fellow-creature is received with peculiar attention; and every language abounds with terms that express somewhat in the transactions of men, different from success and disappointments. The bosom kindles in company, while the point of interest in view has nothing to inflame; and a matter frivolous in itself, becomes important, when it serves to bring to light the intentions and characters of men. The foreigner, who

believed that Othello, on the stage, was engaged for the loss of his handkerchief, was not more mistaken, than the stranger who imposes any of the more vehement passions of men on the impressions of mere profit or loss.

Men assemble to deliberate on business; they separate from joint losses of interest; but in their several collisions, whether of friends or of enemies; a fire is struck out which the regards to interest or safety cannot withhold. The value of a favour is not measured when sentiments of kindness are perceived; and the term *misfortune* has but a feeble meaning, when compared to that of *chance* and *error*.

Actions or spectacles, which are perpetually made to feel the difference of human conduct, rise from a mere recital of transactions which have passed in ages and countries remote from our own, are moved with admiration and pity, or transported with indignation and rage. Our sensibility on this subject gives their charm, in retirement, to the relations of history, and to the fictions of poetry; sends forth the tear of compassion, gives to the blood its brisk movement, and to the eye its liveliest glances of displeasure or joy. It turns human life into an interesting spectacle, and perpetually solicits even the indolent to rise, as opponents or spectators, in the scenes which are acted before them, joined to the powers of deliberation and reason, it constitutes the basis of a moral nature; and whilst it dictates the words of praise and of blame, serves to elevate the low creature by the most dignified

stable and engaging, or can make others and themselves, sensible of it.

It is a pleasure to that man, who, in his intercourse, can, as it were, be a moral instructor, to give in large, in general positions they are seen, and give rise to reflection, indignation, and fear, as it is, of their conduct: could have place, were the actions of man indifferent; and were action, good or bad, as it is, by way of moral instruction have been imposed, as it is to create a focus were not already to take a part on the face of morality.

Can we explain the principles upon which men and judge the principles of conduct, and upon which they receive such vehement expressions of admiration or contempt? If it be admitted that we cannot, are the facts less true? or must we suspend the movements of the heart until they who are employed in forming systems of science have discovered the principle from which these movements proceed? If a finger burn, we care not for information on the properties of fire: if the heart be torn, or the mind overjoyed, we have not leisure for speculations on the subject of mental sensibility.

If it be true, that men are united by instinct, that they act in society from affections of kindness and friendship; if it be true, that even prior to acquaintance and habit, men, as such, are commonly to one another objects of attention, and some degree of regard; that while their prosperity is beheld with indifference, their afflictions are considered with com-

passion; if emotions be regulated by the numbers and the qualities of men they involve; and if every suffering be a fellow-sufferer; if a cause of action be a cause of action; if even in the case of such as would be so not naturally with any private good, we are still averse to be the instruments of harm; it should seem, that in such various appearances of an amiable disposition, the foundations of a moral association are sufficiently laid, and the sense of a right which we maintain for ourselves, is by a movement of humanity and candour extended to our fellow-creature.

What is it that prompts the tongue when we censure an act of cruelty or oppression? What is it that constitutes our restraint from offences that tend to distress our fellow-creatures? It is probably, in both cases, a particular application of that principle, which, in presence of the sorrowful, sends forth the tear of compassion; and a combination of all those sentiments, which constitute a benevolent disposition; and if not a resolution to do good, at least an aversion to be the instrument of harm.

It may be difficult, however, to enumerate the motives of all the censures and commendations which are applied to the actions of men. Even while we moralize, every disposition of the human mind may have its share in forming the judgment, and in prompting the tongue. As jealousy is often the most watchful guardian of chastity, so malice is often the quickest to spy the failings of our neighbour. Envy, affectation, and vanity, may dictate

the verdicts we give, and the worst principles of our nature may be at the bottom of our pretended zeal for morality; but if we only mean to inquire, why they who are well disposed to mankind, apprehend, in every instance, certain rights pertaining to their fellow-creatures, and why they applaud the consideration that is paid to those rights, we cannot perhaps assign a better reason, than that the person who applauds, is well disposed to the welfare of the parties to whom his applauses refer.

When we consider, that the reality of any amicable propensity in the human mind has been frequently contested; when we recollect the prevalence of interested competitions, with their attendant passions of jealousy, envy, and malice; it may seem strange to alledge, that love and compassion are the most powerful principles in the human breast: but they are destined, on many occasions, to urge with the most irresistible vehemence; and if the desire of self-preservation be more constant, and more uniform, these are a more plentiful source of enthusiasm, satisfaction, and joy. With a power, not inferior to that of resentment and rage, they hurry the mind into every sacrifice of interest, and bear it undismayed through every hardship and danger.

The disposition on which friendship is grafted, glows with satisfaction in the hours of tranquillity, and is pleasant, not only in its triumphs, but even in its sorrows. It throws a grace on the external air, and, by its expression on the countenance, compensates for the want of beauty, or gives a charm

which no complexion or features can equal. From this source the scenes of human life derive their principal felicity; and their finalisations in poetry, their principal ornament. Descriptions of nature, even representations of a vigorous conduct, and a manly courage, do not engage the heart, if they be not mixed with the exhibition of generous sentiments, and the pathetic, which is found to arise in the struggles, the triumphs, or the misfortunes of a tender affection. The death of Polixena, in the *Ænëid*, is not more affecting than that of many others who perished in the ruins of Troy; but the aged Priam was present when this last of his sons was slain; and the agonies of grief and sorrow force the parent from his restraint, to fall by the hand that shed the blood of his child. The pathetic of Homer consists in exhibiting the force of affections, not in exciting with terror and pity; passion has never perhaps, in any instance, attempted to raise

After all, it must be confessed, that if a principle of affection to mankind, be the basis of our moral approbation and dislike, we sometimes proceed in distributing applause or censure, without precisely attending to the degree in which our fellow-creatures are hurt or obliged; and that, besides the virtues of candour, friendship, generosity, and public spirit, which bear an immediate reference to this principle, there are others which may seem to derive their commendation from a different source. Temperance, sobriety, fortitude, and whole qualities likewise admired from a principle of regard



1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the investigation. The investigator must identify the problem and the scope of the investigation. The investigator must also identify the objectives of the investigation and the methods to be used. The investigator must also identify the resources available for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the personnel who will be involved in the investigation. The investigator must also identify the timeline for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the risks associated with the investigation. The investigator must also identify the potential outcomes of the investigation. The investigator must also identify the potential consequences of the investigation. The investigator must also identify the potential benefits of the investigation. The investigator must also identify the potential costs of the investigation. The investigator must also identify the potential impacts of the investigation. The investigator must also identify the potential stakeholders of the investigation. The investigator must also identify the potential interests of the stakeholders. The investigator must also identify the potential conflicts of interest. The investigator must also identify the potential ethical issues. The investigator must also identify the potential legal issues. The investigator must also identify the potential political issues. The investigator must also identify the potential social issues. The investigator must also identify the potential environmental issues. The investigator must also identify the potential economic issues. The investigator must also identify the potential cultural issues. The investigator must also identify the potential technological issues. The investigator must also identify the potential health issues. The investigator must also identify the potential safety issues. The investigator must also identify the potential security issues. The investigator must also identify the potential privacy issues. The investigator must also identify the potential data issues. The investigator must also identify the potential communication issues. The investigator must also identify the potential management issues. The investigator must also identify the potential organizational issues. The investigator must also identify the potential human resources issues. The investigator must also identify the potential financial issues. The investigator must also identify the potential legal issues. The investigator must also identify the potential political issues. The investigator must also identify the potential social issues. The investigator must also identify the potential environmental issues. The investigator must also identify the potential economic issues. The investigator must also identify the potential cultural issues. The investigator must also identify the potential technological issues. The investigator must also identify the potential health issues. The investigator must also identify the potential safety issues. The investigator must also identify the potential security issues. The investigator must also identify the potential privacy issues. The investigator must also identify the potential data issues. The investigator must also identify the potential communication issues. The investigator must also identify the potential management issues. The investigator must also identify the potential organizational issues. The investigator must also identify the potential human resources issues. The investigator must also identify the potential financial issues.

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As they are common and harmless  
plants; I omitted from the list.

THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
1918.

The merit of the essay before me is to be generally known and allowed, that it may seem unnecessary to inform our readers, that it has gained the approbation of the friends of science in every part of Europe: and that it has already almost universally read, or been read, and admired. This work was written in Italian by the illustrious Boscaglia of Milan. The author informs us in his preface, that it was read at different times to a society of learned men of that city, at whose desire it was published. He also tells us, that it passed through six editions in the original language. In english notices that it was translated into French, and that the translation was also re-printed several times.

Through the author seems to have been unusually careful not to give his room for offence in point of opinion, yet the freedom he has taken with the established forms of government in Italy, made it prudent not to put his name to the work: from the same cause he has since thought proper to leave his native country, and has for a considerable time put his papers in the place of an abode. The commentary which is prefixed to this edit. is attributed to a friend; and it seems to bear such evident marks of his peculiar manner, as leave little room to doubt his being the author of it.

A few specimens of the writer's  
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arguments, and of his manner of handling his subject, will be more pleasing to our readers, than any comment we should make on it. In his introduction, he makes the following general reflections.

"If we look into history we shall find, that laws, which are, or ought to be, conventions between men in a state of freedom, have been, for the most part, the work of the passions of a few, or the consequences of a fortuitous, or temporary necessity; not dictated by a cool examiner of human nature, who knew how to collect in one point, the actions of a multitude, and had this only end in view, *the greatest utility of the greatest number*. Happy are those few nations, who have not waited, till the slow succession of human vicissitudes, should, from the extremity of evil, produce a transition to good; but, by prudent laws, have facilitated the progress from one to the other: and how great are the obligations due from mankind to that philosopher, who from the obscurity of his closet, had the courage to scatter amongst the multitude the seeds of useful truths, so long unfruitful!

The art of printing has diffused the knowledge of those philosophical truths, by which the relations between sovereigns and their subjects, and between nations, are discovered. By this knowledge, commerce is animated, and there has sprung up a spirit of emulation and industry, worthy of rational beings. These are the produce of this enlightened age; but the cruelty of punishments, and the irregularity of proceedings in criminal cases, so principal a part of the legislation, and so much ne-

glected throughout Europe, has hardly ever been called in question. Errors, accumulated through many centuries, have never yet been exposed by ascending to general principles; nor has the force of acknowledged truths been ever opposed to the unbounded licentiousness of ill-directed power, which has continually produced so many authorized examples of the most unfeeling barbarity. Surely, the groans of the weak, sacrificed to the cruel ignorance, and indolence of the powerful; the barbarous torments lavished, and multiplied with useless severity, for crimes either not proved, or in their nature impossible; the filth, and horrors of a prison increased by the most cruel tormentor of the miserable, uncertainty, ought to have roused the attention of those whose business is to direct the opinions of mankind."

In the second chapter, "of the right to punish," he proceeds as follows,

"Every punishment, which does not arise from absolute necessity, says the great Montesquieu, is tyrannical. A proposition which may be made more general, thus: Every act of authority of one man over another, for which there is not an absolute necessity, is tyrannical. It is upon this then, that the sovereign's right to punish crimes is founded; that is, upon the necessity of defending the public liberty, entrusted to his care, from the usurpation of individuals; and punishments are just in proportion, as the liberty, preserved by the sovereign, is sacred and valuable.

Let us consult the human heart, and there we shall find the foundation



springs of action in beings endowed with sensibility. Even amongst the motives which incite men to acts of religion, the invincible legislator has ordained rewards and punishments. From a partial distribution of these, will arise that contradiction, so little observed, because so common; I mean, that of punishing by the laws, the crimes which the laws have occasioned. If an equal punishment be ordained for two crimes that injure society in different degrees, there is nothing to deter men from committing the greater, as often as it is attended with greater advantage.—

The foregoing reflections authorize me to assert, that crimes are only to be measured by the injury done to society.

They err, therefore, who imagine that a crime is greater, or less, according to the intention of the person by whom it is committed; for this will depend on the actual impression of objects on the senses, and on the previous disposition of the mind; both which will vary in different persons, and even in the same person at different times, according to the succession of ideas, passions, and circumstances. Upon that system, it would be necessary to form, not only a particular code for every individual, but a new penal law for every crime. Men, often with the best intention, do the greatest injury to society, and with the worst, do it the most essential services.

Others have estimated crimes rather by the dignity of the person offended, than by their consequences to society. If this were the true standard, the smallest irreverence to the divine Being might

to be punished with infinitely more severity, than the assassination of a monarch.

In short, others have imagined, that the greatness of the sin, should aggravate the crime. But the fallacy of this opinion will appear on the slightest consideration of the relations between man and man, and between God and man. The relations between man and man are relations of equality. Necessity alone hath produced, from the opposition of private passions and interests, the idea of public utility, which is the foundation of human justice. The other are relations of dependance, between an imperfect creature and his creator, the most perfect of beings, who has reserved to himself the sole right of being both lawgiver, and judge; for he alone can, without injustice, be at the same time, both one and the other. If he hath decreed eternal punishments for those who disobey his will, shall an insect dare to put himself in the place of divine justice, or pretend to punish for the Almighty, who is himself all-sufficient; who cannot receive impressions of pleasure, or pain, and who alone, of all other beings, acts without being acted upon. The degree of sin depends on the malignity of the heart, which is impenetrable in finite beings. How then can the degree of the sin, be a standard to determine the degree of crimes? If that were admitted, men may punish when God pardons, and pardon when God condemns; and thus, set in opposition to the Supreme Being.

We have proved, then, that crimes are to be estimated by the injury done to society. This is true of all crimes, and of all degrees of crime, though

every man has the means of capacity, yet, by a combination of circumstances, are only known to a few, and only in every nation, and in every age. But opinions, and only of the despotism of Asia, and passions, armed with power and authority, have, generally by violence and sometimes by violent impressions on the mind the faculty of men, effaced the human mind, which perhaps contained the best philosophy of infant society. Happily the philosophy of the present enlightened age seems again to conduct us to the same principles, and with that degree of certainty, which is obtained by a rational examination, and repeated experience.—

The opinion, that every member of society has a right to do any thing, that is not contrary to the laws, without fearing any other inconveniences, than those which are the natural consequences of the action itself, is a political axiom, which should be defended by the laws, maintained by the magistrates, and believed by the people; without which there can be no law of society, a just respect for our freedom of that universal liberty of action, common to all sensible beings, and only limited by our natural powers. By this principle, our minds become free, active, and vigorous; by this alone we are inspired with that virtue which knows no fear, so different from that pliant prudence, worthy of those only who can bear a precarious existence.—

I do not know of any exception to this general axiom, that *Every member of society should know when he is criminal, and when innocent.* If censors, and, in general, arbi-

trary magistrates, in exercising in any government, it remains from some rank in the constitution. The universality of crimes must justify more violence to some than to others, that have ever suffered by public and solemn crimes.

What are, in general, the proper punishments for crimes? Is the punishment of death really useful, or necessary for the safety, or good order of society? Are tortures and torments consistent with justice, or do they answer the end proposed by the laws? Which is the best method of preventing crimes? Are the same punishments equally useful at all times? What influence have they on manners? These problems should be solved with that geometrical precision, which the mist of sophistry, the seduction of eloquence, and the timidity of doubt are unable to resist.

If I have no other merit than that of having first presented to my country, with a greater degree of evidence, what other nations have written, and are beginning to practise, I shall account myself fortunate; but if, by supporting the rights of mankind, and of invincible truth, I shall contribute to save from the agonies of death one unfortunate victim of tyranny, or of ignorance, equally fatal; his blessing and tears of transport will be a sufficient consolation to me for the contempt of all mankind.”

We wish that the extent of our plan could admit of our giving more extracts from this favourite writer; his unbounded philanthropy, and the eloquence and tenderness with which he pleads the cause of humanity, must always procure him the most favourable reception.



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## History of EUROPE.

### C H A P. I.

*General aspect of affairs. Present appearance pacific. Some ancient causes of contention removed. France. Holland. General state of the North. Germany. Italy. Expulsion of the Jesuits from Naples and Parma. The interest of the court of Rome declining in Italy. Portugal. Scarcity of corn. Friendly intercourse subsisting between the learned.* [1

### C H A P. II.

*Strict attention of the government of Sweden to prevent luxury. An important law made for enlarging the liberty of the press in that kingdom. Denmark. Great preparations making in Russia to observe the transit of the planet Venus over the sun: The Empress writes a letter upon that subject to the academy at Petersburgh. Deputies from all the provinces of the empire are summoned to Moscow, to form a new code of laws. State of affairs in Turkey. Encouragement given by the Grand Seignior, to introduce the art of printing in his dominions. The piratical states of Barbary refuse to pay the ancient tribute to the Porte. An insurrection in the province of Montenegro.* [7

### C H A P. III.

*State of affairs in Poland. Original causes of the late disputes. Ancient state of that country. Conversion to the Christian religion. Accession of the great duchy of Lithuania and other provinces to the kingdom of Poland. Ancient state of the constitution, of religion, &c. Summary.*

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## C H A P. IV.

*The causes assigned for the great superiority which the Roman Catholics in Poland have acquired over the Greeks and Protestants. Account of Sigismund the third. Treaty of Oliva. Edict against the Arians. Constitution of 1717. Oppression of the Dissidents in consequence of it. Constitution of 1736. Confederacies formed by the Dissident nobles. Declaration of the Emperors of Russia in their favour. Of the King of Prussia, &c. Malecontents. The diet meets; some of the members arrested by the Russians. A commission appointed finally to settle the affairs of the Dissidents.*

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## C H A P. V.

*Spain. Measures relative to the expulsion of the Jesuits; the causes that are assigned for that proceeding. The houses of that society in every part of Spain seized by the king's troops; the members arrested, and their effects sequestered. The King of Spain's ordinance against the society. The Jesuits transported to Civita Vecchia; but are not suffered to be landed; from thence they are carried to Corsica. The Jesuits in Mexico, and all the other Spanish colonies, arrested, and their property seized. Similar measures pursued in Naples and Sicily.*

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## C H A P. VI.

*Of Corsica; its ancient state granted by a pope to the republic of Pisa: conquered by the Genoese: oppressive and impolitic government of it. The Corsicans offer to submit themselves to the Turks. The beginning of the present troubles in that island; the Prince of Wirtemberg with an imperial army compels the malecontents to submit. The troubles begin again. Theodore proclaimed king. French army subdue the island; but upon their departure the malecontents renew the war with more fury than ever. Pascal Paoli declared general of the Corsicans: he drives the Genoese to the fortified towns upon the coasts; and establishes a regular government. The conquest of the island of Capraja.*

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## C H A P. VII.

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